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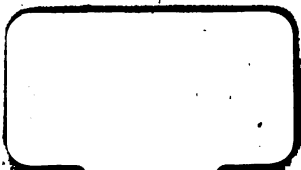
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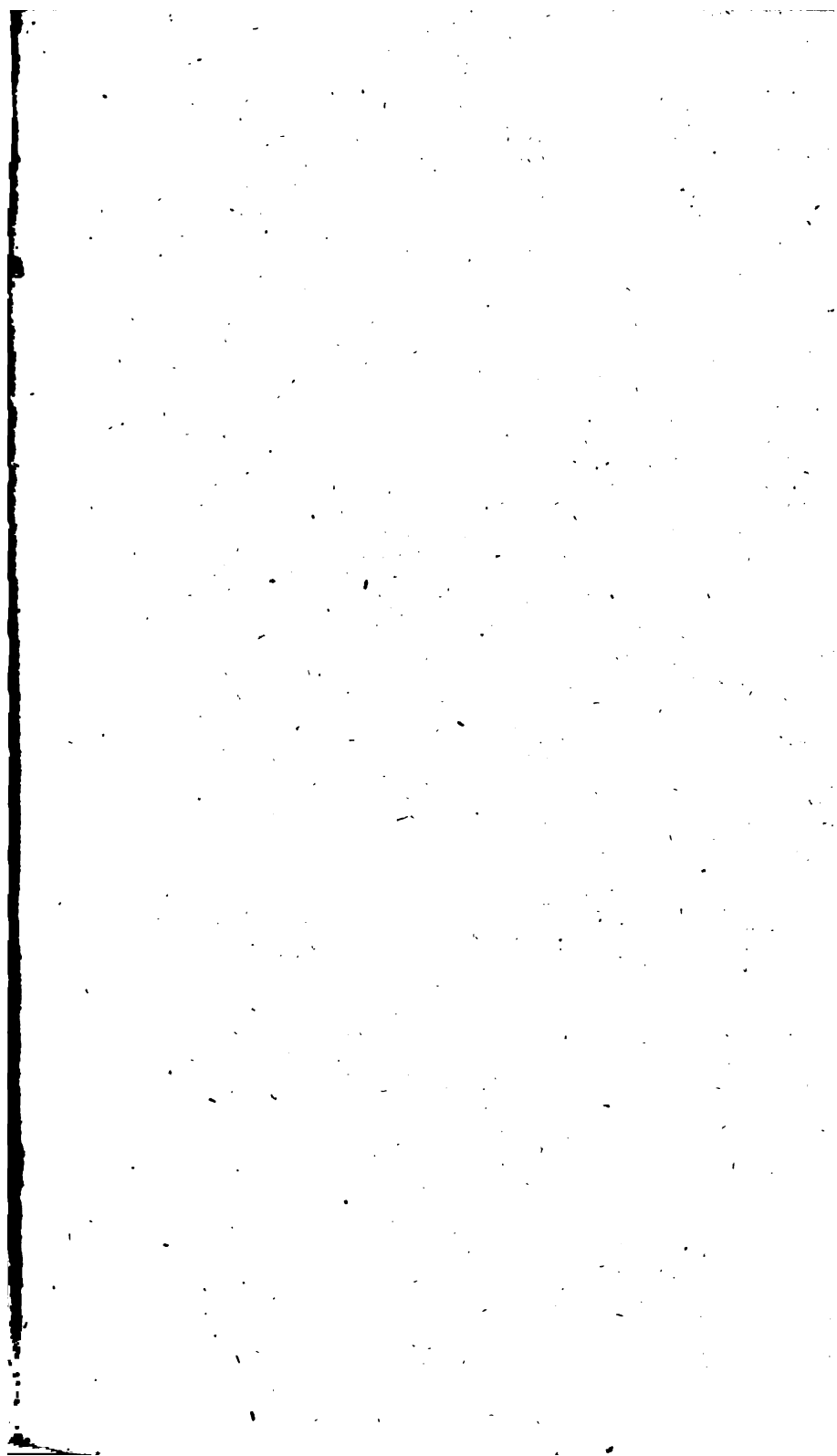
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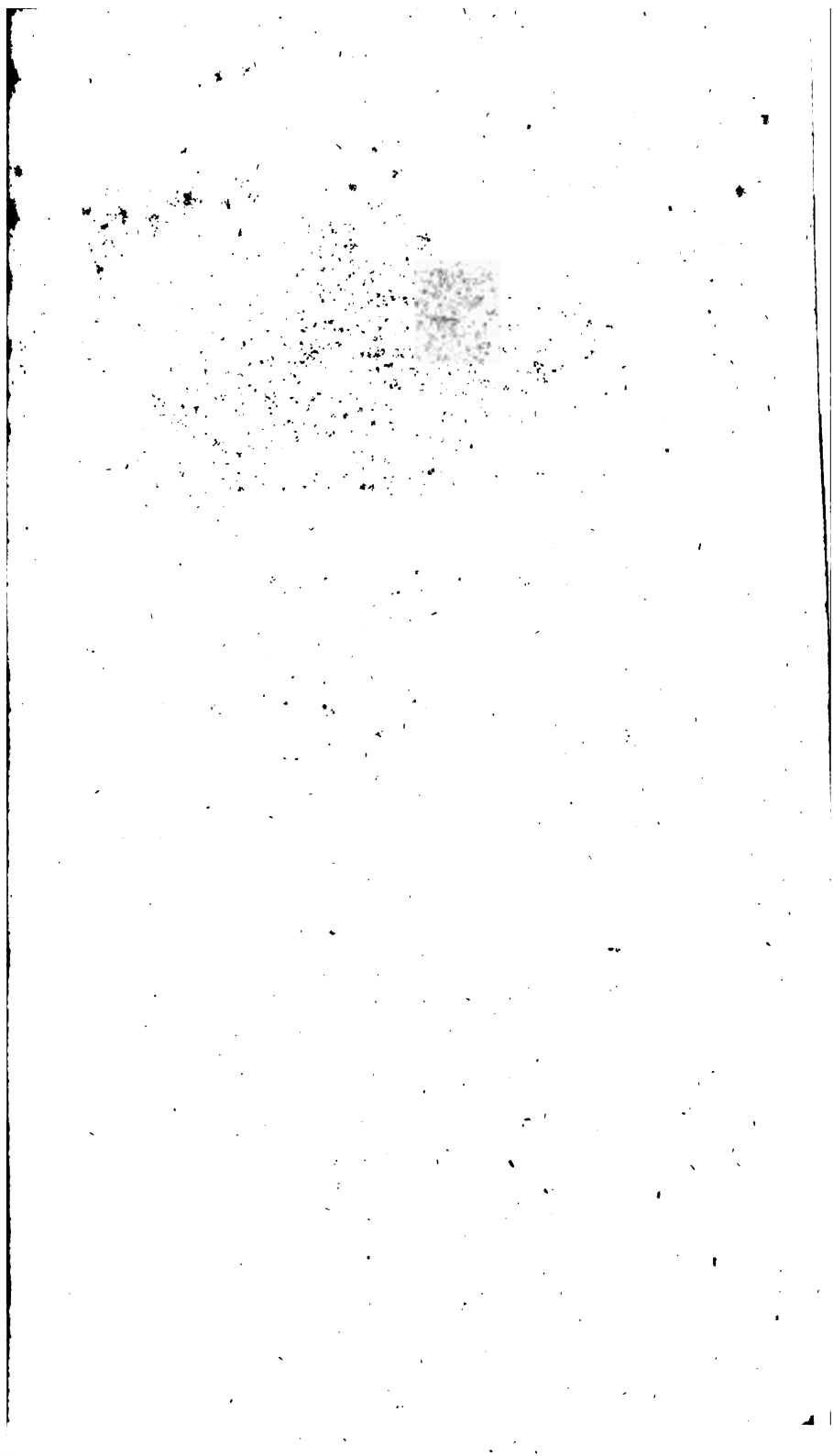
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A N

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

Illustrated with

CHARTS, MAPS, NOTES, &c.

AND

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

*Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξίχθησθαι μὴ κατὰ δύναμιν ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐφροσύνης ἀνάγκη
ἅπτεσθαι ἱστορίας συνήξαν δύναμιν.* Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

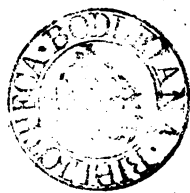
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MDCCLXXX.



C O N T E N T S

OF THE

SEVENTEENTH VOLUME.

C H A P. LXXXIII.

The History of the Ancient Germans, to their Irruption into the Roman Empire, Invasion of Gaul, and Expulsion from thence by the Franks..

- SECT. I. Origin of the Germans. Description of Germany, p. 1
- II. Of the Religion, Government, Laws, and Policy, of the Ancient Germans, 12
- III. The History of the Ancient Germans, 28

C H A P. LXXXIV.

The Ancient State and History of Britain, to the Time of its being deserted by the Romans, and the Invasion of the Angles and Saxons.

- SECT. I. Description of Britain. The first Inhabitants. The Customs, Religion, Government, &c. of the Ancient Britons. The State of Britain under the Romans, 36
- II. The History of Britain, from the first Coming of Julius Cæsar to its Desertion by the Romans, 71
- SECT.

C O N T E N T S.

SECT. III. The History of Britain, from its being abandoned by the Romans to the Inva- sions of the Angles and Saxons,	107
--	-----

C H A P. LXXXV.

The Ancient State of the several Northern Nations,
to their Incursions into the Roman Empire; their
several Expeditions, and mutual Expulsions, till the
Settling of the Hunns in Hungary; of the Van-
dals, Visigoths, and Sueves, in Spain; of the Van-
dals in Africa; the Franks, in Gaul; the Ostro-
goths in Italy.

SECT. I. Of the Hunns, till their settling in Hun- gary,	132
II. The Ancient State and History of the Goths, till the Visigoths settled in Spain, and the Ostrogoths in Italy,	166
III. The Ancient State of the Vandals, till they settled in Spain and Africa,	223
IV. The Ancient State of the Sueves, till their Settlement in Spain,	244
V. The Ancient State of the Franks, till their Settlement in Gaul,	253
VI. The Ancient State of the Burgundians, Alemans, Heruli, and Gepidæ,	276
The Burgundians,	ibid.
The Alemans,	288
The Gepidæ,	299
The Heruli,	304
The Marcomans,	308
The Quadians,	311
The Sarmatians,	315
The	The

C O N T E N T S.

The Dacians,	325
The Lombards,	331
The Bulgarians,	344

C H A P. LXXXVI.

The History of the Ostrogoths in Italy, the Exarchs of
Ravenna, and the Lombards in Italy.

SECT. I. The History of the Ostrogoths in Italy, to
their Expulsion by Narfes, 370

II. The History of the Lombards, from the
Death of Clephis to Desiderius, taken
Captive by Charlemagne, 438



A N

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

C H A P. LXXXIII.

*The History of the Ancient Germans, to their
Irruption into the Roman Empire, Invasion of
Gaul, and Expulsion from thence by the Franks.*

S E C T. I.

Origin of the Germans. Description of Germany.

THE farther northward we move from ancient Gaul, *Germans,
their origin.* the more we are in the dark about the nations that inhabited the vast regions beyond the Rhine and the Danube, which were the limits between the Gauls and them. Nothing is more uncertain than their origin, the countries they came from, and the territories they settled themselves in: ancient authors in general confound them under the names of Celtes, Scythians, and Celtescythians; comprehending a great variety of nations, which it is no easy task to distinguish with propriety. Yet we may venture to affirm^a, that all these were originally the same nation with the Celtes and Gauls, and both descended from the ancient Gomerians, or descendants of Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet. Indeed the Germans were very much intermixed with the old Scythians and Sarmatians, on that side which joined their territories, and particularly between *Most probably of
Celtic extract;

but intermixed
with the
Scythians.*

^a Cluver. Bochart. Phaleg. Pezron. Antiq. Celt. Relig. des Gaul. Péloutier. Hist. Celt. Calmet. Comment. in Genes. & al.

the two great rivers Rhine and Danube: and these, no doubt, had adopted a great many of their customs, as well as intermingled some of their language with their own; but in all other parts of Germany we find such an exact conformity in their religion, laws, customs, and language^b, as leaves scarce any room to doubt that they were descended from the same ancient stock with the Celtes or Gauls, and came by gradual migrations from Asia.

*Whence
named
Germans.*

How this country came to be called Germany, and its inhabitants Germans, is not easy to determine, nor hardly worth enquiring; the most probable conjecture is, that they were so called, either from their affinity to the Celtes, or from the Celtic words *ghar man*, a warlike man: but it is plain this was not their original name, being of a more modern date, and seems to have had its rise on the other side of the Rhine, when the Condrusi, Eburones, Cærafi, and Pæmani, crossed that river, after the example of some others of their countrymen, and settled in Gaul. These, it seems, were the first to whom the appellation of Germans was given, and which therefore extended no farther than the Rhenish shore on the Gallic side, but soon after passed over to the other, and became common to other people of the same original language and customs, till at length it became the general name of the whole nation, and the country was called from them Germania, or Germany.

*Who were
first so
called.*

*Allemani.
Teutones.*

The name of Allemani, and Alemani still retained by the French, comes from *allman* signifying a complete man: that of Teutones, from which their present one of Teutschen, or Dutch, is thought to be derived, is another by which they were distinguished, and is of a much older date than that of Germans; but the etymon is not easily guessed at, unless we derive it from the Celtic Theut. These, according to Mela, in ancient times inhabited the neighbouring coasts and islands of the East, or Baltic sea; but growing too numerous for those narrow territories, the most daring part went, with their wives and families, to seek new settlements in other countries; but when and where cannot be ascertained. We shall find them, in the sequel of this history, often joined with the Cimbri, Cimbrones, and others, making excursions into Gaul, Italy, and Spain, till at length a number of them, who were left to guard the heavy baggage along the Rhine, being greatly harassed on all sides, forced their way to Belgic Gaul, where they settled, and became in time known by the name of Atuatici^c.

*Atuatici in
Belgia.*

^b Keyzler. Antiq. Septentr. pass.

^c Strab. lib. iii. & v.

We remarked, in the preceding chapter, that the Rhine, according to the Roman authors, divided the ancient Gauls from the Germans on the west, and the Danube on the south; the Hercynian forest, at that time supposed impenetrable, confined them on the north, the German and northern ocean on the north-west, and Scythia and Sarmatia on the east, where they were as much intermixed with those nations as they were on the west with the Gauls, and where it is still more difficult to fix their boundaries, on account of their constant fluctuation. The Cimbri, and their neighbours the Saxons, inhabited the Cimbrica Chersonesus, on the other side the Elbe.

The extent and limits of Germany.

On this side that river the Chauci were situated, Upper and Lower, divided from each other by the Visurges, now the Weser; their country contained what is now called Bremen and Lunenburgh, Friezland and Groningen; the Upper had the Cherusci, and the Lower the Chamavi on the south-east, and the German ocean on the north-west ^d.

The Chauci.

The Frisii, Upper and Lower, were divided from the Lower Chauci by the river Amasia, now Ems; from each other by an arm of the Rhine. Their country still retains the name of Friezland, and is divided into East and West; but the latter is now dismembered from Germany, and composes one of the Seven United Provinces.

Frisii.

From them were parted by the Isela, now Ysel, the country of the Brueteri, since called Broekmorland, and the Marfi, situate about the river Luppia, or Lippe. On the other side of that river were the Usipii, or Usipetes; but these were remarkable for often changing their habitation, and are therefore found in other territories.

Brueteri, Marfi, and Usipii.

The Tencteri were next to them, who had been driven from their old habitation by the Cotti, and settled on the Rhine, and in the country of the Menapii ^e, and were afterwards subdued by Drusus. Next to these the Juhones, or inhabitants of Juliers, between the Maese and the Rhine: the Cotti, another ancient warlike people, who inhabited part of Hesse and Thuringia, from the Hartzian mountains to the Rhine and Weser; among whom were comprehended the Mattiaci, whose capital was called from them Mattiacum, and by others Matticum, by some taken to be Marpurg, and by others Baden, on account of its hot waters.

Tencteri.

Juhones.

Cotti.

Next to them were the Sedusii, bordering upon Swabia; Narischi, or ancient inhabitants of Northgow, whose capital is the city of Nurembergh; and the Marcomani, whose

Sedusii. Narischi. Marcomani.

^d Cæsar. Comm. lib. ii. cap. 29.

^e Dio. Cass. lib. liv.

country formerly reached from the Rhine to the head of the Danube, and to the Neckar: here were the famed Agri decumales, so called, among other reasons, for their being taxed a tenth part of their produce by the Romans. The Marcomani settled in Bohemia and Moravia, under their general Maroboduus, and some of them in Gaul, whence they expelled the Boii.

*Settle in
Bohemia.*

Ubii.

On this side the Rhine, between that river and the Mosæ, or Mæse, were the Ubii, brought over by Agrippa. Their metropolis was Colonia Agrippina, so called from the empress of that name, who founded it, and now Cologne; and next to them the Tungri, which are supposed to be the same whom Cæsar calls Eburones and Condrusi, and whose metropolis, then called Attuatica, is since known by the name of Tongres^f. Higher up, and on the other side of the Moselle, were the Treviri, whose capital was Augusta Trevirorum, now Triers; next to them were the Tribocci, Nemetes, and Vangiones; the former inhabited Alsatia, and their metropolis was called Argentinae, and Argentoratum, now Strasburgh. The others lived in the cities of Worms, Spire, and Moguntia, now Mentz. Those three made the Germania Prima; and those below them the Germania Secunda, which reached as far as the Mæse and Lower Rhine, and was separated from Belgia by the Demer and Scheld, which latter has always divided the fees of Liege and Cambray.

Tungri.

Treviri.

*Tribocci,
&c.*

*Mediomat-
rici.*

Rauraci.

The Mediomatrici were situate along the Moselle, about the city of Metz in Lorraine; above them, on the Rhine, were seated the Raurici, called also Rauraci and Rauriaci, another ancient German nation, who peopled that part of Helvetia, or Switzerland, about Basil: their capital was Rauracum, or Augusta Rauracorum^g.

Vindelici.

Noricum.

Between the heads of the Rhine and Danube, were seated the ancient kingdom of Vindelicia, whose capital was called Augusta Vindelicorum, now Augsburg; and below it, along the banks of the same river, those of Noricum and Pannonia, the former of which was divided into Noricum Ripense and Mediterraneum, comprehending great part of Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Tyrol, and Bavaria^h; and the latter including the kingdom of Hungary, extending from Illyricum to the Danube and the mountains Cæti, in the neighbourhood of Vindebona, now Vienna, the metropolis of Austriaⁱ.

^f De hac vide Cæs. Comm. lib. vi. cap. 31, 34. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 339, & seq.

^g Mascov. lib. iii. cap. 5.

^h Cellar. ubi sup. & seq.

ⁱ Mascov. lib. iii. cap. 5.

On the other side of the Danube, which was more properly called Germany, and Germania Magna, besides the Marcomans were the Hermunduri, whose country extended along the Hercynian mountains to the river Sala. These possessed the country now called Misnia in Upper Saxony. On the other side of those mountains was the kingdom of Boiohemum, now Bohemia, once one of the seats of the Boii; and beyond them, north of the Danube, was another seat of the Marcomani along the river Albis, now Elbe; from which they spread themselves into Bohemia. The Quadi were situate next to Bohemia: their territories extended from the Danube to Moravia, and the northern part of Austria; these are likewise comprehended under the ancient name of Suevi, part of whom forced their way into Spain, and formed a kingdom there. The Bastarnæ were situated eastward of the Quadi, and parted from them by the Granna, now Gran, a river that falls into the Danube, and by the ridge of the Carpathian mountains called Bastarnicæ Alps: their country composed, indeed, part of the European Sarmatia; but they lived on this side the Danube², were concerned with the Marcomans, Quadi, Hermunduri, Suevi, and a number of other German nations, in the war against M. Antoninus, and are accounted of German extract by Pliny¹. It was not till the reign of Probus that they were transplanted over the Danube thither by that emperor, to repopulate those countries which were become desolate by war and pestilence.

Between those tribes we have seen seated along the other side of the Danube, and the Hercynian forest, were several ancient nations, of whom we know little more than their names; such as the Martingi, Burii, Borades, Lygii, or Logiones, and some others, who are placed by our geographers along the forest above mentioned, between the Danube and the Vistula. The last we shall mention on this side the Hercynian forest, were the famous Rhætii, now Grisons, who were seated on the Alps: their country, which was called Western Illyricum, was divided into Rhætia Prima or Propria, and Secunda, extending towards Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria. This district, and that of Noricum, and others, became a Roman province, and belonged to the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy; but upon the declension of it they fell under the dominion of the Franks, about which time the name of Bavarians first became celebrated in history.

¹ Vid. Mascov. ubi sup. lib. iii, cap. 8. Notit. Germ. lib. vi. cap. 1. Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12. & al. ² Jol. Capitol. in Vit. Marc. cap. 22.

Suevi.

On the other side of the Hercynian forest were the ancient seats of the Suevi, an old tribe of Germans, who had spread themselves from the Vistula to the Elbe, and beyond, though in time, great part of them, either penetrated through that forest, and settled in the more pleasant southern parts of Europe, such as Belgium, Gaul, and even Spain.

Longobardi.

The most powerful of these were the Longobardi, so called, according to some, on account of their wearing long beards; but, according to others, on account of their consisting of two nations, viz. the Bardi and Lingones; these dwelt along the river Elbe, and bordered southward on the Chauci, mentioned a little higher, and both these were reduced by Tiberius, as we have shewn in a former volume. But the Longobardi, having passed the Danube, invaded and defeated the Heruli, and afterwards crossed the Alps, and settled in Italy, where they founded the kingdom of Lombardy^m.

Burgundi.

The Burgundi are the next of note: Pliny affirms them likewise to be of German extract, and ranks them with the Vindili, Varini, Carini, Guttones, and Ingevones, which last he makes a mixed people, partly Cimbric, partly Teutonic, and partly Chauci. It is in vain to inquire after their original country, but it is plain they were, like their other neighbours, enticed to exchange it for a better; and, having penetrated first into Germany, where they assisted Valentinian against the Alemanniⁿ, they afterwards crossed the Rhine, and settled in Gaul, where they founded a kingdom in that province which still retains the name of Burgundy. The Semnones, likewise, left their old habitation, and settled about the Lionnois in Gaul: we find them seated about the Elbe, in Tiberius's time, and in conjunction with the Hermunduri and other Germans, bravely endeavouring to obstruct his crossing that river^o; though at what time they passed from thence into Gaul, is not easy to fix: but they fell upon one of the most fruitful parts of that kingdom, and grew so rich and considerable, that they are thought to have been called Sennones on that account, it being an old Celtic word, which signifies *opulent* and *venerable*.

Semnones.

These three were the most celebrated nations on the other side of the Hercynian forest, to which we shall only add the names of some others, though scarcely known by any thing else: such are the Aviones, Rheudigni, Eudoles, and Swardones, whom we find placed between the Elbe and the Suevus, or Viader, on the north of the Longobardi;

^m Giannon Hist. Neapol. p. 294.ⁿ Marcellin. lib. xxviii.

cap. 5.

^o Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 106.

the Rugii, Lemnovii, Heruli, Gothones, or Gothini, the Sidui Carini, between the last mentioned river and the Vistula: as for the Angli, Saxi, Goths, and Huns, they will be spoken of in some of the following chapters. Meanwhile, we must not omit the country of the Æstii, an ancient tribe of the Suevi, who inhabited the coasts of the east sea, so remarkable for great plenty of amber. These people, Tacitus says, worshipped the mother of the gods, and placed such confidence in her protection, that they scarcely knew the use of iron weapons, or any thing but cudgels. He says the Æstii were more industrious than the rest of the Germans in cultivating their corn and other fields, and dived into the seas and rivers for amber, which they sold to strangers, rough and unwrought. In Nero's reign, by which time the Romans had entirely abandoned the thoughts of conquering Germany, one of that emperor's favourites persuaded him to send thither a kind of embassy to buy it upon the spot. The Roman knight, who was at the head of this expedition, leaving Carnuntum, a fortress on the bank of the Danube, arrived at the place, and met with a kind reception from the Æstii, from whom he bought and brought away, according to Solinus, thirteen thousand pounds weight of that commodity, which was designed by one of their kings, as a present to the emperor. We find in Cassiodorus, a letter sent by Theodoric, king of the Goths, to the Æstii, wherein he thanks them for a noble parcel they had sent to him of the same precious drug^p, and wherein he promises them his friendship, which, it seems, they were endeavouring to obtain by this valuable present.

Æstii and their amber trade.

Their religion.

A great quantity of amber bought by Nero.

Near the mouth of the Vistula, now Weychfel, near the Gepidæ; and farther north, on the coasts of the east sea, between these and the Æstii, were the Chaiboni. It cannot be determined whether these two were of German, Scythic, or Gothic extract; the Gepidæ are indeed affirmed to be Germans by some ancient authors^q; but we have had frequent occasion to observe, that they frequently confound those nations, so that we cannot depend upon their authority. Of the Chaiboni we know but little, except what we read of their invading Gaul in the time of Dioclesian^r, and of their being totally routed by Constantine the Great^s. The Gepidæ are famed in history for having formed themselves into a kingdom, and extending their territories into Pannonia; and taking the city of Sirmium, or Sirmish,

Gepidæ, their extract, and kingdom.

^p Varia. lib. v. epist. 2.

^q Vide Procop. de Bell. Vind. lib. i.

cap. 2. & Mascov. lib. x. cap. 6. lib. xi. cap. 21.

^r Cl. Mamertin.

Panegy. i. cap. 4. & 5.

^s Nazar. int. Panegy. Vet. ix. cap. 18.

The History of the Germans.

from the emperor Marcian ; as likewise for their wars with the Goths, Burgundians, and especially the Romans, for their invasion of Germany and Belgia, and for the terrible havoc they made, in conjunction with the Quadi, Vandals, and other northern nations, of which St. Jerom gives us a particular and dreadful account ^t (A). They maintained themselves in possession of all Dacia, till the emperor Justin's reign, when, being deserted by that prince, and Cunemund, their last king, being overthrown and killed by Alboin, king of the Longobards, there was a final period put to their kingdom. The Abares, who were allied with Alboin, took possession of Dacia, and the whole Gepidæan nation was dispersed ^u (B).

*The end of
it, and
them.*

*Germany,
how since
divided.*

*The natu-
ral clime
and pro-
duce misre-
presented
by the Ro-
mans.*

Germany, in the reign of Augustus, was divided into Germania Prima and Secunda, that is, Upper and Lower, defended by eight legions of Roman forces, which were, according to custom, employed in making roads, erecting fortifications, and other useful works, whenever they were not engaged in the field ^v.

As for the country of Germany itself, we have such a dreadful account transmitted of it, both by Cæsar and Tacitus ^x, that one would think it almost incredible that such a brave nation would have been contented to live in it, when they wanted neither strength nor courage to have forced their way into others, more pleasant and fruitful (C). It

must

^t Epist. ad Ager. de Monogam. ep. 92.

^u Excerpt. ex Me-
mand. ^v Bucher. Belg. Rom. cap. 12, 17, & 18. ^x Mor.
Germ. cap. 2. Cæsar. Comment. lib. iii, cap. 1.

(A) These Barbarians broke like an inundation, not only into Upper and Lower Germany, but Gaul, and even Spain. In the former they destroyed, among other cities, those of Strasburgh, Spire, Worms, and Mentz ; and in Belgia those of Rheims, Amiens, Tournay, Arras, and Terouane ; and carried the inhabitants captive into Germany. They likewise ravaged, in a horrible manner, the provinces of Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Narbonnensis, and carried off an immense plunder. The rest the reader may find in the letter above quoted.

(B) It is supposed, that the poor remains of the Gepidæ took refuge under the emperor Justinian, and he assumed, upon that account, the title of Gepidicus.

As for the unfortunate Cunemund, Alboin made a drinking-cup of his skull, a custom derived from their barbarous ancestors, of which we have had occasion to observe in the history of the Celtes and Scythians.

(C) According to them, it was barren, uncultivated, and frightful all over ; and even its variety of soil and climate added to the horror of it from the dreadful forests, stinking and unwhol-

must be owned, that the arrival of the Romans in Germany, as well as in Gaul, contributed much to the fertilizing and enriching those countries, which, till then, had been wholly neglected by both nations, who thought this, and every occupation but war, beneath their fierce and warlike genius. We are told, in particular, that the emperor Probus was the first who permitted vines to be brought into Gaul and Germany.

Vines, when first brought thither. Great forests in Germany.

Among those many woods and forests with which this country abounded was that called the Hercynian, and, by the Greeks, Orcinian Forest, the largest and thickest in Europe, reckoned by Julius Cæsar to have extended sixty days journey in length, and nine in breadth. Not only this, but all the forests, woods, and groves in Germany, even the trees, boughs, and leaves were esteemed sacred; and this is the reason why the ancient Germans made it a principle of their religion not to cut them down, unless it were some branches of the oak, and some other trees which they carried with them, on particular solemnities; but after this country was conquered by the Romans, many were cut down, partly for conveniency, and partly from a dislike of those superstitious and bloody rites, which were performed in them. Some are still remaining; and amongst others the Black Forest: the Bacenian, which parted the Suevi from the Cherusci, is by some supposed to be that of Thuringia, and by others the Black Forest last mentioned. The Cælian Forest, or Cælia Sylva, was also very famous: some suppose it to have been a remnant of the Hercynian, and part of it remains still in the duchies of Cleves and Westphalia.

Why not suffered to be cut down.

The Black Forest.

The Cælian.

They had a number of large rivers, of which we shall only mention the most considerable. At the head of these may justly be placed the Danube, now Ister, by far the largest in Europe. It has its rise in Swabia, and flowing through that province, Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Moldavia, Besserabia, and part of Tartary, and receiving about sixty other rivers in its course, falls into the Euxine or Black Sea, by two canals. It was once the boundary between Sarmatia and Germany, but became afterwards subject to the Romans, under the emperor Trajan.

Rivers.

Danube.

The Rhine, another famous river, which divided Germany from Gaul, and springs from the Rhætian Alps in the western borders of Switzerland, and northern of the Grisons: as it rises from two springs, which unite their waters

Rhine.

y Vopisc. in Vit. Prob. cap. 18.

unwholesome bogs, the inclemency of its winds, dampness of its seas, lakes, and rivers, and barrenness of its soil.

near

*Its two
branches.*

near Chur, now Coire ; so it divided itself into two streams, one of which falls into the Maese, and the other into the German Ocean : upon both accounts, perhaps, it is called, by Virgil, Rhenus Bicornis, or Bicorniger. It has now no passage into that ocean, but with the Maese above mentioned, below Briel, except that branch called the Yssel, which empties itself into the Zuyder Zee ^z.

Mouth.

This mouth, anciently known to the Romans by the name of Flavum, and still retaining that of Vlie, or Flic, was guarded by a strong castle.

Vistula.

The Vistula, now Weichsel, was another considerable river, which divided Germany from the European Sarmatia, whence the latter was called Germania Transsylvana. It had its rise in the Carpathian Mountains in Higher Silesia, and, crossing the Hercynian Forest, emptied itself, by three streams, into the Baltic Sea, near Dantzick. The Drave, or Draw, springs from the Alps in the Tyrolse, and, dividing Upper and Lower Hungary from Sclavonia, falls into the Danube near Esseck.

Moraw.

The Moraw rises in the confines of Bohemia, divides Moravia into two parts, and falls into the Danube not far from Vienna.

Nab.

The Nab, in Nortgow, hath its source near that of the Main, and falls into the Danube a little above Ratibon.

Neckar.

The Neckar, in Suabia, rises in the Black Forest, not far from the Danube, but takes a different course, and falls into the Rhine.

Regen.

Regen springs in Nortgow, on the borders of Bohemia, and empties itself into the Danube at Ratibon, thence called Regensburgh.

Weser.

The Weser, anciently Visurgis, descends from Franconia, and, passing by Aremen, falls into the German Ocean between the mouth of the Elbe and Ems. The former, called by the Romans Albus, and by the Germans Elve, Elbe, and now Elb, is very large and considerable, and hath its spring in the mountains called the Giant Mountains, Montes Heroum, in Silesia, on the confines of Bohemia, and, passing through it and Upper and Lower Saxony, falls into the sea at Ritzbuttcl, twenty leagues below Hamburg.

Ems.

The Ems, anciently Amisia, rises in the bishoprick of Paderborn, and, passing by Embden, the metropolis of East Friseland, and through the bay of Dullert, falls into the same ocean a little above the mouth of the Visurgis, or Weser.

*Lippe and
Yjel.*

The Luppia, now Lippe, and Isala, or Ysel, fall, the one into the Rhine, below Cologne, and divided the Bructeri and

^z See Mascov. German. & Lediard. *ibid.* sub ind.

Marſi from the Uſippi; and the other into the Foſſa Druſiana.

The Germans did not begin to build cities of any conſideration till after the arrival and ſettlement of the Romans, but were divided into cantons and diſtricts, like the Gauls, and lived in villages. Even thoſe famous large cities they now poſſeſs, were either moſt of them built by the Romans, or enlarged, beautified, and enfranchiſed by them. Such was the city of Cologne, formerly called Colonia Ubiorum, their metropolis. It is commodiouſly ſituated on the Rhine, and in the circle of the Lower Rhine, and is now the metropolis of the archbiſhoprick of that name, an imperial city, and a celebrated univerſity. To this may be added,

Cologne.

Colonia Trajana, another ancient Roman colony, below the former, by ſome thought to be the preſent Keyſerſwaert. Colonia Ulpia, now Cleves, the capital of Cleveſland in Lower Germany, ſuppoſed to have been built by Julius Cæſar, as well at that of Bonne, anciently Bonna Julia, ſituate above Cologne, and on the ſame river. This laſt is now the reſidence of the electors of Cologne.

Augſburgh, i. e. Auguſtus-burgh, anciently called Auguſta Vindelicorum, now the capital of Swabia. This is likewiſe an imperial city, very populous and commercial, ſituate on the Lech, not far from the Danube, and famed, among other things, for the Auguſtan confeſſion, or confeſſion of Augſburgh, which is that of the Lutherans.

Augſburgh.

Argentoratum, now Straſburgh in Alſace, the ancient capital of the Trebochi on the Rhine, is eſteemed one of the moſt ancient cities in Germany, and is now remarkable for its magnificent cathedral, and the ſpire and curious clock; but above all for a well, incloſed in that church, which was originally dedicated to ſuperſtitious and heatheniſh uſes.

Straſburgh.

Triers, another ancient city of Lower Germany, ſaid to have been built by Trebeſas, the brother of Ninus, 1496 years before Chriſt, and made a Roman colony in the time of Auguſtus. It became afterwards the largeſt city of Gallia Belgica, and was, for ſome time, the ſeat of the Weſtern empire, in the reign of Conſtantius^a. Here Valentinian triumphed, in a magnificent manner, over the Alemanni^b. Triers had been formerly the ſeat of the Gallic præfects, or of the præfectura Galliarum, and obtained the right of coinage from the Romans; at preſent it is only the

Triers.

^a Vide Cod. Theodoſ. & Epiſt. ad Pop. Alex. ap. Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 2.

^b Auſon. in Laud. Moſel. v. 410. Vide Maſcov. lib. vii. cap. 5.

metropolis of the ecclesiastic electorate of that name, though its bishops were formerly styled primates of Gaul, on account of its having been once the seat of the prefects ^c.

Ratisbon.

Ratisbon, in the circle of Bavaria, said to have been first built by Tiberius, where the diet of the empire is held.

Mentz.

Mentz, the residence of one of the ecclesiastic electors, in the lower circle of the Rhine, and situate on the banks of it, was formerly enlarged and fortified by Drusus, with several others on that river; such as Bonne, Andernach, and many others on the same river, as well as upon the Maese, Elbe, and Weser.

S E C T. II.

Of the Religion, Government, Laws, and Policy of the ancient Germans.

The religion of the ancient Germans almost the same with that of the Gauls.

Veneration for the mistle;

for their old prophetesses.

THE Gauls and Germans, being nearly allied to each other originally, received their religion, laws, and customs, from the same hand, and both retained them, some few particulars excepted, during a long series of ages, with invincible tenaciousness. With regard to their ancient religion, they entirely agreed in worshipping the Supreme Deity, under the name of Esus, or Hesus, falsely said, by Roman authors, to have been Mars, or Mercury. They worshipped him under the emblem of an oak, consecrated that tree more peculiarly to him, and had a great veneration not only for the tree itself, but for its leaves and fruit, especially the mistle, which they call, to this day, by the old name of *guthyl*, or *gutheyl*, that is, *good heal*, and ascribe extraordinary virtues to it, especially in epileptic diseases ^d. Their method of gathering it was the same which was observed by the Gauls. They held, like them, all other trees as sacred, though not in the same degree with the oak; all woods, forests, and deserts, as well as groves, lakes, rivers, and fountains, in high veneration. The druids had the entire care and direction in all religious, and the greatest authority in civil matters; only it may be here observed, that though both nations held some sort of women, whom they considered as prophetesses, in great esteem, yet the Germans exceeded the Gauls in this kind of superstition, and shewed

^c Pagi Annal. ad an. 332. ap. Mascov. lib. vi. cap. 32. ^d Vide Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xvi. cap. 44. Vide Cluver. Germ. Keyzler. Ant. Sept. Dissert. de visco, pass. Colebatch and Douglas on the Mistletoe, & al.

and

and retained a much greater fondness and veneration for their pretended oracles (D). In other things they were, as far as can be collected from Cæsar and Tacitus, subject to, and obliged to receive their directions, like the Gauls, from that grand druid, who had his residence in England, or some one of the British isles. If there was any difference between the Gauls and Germans in point of religion, it consisted only in this, that the latter, being more fierce and untractable, were not only more tenacious of their superstitious rites, but likewise more cruel and inhuman in them. They not only offered the same expiatory human victims, and used them in their auguries, but treated them much more cruelly than they, and made them undergo many horrid indignities and torments, before they dispatched them. Other victims they likewise offered of domestic animals, and of these the horse was reckoned the most acceptable. The flesh was, it seems, to be boiled, stewed, or dressed in some other way, in the heart of their groves; the fat and the flesh were served to the votaries, by way of feast, and the blood was sprinkled upon the altar, trees, and bystanders, by way of ablution; but though they did the same by that of human victims, it doth not appear that they eat the flesh. We have formerly observed, likewise, from Cæsar, Tacitus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Athenæus, and other ancient authors, that the Germans had no temples, but performed their religious rites in groves erected for that purpose, or in woods, forests, and desert places. Temples were not introduced in Germany till long after the Gauls

Subject to the grand British druid.

Cruelty to their human victims.

Sacrifices of beasts.

The Germans had anciently no temples.

(D) The Germans, warlike, fierce, and active as they were, and constantly employed either in war or hunting, might probably have committed the care of their sick and wounded to their women, who, having more time and leisure upon their hands, began to study the virtues of herbs, plants, and other medicinal substances. From this skill, which they generally intermixed with that of astrology, they might in time pretend to greater, and to be able to pry into futurity. The old women might likewise naturally give into dreams, visions, and

other superstitious observations, such as were then practised by almost all other nations; as the flight of birds, the ruining of rivers, and the colour of their waters; the entrails of victims, and such kinds of fortileges; till they at length raised themselves to such credit and admiration, that, if Tacitus may be credited, they were revered as a kind of goddesses; and, in particular, of the celebrated Velleda, of whom he speaks as of a person deified, and worshipped by the whole German nation (1).

(1) Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 61. & de Mor. Germ. cap. 8.

had erected them; and it is plain, that after the former had introduced the worship of Jupiter, Mars, &c. they still dedicated oaks, groves, woods, and whole forests to these deities, and performed their superstitious rites in them a considerable time before they could be brought to erect temples (E).

*Their deities.
Jupiter.*

We have already spoken of those inferior divinities introduced among the Gauls, such as Jove or Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, Diana, &c. The same were adopted by the Germans, though some of them under different names and attributes. Jupiter was worshipped under the name of Thor, Tharam, or Taran, i. e. *the Thunderer*. This name was given by the Gauls to Ma's also, on account of the clattering noise attending the operations of war. The Germans bestowed it on their Odin, or Woden, which was the same deity, as we shall see under the next article. The name of Jupiter, we have formerly shewn, was never adopted by the Gauls, nor does it appear to have been so by the Germans: if these had any other names for him than those we have mentioned, they have been since lost.

*Mars, or
Odin.*

Mars, called Odin, Othin, and Woden, has sometimes been confounded with Mercury by the Roman authors, and this is not surprising, as they were ignorant of their language, and could have little information from them concerning their religion or politics: for the Germans, as well as the Gauls, made it a constant maxim not to communicate any particular of either to strangers; and hence may be assigned the reason why some of them have even more absurdly imagined this Odin to have been the same with Hesus or Esus*, the Supreme Deity. The great veneration paid to the former, their calling upon him at the beginning of a

*Falsely confounded
with Hesus.*

* • Lucan. Pharsal. lib. i. Lactant. lib. i. cap. 12.

(E) This is evident, from what Tacitus relates of the goddess Hertha, one of their ancient deities, whose idol was preserved in a wood, or grove, Castum Nemus, upon a covered cart, and had but one priest to minister to her, and the only one who dared come near her. He adds, that whenever the deity chose to go out and air herself, or to take a view of mankind, that priest, who was

her only confidant, gave notice to the whole nation; upon which, nothing was to be seen but feasting and jollity among them, while she was carried about in her covered car, drawn by two heifers, and attended by her priest. His chief business was to observe when she appeared satiated with rambling, and to convey her into the sacred grove again (2).

(2) Annal. lib. v. cap. 9.

fight,

fight, and devoting all the plunder, and even lives of their enemies, might easily lead those authors to mistake him for the latter. Mars, when his worship came to be adopted, was always, as far as can be gathered from ancient monuments, represented in armour, though anciently under the type of a naked sword; whereas Hesus was only worshipped under the representation of an oak, or even the bare stump of that tree. Mars was worshipped not only as the god of war, but as the patron and guardian of those who were slain, whose souls the survivors bequeathed to him in these words, "Odin receive thee; mayest thou be with Odin!" If you ask what they supposed was to be their employment in that place of bliss which was called by them Valhalla, and of which Odinus was the chief disposer; some of their ancient poets tell you, that one of them was to carouse with exquisite beer in human skulls, whilst Odinus alone was allowed to drink wine. They were likewise to be served by elegant virgins, whose business it was to furnish them with a constant supply of whatever could make them happy and merry; and this notion of a Mohammed's paradise was no small incitement to warlike actions, since every man's felicity was to rise in proportion to the number of enemies he had conquered or killed (F). According to this opinion,

How represented.

The dispenser of future happiness.

† Edda Mythol. 34, & seq. Carmen in Lodbrog. Reg. ex vers. Barthol. Vide Mascov. & Lediard. Germ. lib. xiv. cap. 3. not. 1.

(F) The famous king Lod- as translated out of Edda by brog is introduced singing his Bartholine.
own requiem, in these words,

Pugnavimus ensibus
Hoc ridere me facit semper
Quod Balderi (Odin) patris scamna
Parata scio in aula
Bibimus cerevisiam brevi
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
Magnifici in Odini domibus
Non venio desperabundis
Verbis ad Odini aulam (3).

We with swords our valour prov'd.
This my laughter always mov'd:
When with Woden I shall be,
Seats shall be prepar'd for me.

(3) Edda Mythol. 30, & seq. Carm. in Reg. Lodbrog. supra citat. & al. &roph. 25.

There

we need not wonder at their consecrating so great a share, and sometimes all the plunder of their enemies, making him heir of all their wealth, keeper of all their treasure, and often vowing their own lives to him; since they expected to be so amply rewarded in the next life, and with such a kind of happiness as best suited with their genius ^(G).

Other deities uncertain.

Theology different from the Greeks, &c.

How much of this kind of idolatry they may have had before their becoming acquainted with the Romans, is difficult to prove; but after that time, especially when they were subdued by them, there is no doubt but they adopted many of their other deities, as well as a great number of their ceremonies and superstitions. However, it evidently appears upon the whole, that their ancient theology differed much from the mythology of the Romans and Greeks. The Germans, even according to the testimony of Roman writers, neither presumed to confine their deities within temples, nor to represent them under any forms ^b; nor admitted into that number any but such as they saw and received assistance and benefit from, such as the Sun, Moon, and Vulcan ¹, or the god of fire. Their veneration for their deified heroes and heroines, and the encomiums they lavished on them in their poetical performances, extended no farther than to their virtues and heroic exploits, their strength and courage, victories and conquests; whereas the Greeks

^a Vide inter al. Bartholin. de Contempt. Mort. in Dan. lib. ii. cap. 12. ^b Tacit. ibid. cap. 9, & 43. ¹ Cæf. Com. lib. vi. cap. 21.

There our ale in brimmers flows,
And the hollow skulls of foes
For our pitchers we shall choose.
No brave man e'er shrinks at death.
When I once resign my breath,
No despairing words shall show,
That reluctantly I go
To great Woden's court below.

(G) Their mythologists have split this Odin into two; the more ancient of the two some suppose to have been Mars, others the Sun, and the younger to have been one of their deified heroes: yet there is no doubt but that one may find a great resemblance between the ancient Germans, Suevi, Æstii, &c. and other most distant na-

tions: such, for instance, we may reckon the worship of the goddess Hertha, already mentioned, which agreed with that which the Romans and others paid to the earth, under the name of Magna Deorum Mater; or, as Tacitus says of the latter (4), their worship of Fria or Friga under that denomination.

(4) Germ. cap. 9, & 45.

and

and Romans not only attributed to their deities all their own imperfections, but even sanctified their most monstrous and unnatural vices^k.

The Germans, as well as Gauls, were early taught, by their druids, as fundamental truths, an over-ruling providence and the immortality of the soul. The misfortune was, that these two noble springs of virtue and religion did not run long uncorrupted; for as on the one hand a too eager desire in the people of prying into futurity, and a fatal ambition in their druids and diviners, of being thought more intimately acquainted with the ways of that providence, introduced an infinite variety of auguries and superstitions; and some of them were of the most inhuman and diabolical kind; so, on the other, the belief of a future life and immortality proved but too fatal an incentive to rashness, ambition, and cruelty, especially after they imbibed that poisonous notion hinted a little higher, that the surest way to happiness was to die in the field of battle; and that their felicity in the next world was to rise according to the number of enemies they had destroyed in this: an opinion which not only inspired them with barbarous courage and cruelty in their wars, but made them less solicitous to enquire whether the motives of them were just or unjust.

Next in authority to these pretended prophetesses were the druids, or rather priests. Cæsar says indeed^l, that they had no druids, as the Celtes; but Tacitus, who was better acquainted with the Germans, speaks frequently of their priests, whose office and authority, according to him, being similar to that of the Gaulish druids, shew them to have been the same order of men, though they did not, perhaps, bear the same name. For these priests, he tells us^m, were not only admitted to their public councils, but accompanied them in the wars, and bore great authority in both. And we are told, that they were the only persons who had power to impose silence in those meetings, to reprove or punish offenders; an authority which exactly agrees with what Cæsar says of the Gaulish druids, whose office it was to try, condemn, and even to inflict capital punishment.

As for their ancient laws and government, we can only say, that they discover those evident marks by which men, by degrees, were forced to form themselves into societies for their general good and preservation; to have magistrates to govern and protect them in times of peace, and generals to command and head them in war. Every tribe had its

Believed a providence and future life;

but given to horrid superstitions.

Their priests.

Their office, dress, &c.

Their laws and government.

^k Laſtant. Minut. Fel. Clem. Alex. & al. vi. cap. 21. ^m Tacit. ubi ſupra, lib. vii.

^l Cæſ. Comm. lib.

National councils.

own form of government, independent of the rest, except, perhaps, that they had some laws in common, for the better union and preservation of the whole body against foreign enemies, or to keep up a kind of balance amongst themselves, that one nation should not grow too powerful for the rest : in other respects each canton held their national councils at least once a year, in the spring, and oftener if need required, and there deliberated about peace or war, the choice of magistrates, and other annual officers, both civil and military ; the sending out of colonies or auxiliaries, and other points, according to their present exigence^a. These assemblies were so exactly observed, that we are told the last comer was sure to lose his life ; a practice which they adopted from the cranes, who did so by those which came last to rendezvous upon their taking their flight into other countries^o. It is very probable also, that all other matters were here finally determined by the plurality of votes, rather than by any body of laws they can be supposed to have had in those early days.

Kings, and their revenue.

In those states which were under a kingly government, they applied to the prince only in matters of smaller moment ; but in those which concerned the whole nation, to the grand council : neither did they allow any other revenues to those monarchs but a part of the fines, and such free-will offerings as the people thought fit to make of cattle, and the fruits of the earth ; so that they had little else to support their grandeur, except their hereditary estates^p. Their expence was, indeed, inconsiderable, because all their subjects, able to bear arms, were obliged to follow them into the field, and their nobles thought it an honour to make part of their retinue ; upon which account these had the free use of the prince's table, and were sometimes presented with a horse or some of his arms. The subjects were divided into several ranks or classes, such as nobles, free-born, freedmen, and bondsmen ; in each of which classes those were still most esteemed who had signalized themselves by their courage, conduct, or any worthy exploit. Their other laws were rather preserved by tradition and custom, than kept upon record, since we have often observed they made it a constant maxim not to commit any thing to writing ; but that they had some such laws is apparent from this, that they still retained many, even after those of the Romans had been introduced among them. They had likewise judges of their own, and their office was

*Three orders of subjects.**Laws.*

^a Voss. de Idololatr. lib. iii. cap. 22.
^p Tacit. cap. 15, & seq.

^o Tacit. cap. 11.

held in such esteem, that men of the highest rank were promoted to it, as well as those of the greatest probity, years, and discretion; even their princes sometimes took it upon them; and every judge had a number of assessors, with whom he might consult upon occasion ^{Judges.}

These general assemblies were held in the open country; for the Germans despised cities and fortresses, as monuments of servitude rather than as places of defence; and were some of the latest of the Europeans that either built any for themselves, or would take refuge in them: whenever they gave battle they chose to fight in the open field, and when worsted to retire into woods, marshes, and inaccessible places, where they could get provision for their cattle, and keep their pursuers at a distance, rather than to shelter themselves in towns and fortified places, where they might be caught as in a trap. It was a common saying among them, that even wild beasts would lose all their strength and courage if confined. We are told, that this custom subsisted in Gaul till the eighth century, and much longer in Germany. The whole nation being naturally of a warlike genius, and esteeming cowardice as the greatest reproach and disgrace that could be thrown upon them, all fortified places were considered by them as so many shameful places of refuge for the weak and pusillanimous; and they consequently despised them, as unworthy a brave people, who always scorned to take advantage of their enemy, whether in weapons, entrenchments, discipline, and stratagems. ^{Their State of war. Had neither cities nor fortresses;}

No nation could take more care than they did to inure their youth to hardships, to inspire them with a contempt of danger, and even of death, and to train them up to martial deeds. This was their chief and surest road to wealth, honour, and preferment, and, as their priests taught them, even to the greatest happiness in a future life. It was for this that the ambitious neglected agriculture, and despised all mercantile and mechanic employments, how necessary and advantageous soever, and obliged all who were able to bear arms to go into the field. Hence it was that they could always raise, in a very short time, such powerful and numerous armies either to repulse an enemy, or to assist their friends and allies; for whenever they were disengaged from war, the ablest soldiers were sent into foreign service, not singly, or according to their own option, but in ^{but a singular contempt for them.} ^{Youth, however educated.}

^a See Maslov. German. lib. ii. cap. 38.

cap. 64.

^c Cæf. Comm. lib. iii. cap. 29.

^r Tacit. Ann. lib. iv.

lib. iv. cap. 19, & 29.

^t Vide Pelloutier. Hist. Celt. lib. ii. cap. 5. sect. 4.

^u Cæf. Com.

lib. vi. cap. 22, & seq.

^w Maslov. lib. ii. cap. 37.

considerable bodies, and under the command of such officers as were appointed by the state; by which means, the whole nation not only shared in the honour of their exploits, but was likewise furnished with more experienced generals. Another advantage was reaped from it, namely, that, when any canton or state became too populous, they drew out such numbers as could be spared, to go and seek new habitations; and these, by being trained to war, could the better fight their way through, and maintain themselves in those countries where they fixed their habitation^x.

Their cavalry, and foot.

They had but little cavalry, in proportion to their foot, in which they placed the chief of their strength; but what they had of the former was extremely well disciplined, though their horses were inferior to those of the Romans, in size, swiftness, and dexterity, as well as in those evolutions which were so dexterously used by the latter^y. As for saddles and stirrups, they were quite neglected, by both Gauls and Germans, who were accustomed to mount and dismount by their own agility; and could, whenever occasion required, fight as well on foot as on horseback. Like the Gauls and Britons, they fought in separate cantons or tribes; that individuals might exert themselves the more manfully in defence of their relations, neighbours, and friends, and for the honour of their respective communities. We are told, indeed, that some of them, especially the Cimbri, formed their whole infantry into one square battalion, and placed their wives, children, and baggage, behind a fence made of their waggons: as soon as every thing was ready for the attack, the signal was given, and answered by a universal shout, which was redoubled in a most dreadful manner, till they came to close engagement. They practised no art or stratagems in fighting, but placed their whole confidence in a joint and furious onset on the enemy, and continuing it with a desperate intrepidity, till they had either won or lost the day; by which means, if they once met with a severe repulse, or were put into disorder, they seldom rallied again, but became stupefied and desperate, and either fought till they died, or else betook themselves to flight^z; for it was reckoned inglorious to yield themselves prisoners.

Weapons.

Their weapons were much inferior to those of the Romans; the cavalry used shields and spears in common with the foot, but the latter had, besides their darts, bows and slings, and seldom had recourse to their pikes and swords. Helmets,

^x Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 12.

^y Tacit. Germ. cap. 6.

^z Tacit. & Cæsar, ubi supra. Plutarch. in Mar. Valer. Max. lib. ii. cap. 6.

armour,

armour, and coats of mail, were generally despised; some of them even affected to fight naked: so that if any armour was worn among them, it was rather for distinction than defence: upon which account, they adorned them with the horns and heads of some wild beasts. Hence those frightful figures which Plutarch observed among the Cimbrian cavalry, some of which are still to be seen upon the seals and arms of those ancient times. Their shields, which they distinguished only by different colours, or some particular emblem, were reckoned so sacred, that they lamented it as the greatest disgrace to lose them in fight; because none durst appear either at their religious ceremonies, public assemblies, or even funerals, without them. Their arms were esteemed their favourite furniture, and chiefest ornament; they never appeared in public without them, and nothing was so earnestly wished for by their youth, as the day in which they became qualified to bear them^a. The sword was so sacred, that no oaths were reckoned more binding than those they took upon a naked blade^b; neither did they appear in public, or assist in any solemn rite, without their sword, shield, and spear^c. We are even told, that they wore them at their familiar visits, banquets, and religious dances. When a German sat down, he had his sword by his side, and a servant behind; to hold his shield and spear; and when he rose, he took them up again^d: in a word, he looked upon himself as wedded to his arms; and when he had worn them from his youth to extreme old age, he commonly caused them to be burnt or buried with him, when he died.

And method of using them.

Excessive fondness for their arms, shields, &c.

They were likewise greatly inferior to the Greeks and Romans in carrying on sieges, being strangers to those arts and instruments which were used by the latter, such as towers and circumvallations, battering-rams, mining, and countermining; placing their confidence in their missile weapons, as darts and stones, and their vigorous assaults and scalings; or, when besieged, in a resolute and intrepid resistance. If these failed, as they too often did, especially when they were engaged against the well-disciplined Romans, they fell immediately into confusion, and became an easy prey.

Sieges carried on without art, &c.

The Germans in general, however, observed a strict discipline with their soldiery; and cowardice and neglect of duty were severely punished among them: they were not,

Punishments.

^a Tacit. ubi supra, cap. 13.

^b Am. Marcel. lib. xvii. cap. 12.

^c Nic. Damasc. Ap. Stob. Serm. 164. Liv. Hist. lib. xxi. cap. 20.

Cæs. Com. lib. vii. cap. 21.

^d Athen. ex Possid. lib. iv. cap. 12.

*Murder not capital.**Disputes decided by the sword.*

indeed, so exact in other cases, but adapted their punishments to the different purposes of the commonwealth; were severe against some offences, and remiss towards others; insomuch that even murder was not esteemed capital amongst them^e, but was punished by a fine, of great or small cattle, as was deemed a sufficient compensation to the family for their loss. In disputes and accusations, whenever the case appeared doubtful or intricate, they had two expeditious ways of deciding the matter; the one by their pretended divine auguries, and the other by single combat; for in either of these they esteemed Providence as the chief director, and therefore submitted to its unerring judgment. When, therefore, Varus endeavoured to introduce the Roman laws among them, we are told, that they refused them; alleging, that it was their way to decide all controversies by the sword^f.

*Sciences.**Skill in physic**Music and poetry.*

They were altogether strangers to sciences, if we except those who lived by the sea-coasts, and had made some considerable progress not only in navigation, and building of ships, but probably also in some branches of astronomy, as well by observation as by their intercourse with other more polite nations: the rest were all rude and ignorant, and it is even doubted whether they knew the use of letters. Their greatest skill in physic consisted in the knowledge and application of certain plants and roots discovered by observation and experience, in which these pretenders intermixed a deal of superstitious trash; such as the time of the moon for gathering and applying them, charms, and other occult quackeries, which served only to excite the admiration of the vulgar. Music and poetry were much cultivated among them, though one would be apt to judge their tongue too harsh and inharmonious for the expression of either. But, besides that foreign languages appear more so to us than to the natives, we may reasonably suppose, that both their music and poetry being adapted to the genius of the German nation and tongue, their harshness might be considered rather as a majestic beauty than a defect: however that be, they had a set of men whose business it was to couch the heroic deeds of their warriors in lyric verse, and to sing them to the people, upon proper occasions. And as martial deeds were the common topic of these poems, and one part of the instrumental music, which accompanied it, was the clattering their swords against their shields, it is no wonder Julian the Apostate, whose ears were accustomed to more

^e Tacit. German. cap. 12. & 21.
cap. 183.

^f Vel. Patere. lib. ii.

gentle and harmonious strains, gives such a frightful account both of the German tongue, music, and poetry ^g.

Their sports, games, and exercises, were likewise of the masculine kind, and fit to inure them to the operations of war. The youth performed them naked, and with incredible agility, such as running, shooting, swimming, and leaping. Some equestrian exercises were much in fashion with them, as they were extraordinary horsemen. They were likewise fond of gaming to such a degree, that, when they had lost all they were worth, they would venture even their liberty upon one cast more of the dice ^h. Manufactures were not introduced very early among them, that of linen excepted, which was, perhaps, one of the first, if not the only one they cultivated, for a considerable time, as it was the favourite dress of their women, priests, and men ⁱ.

Games and exercises.

Their original dress, when they came first to clothe themselves, were the skins of beasts. The Germans and Britons seem to have been some of the last who exchanged them for cloaths made of flax and wool: these they did not wear long and full, as the Sarmatians, but short and strait, in order to display every limb of the body ^k. As they became more acquainted with the Romans, they not only improved in their dress, and the manner of weaving, flowering, and embroidering those stuffs of which they were made, but adopted a great number of manufactures, in which they have since excelled other nations. They did not soon acquire the liberal arts, or even that of writing: we are told, that Charles the Great caused some of their old barbarous poems, which they till then only sung from memory, and contained the actions of their ancient kings and heroes, to be committed to writing for their use, and to encourage them to learn to read ^l. The Saxons had such a contempt for letters, that they refused to learn to read the gospels till they were put into verse, and set to such tunes as they could easily sing ^m. Even their laws were not, it seems, reduced to writing till about the 12th or 13th century ⁿ: a circumstance which plainly shews that their runæ, or letters, which were used by the Franks, and appear from some inscriptions to have been an awkward character, partly Roman and partly Greek, are not of so ancient a date as some moderns have imagined, since Venantius, who lived

Trades.

Dress.

Writing.

^g Misopog. p. 336, & seq. ^h Tacit. ubi supra, cap. 24. ⁱ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxix. cap. 1. ^k Tacit. ubi supra, cap. 17. ^l Eginhard in Vit. Carol. Mag. cap. 29. ^m Vide Du Chesne Rer. Franc. tom. ii. p. 326. ⁿ See Schottel de Antiq. Germ. Jur. p. 254. Peloutier. Hist. Celt. lib. ii. cap. 10.

in the sixth century, is the first author who has made any mention of them.

Genius and character.

Before we conclude this section, it will not be improper to say something concerning the character and genius of the ancient Germans, which was pretty near the same throughout that large country. They are generally described to us by Greek and Roman authors as resembling one another, and differing from other nations in the largeness of their stature, ruddy complexion, blue eyes, and yellow and bushy hair, haughty and threatening looks, strong constitutions, proof against hunger, cold, and all kinds of hardship⁹.

Valour and fidelity.

Their native disposition displayed itself chiefly in their martial genius, and in their singular fidelity. The former they carried to such excess, as came little short of downright ferocity; but as to the latter they not only valued themselves highly upon it, but were greatly esteemed for it by other nations; insomuch that Augustus, and several of his successors, committed the guard of their persons to them, and almost all other nations either courted their friendship and alliance, or hired themselves as auxiliaries: though it must be confessed, at the same time, that their extreme love of liberty, and their hatred of tyranny and oppression, often hurried them to treachery and murder, especially when they thought themselves ill treated by those who hired them; for in all such cases they were easily incensed, and extremely vindictive. In other cases, Tacitus says, they were noble, magnanimous, and beneficent, without ambition to aggrandize their dominions, or invading those from whom they received no injury; rather choosing to employ their strength and valour defensively, than offensively; to preserve their own, than to ravage their neighbours¹⁰.

Their friendship and singular hospitality.

Their friendship and intercourse was rather a compound of honest bluntness and hospitality, than of wit, humour, or gallantry. All strangers were sure to meet with a kind reception from them, to the utmost of their ability; even those who were not in a capacity to entertain them, made it a point of duty to introduce them to those who could; and nothing was looked upon as more scandalous and detestable than a want of hospitality. They do not seem, indeed, to have had a taste for grand and elegant entertainments; they affected in every thing, in their houses, furniture, and diet, rather plainness and simplicity, than sumptuousness and luxury. If they learned of the Romans and Gauls

⁹ Tacit. Germ. cap. 4, & 30. Horat. epod. xvi. ver. 7. Juv. Sat. xiii. Auson. Idyl. vii. Comment. lib. i. cap. 39. Apol. lib. viii. cap. 9. & al.

¹⁰ Tacit. Germ. cap. 35.

the use of money, it was rather because they found it more convenient than their ancient way of bartering one commodity for another; and then they preferred those ancient coins which had been stamped during the times of the commonwealth, especially such as were either milled or cut in the rims, because they could not be so easily cheated in them as in some others, which were frequently nothing but copper, or iron, plated over with silver. This last metal they likewise preferred before gold, not because it made a greater shew, but because it was more convenient for buying and selling: and as they became, in time, more dreaded by, or more useful to the Romans, so they learned how to draw enough from them to supply their whole country, besides what flowed in from other nations.

Learn the use of money from the Romans.

As they despised superfluities in other cases, so they did also in the connubial way: every man was contented with one wife, except some few of their nobles, who allowed themselves a plurality, more for ostentation than pleasure, and both were so faithful to each other, and chaste, true, and disinterested in their conjugal affections, that Tacitus prefers their manners, in this respect, to those of the Romans. The men sought not dowries from their wives, but bestowed gifts upon them. Their youth, in those cold climates, did not begin so soon to feel the warmth of love as they do in hotter countries; it was a common rule with them, not to marry young; and those were most esteemed who continued longest in celibacy; because they looked upon it as an effectual means to make them grow tall and strong: and to marry, or consummate before they were full twenty years old, was accounted shameful wantonness ⁹ (H). The women shared with their husbands not only the care of their family, and the education of their children, but even the hardships of war. They attended them in the field, dressed their wounds, encouraged them to fight manfully against their enemies; and sometimes have, by their courage and bravery, recovered a victory, when it was upon the point of being snatched from them. In a word, they considered such constant attendance on them not as a servitude, like the Roman dames, but as a duty and an honour: but what appears to have been still a harder fate upon the ancient German women was, that their great Odinus excluded all

Marriages.

The wives efficient duty to their husbands.

⁹ Cæsar. Comment. lib. vi. cap. 21.

(H) With all this temperance, they are accused of having practised promiscuously the most brutal and incestuous intercourse with their women.

those

*A great
hardship
imposed
upon them
by Odin.*

those from his valhalla, or paradise, who did not, by some violent death, follow their deceased husbands. Notwithstanding their having been in such high repute for their wisdom, and supposed spirit of prophecy, and their continuing faithful and tender helpmates to their husbands, yet they sunk in time so low in their esteem, that according to the old Saxon law, he that hurt or killed a woman, was to pay but half the fine that he incurred for hurting or killing a man ^r.

*Their fun-
erals.*

There is scarcely any one circumstance in which the Germans, though so nearly allied in most of their other customs to the Gauls, were yet more opposite to them than in their funerals. These last performed the obsequies with pomp and profusion: whereas the Germans did the last offices to their dead with the same plainness and simplicity which they observed in all other things; the only grandeur they affected in them was, to burn the bodies of their great men with some peculiar kinds of wood; but then the funeral pile was neither adorned with the cloaths and other furniture of the deceased, nor perfumed with fragrant herbs and gums: each man's armour was flung into it, and sometimes his riding-horse ^s. The Danes, indeed, flung into the funeral-pile of a prince, gold, silver, and other precious things; while the chief mourners, who walked in a gloomy manner round the fire, exhorted the by-standers to make liberal offerings in honour of the deceased ^t. They afterwards deposited their ashes in urns, like the Gauls, Romans, and other nations. One thing we may remark, in general, that whatever sacrifices they offered for their dead, whatever presents they made to them at their funerals, and whatever other superstitious rites they might perform on such occasions, they were all the consequences of an established belief, that the soul was immortal ^u (I).

*Valuable
things flung
into the fu-
neral pile.*

We

^r Specul. Sax. lib. i. cap. 45.

Fatidic. cap. 2.

^s Vide Keyzler. de Mulier.

^t Saxo-Gram. lib. viii. Keyzl. Antiq. Sept. p. 115.

^u Vide Diod. Sic. Hist. lib. v. Amm. Marcel. lib. xy. Cæs. Comm. lib. vi. cap. 14. Strab. Mel. & al.

(I) In general, they seem to have had a twofold notion of this future state, the one to precede, and the other to come after, what they called, in their language, ragna rockur, or the

crepuscule of the gods, or heroes; by which they meant the consummation of all things by a general conflagration (1). So that, according to them, there was to be a future life of bliss

(1) Eddæ Mythol. 30, & 48. Eivind. Scaldaspiler. & al. ap. Keyzl' ubi supra, p. 119, & seq.

and

We shall close this section with observing, that the notion of future happiness obtained by martial exploits, especially by dying sword in hand, made them lament the fate of those who lived to an old age, as dishonourable here, and hopeless hereafter; upon which account they had a barbarous custom of sending them into the other world. This custom lasted for several ages after their receiving Christianity, especially among the Prussians and Venedi; the former of whom, it seems, dispatched by a sudden death, not only their children, the sick, and servants, but even their parents, and sometimes themselves * : and among the latter we have instances of this horrid parricide practised even in the beginning of the 14th century †. All that need be added is, that if those persons thus supposed to have lived long enough, either desired to be put to death, or at least seemed cheerfully to submit to what they knew they could.

*Unnatural
customs
flowing
from that
notion.*

*and continued till
the 14th
century.*

* See Christoph. Hartknoch. Antiq. Pruss. dissert. xiii. † Mar-
rescale Annal. Herul. & Vandal. lib. ii. cap. 8. Krantz. Vandal.
lib. vii. Keyzler. ubi supra, p. 147, & seq.

and misery, till the destruction of the world; and another, which was to follow it presently after, when a new sun, new heavens, and a new earth, were to be created, and in them a place of endless happiness for the good, and another of endless misery for the wicked.

The old earth being destroyed, they believed a new one is to start up out of the sea, which will produce all things necessary and delightful to its inhabitants; and that the males and females, which escape the general destruction, are quickly to replenish it with a more hopeful offspring: that on the south side of heaven there is a court much brighter than the sun itself, and which will be proof against the flames which are to destroy the rest of the creation; and there it is that the good will be preserved for that new and endless life: that the ge-

neral destruction is to be preceded by the most severe seasons, bloody wars, and enormous crimes, after which two monstrous wolves are to be let loose, who shall devour sun, moon, and stars: that the rainbow, by which the souls of the good went up to heaven, will be broken down: that some of the asæ, or deified heroes, shall begin an unsuccessful war, and Odin himself be devoured by one of the wolves; after which the universe is to be set on fire: that there is another court, as dismal as the other is glorious, whose gates open towards the north; the fences of it are entwined with the hinder parts of venomous serpents, whose heads are all turned towards the inside of it, and cast continual streams of deadly poison, which infects all the rivers round it, through which the wicked are forced to wade (2).

(†) Eddæ Mythol. 30, & 48. Eivind. Scaldaspiler. & al. ap. Keyz.
p. 119.

not

not avoid, their exit was commonly preceded by a fast, and their funeral by a feast; but if they endeavoured to shun it, as it sometimes happened, both ceremonies were performed with the deepest mourning.

*Excessive
love of
strong li-
quors.*

We must likewise observe, that in these funerals, as well as in all their other feasts, they were famed for drinking to excess; and it may be said of them, above all the other descendents of the ancient Cetes, that their hospitality and banquets consisted much more in the quantity of strong liquors than in the elegance of eating. Beer, and strong mead, were supposed to be the chief promoters of health, strength, fertility, and bravery; upon which account they made no scruple to indulge themselves to the utmost, not only in their feasts, and especially before an engagement, but even at their common meals.

S E C T. III.

The History of the Ancient Germans.

*Germans
divided in-
to variety
of states.*

WHAT induced the Romans to invade Germany, we have seen in the course of the Roman history. The Germans were then so far from being formed into one single community, that they were divided into a great number of small kingdoms and commonwealths. They might, indeed, regard themselves in general as a nation descended from the same stock, and therefore have some laws in common to all, either for supporting each other against foreign invaders, or for the preservation of a due balance amongst their great variety of commonwealths; but in other respects each had its particular form of government, laws, policy, and interest. They were all bred up in an excessive love of liberty, and hatred to all kinds of invasion; and could not, but with jealousy and resentment, behold the daily encroachments which the Romans continually made on all their neighbours, or consequently without uniting themselves more closely against them, and assisting those who were likely to fall the next sacrifice to the ambition of those conquerors. Hence arose those wars and conquests which ended in their total reduction; for the politic Romans soon took the advantage of their being divided into so many different republics; and by fomenting jealousies among some, bribing and corrupting others, and by using all their force and art against the rest, they found means to subdue them gradually: so that one state after the other fell a prey to their conquering arms, till the whole country was reduced into a Roman province.

*Grow jea-
lous of the
Romans.*

Before

Before we come to the Roman invasion, it will be necessary to mention some transactions relating to the ancient Germans, which are previous to that event; the first of which is the Gaulish irruption into their territories, under the conduct of Segovesus, whilst his brother Bellovesus made the like over the Alps. These two valiant princes were sons to the sister of Ambigatus, a king of the Celtæ, or Gauls, about the time of Tarquinius Priscus. That monarch of the Gauls, finding his subjects increase too fast for the extent of his territories, resolved to send out two large colonies to settle somewhere else, under the conduct of his two nephews. These being directed, as the Gaulish manner then was, by the flight of birds, the former passed over the Rhine, and settled in the Hercynian forest, whilst the other penetrated into Italy, as we have seen in a former volume. Whether the Germans had any concern in this latter expedition, does not clearly appear. If the regions lying at the foot of the Apennine hills were at that time inhabited by Germans, or Semi-Germans, as Livy calls them, there is no question but they might be hurried, by those Gaulish swarms, to follow them in the excursions, and share in the devastations and pillages which they committed: but hitherto it is uncertain whether the rest of the German nation were at all concerned in them, since Tacitus gives them this peculiar character, that they rather studied how to preserve their own, than how to invade the territories of others; and it is most likely that they did not begin to act offensively against the Romans, at least till they were alarmed at the greatness of their power, and the daily encroachments they made around them. Swarms of colonies they must be supposed to have sent abroad, to prevent being cramped for room, as they multiplied so fast; but there was so much land to spare towards the north parts of Europe, and so little on the south parts, where they were also sure to meet with a strenuous opposition, that they poured most of them towards the other way, at least till the Gauls, in some measure, obliged them to make reprisals.

*The Gauls
first expedition into
Germany.*

The first of these we meet with, and which, in all appearance, is of much later date than that of Segovesus into Germany, is that of the Belgæ, one of the fiercest and most warlike nations of Germany, who having passed the Rhine, and driven the Gauls out of a canton of that country, seated themselves so firmly in it, that neither their neighbours, whom they continually annoyed, nor any other nation, could ever drive them out. Cæsar adds, that they were not a

*Belgæ settle
in Belgic
Gaul.*

*Whence so
called.*

little proud of this settlement, and that they acted with a high hand over all their neighbours²; and they were, probably, called Belgæ, upon that account, that word, in the old Teutonic, signifying *fierce* and *quarrelsome*. They afterwards peopled the coasts of Britain, drove the natives into the inland parts, and waged continual wars with the Germans. From this irruption of the Belgæ into Gaul, which is the first the German nation made upon them, at least that we read of, these two nations continued in a kind of alternate state of hostility and friendship; sometimes invading each other's territories, at other times assisting each other against the Romans: but it is time that we should speak of those wars which the several German nations waged against these last, and the defeats in consequence of which they were subdued.

*Cimbri in-
vade Italy.*

The first who ventured to invade the Roman territories, were the Cimbri and Teutones: we have already spoken of their ancient settlement, the former in the Cimbrica Chersonesus, and the latter on the coasts and isles of the Baltic; but whether for want of room, or, perhaps, invited by the beauty of a warmer clime, both these nations marched through Noricum and Illyricum, penetrated into Italy, defeated the Romans in several pitched battles, and threw all Italy into the greatest consternation. In the first of these actions they vanquished the consul Papyrius Carbo; in another, they defeated M. Junius Silanus, another consul, who was soon after called to a severe account for his bad success; in the third, L. Cassius; and, in a fourth, the brave M. Aurelius Scaurus, whom they took prisoner, and put to death, by order of their king Bolos, for speaking too warmly in praise of the Romans: but after several other successes in Italy, they were totally defeated and destroyed by the valour and policy of the consul Marius. How greatly the Romans esteemed this victory may be proved by the triumph, and other singular honours, which they decreed both to Marius and to Catulus, as well as by the monuments which these caused to be erected in memory of this transaction. Those Cimbri, who escaped the dreadful slaughter, in all likelihood, returned into their own country; for they are said to have sent afterwards a submissive embassy to Augustus³; and are likewise mentioned, by authors of later date, as the most warlike of all the northern Germans⁴, down to Claudian's time, who calls the north sea by their name: but it is likely the Saxons, their neighbours, joir-

*Defeated
by Marius.*

² Cæsar. Comment. lib. ii. cap. 4.

Tacit. Germ. cap. 37. Ptolem. lib. ii. cap. 11.

³ Strabo, lib. vii.

ing with them in their excursions, and growing, by degrees, more powerful, the Cimbrian name was swallowed up in theirs ^c.

The next excursion we find recorded of the Germans, is that which happened in Julius Cæsar's time, on occasion of the jealousy, which it is justly supposed that politic conqueror fomented between the *Ædui* and the *Averni*, the two most potent nations in Gaul; the former of whom being in friendship with Rome, and the latter allied with the *Sequani*, these last thought fit to call in the neighbouring Germans to their assistance. At first, only fifteen thousand joined them; but they grew so enamoured of this delightful country, that, to keep their footing in it, they sent for fresh supplies from over the Rhine, insomuch that they amounted, at last, to one hundred and twenty thousand. The *Sequani*, by their assistance, soon subdued the *Ædui*; but their victory cost them dear; for they were forced by *Ariovistus*, the German king, to evacuate one third part of their kingdom, to afford a settlement for his troops. He soon after obliged them to cede another third, as a settlement for forty thousand *Harudes*, who crossed over to him, and, at the same time, by his address, induced Julius Cæsar, then consul, to allow him the title and honour of a king ^d: but it proved a short-lived kingdom, and Cæsar, who only caressed him for his own purposes, soon found a specious pretence to depose him. The great numbers of Germans which *Ariovistus* had brought into Gaul, and the success which attended their bravery, raised the Roman jealousy, and alarmed not only the *Sequani*, but the greatest part of the Gauls, who thereupon applied to the consul, complaining bitterly against the German devastations, and the danger they were in of being quickly swallowed up by these invaders. Cæsar turned all this to his own advantage, and desired an interview with the German prince, who found means to excuse himself from it, and to get six other nations, or cantons, to join him, besides his own *Suevi*, and a fresh reinforcement of those which were hastening over to him; upon which, Cæsar made what expedition he could towards him, to prevent their junction.

A conference was at length agreed upon, in which Cæsar used some threats, and plainly told him, that the Romans would doubly resent his tyrannic use of their old friends the *Ædui*, after they had shewed him so much regard, and bestowed such honours upon him; and therefore insisted, that he should restore their hostages, send back part of his Ger-

Ariovistus settles in Gaul, and forms a kingdom there.

Confirmed in it by Cæsar.

His interview with him.

^c See *Mæcov*, in fin. lib. i.

^d *Dio*, lib. xxxviii.

*Answer to
his threats.*

man troops, and forbear all future hostilities. To this imperious language Ariovistus, in vain, pleaded the right of conquest, his being invited into Gaul, and his treaties with the Sequani, and even offered his services and friendship to Cæsar himself: the conference was broken up, and followed by a dreadful engagement, in which the Germans were defeated with great slaughter. A considerable number, however, escaped across the Rhine with Ariovistus, who did not long outlive this disaster. In consequence of his death, the nations which fought under him dispersed themselves, the Marcomans into Boiohemum, under the conduct of Maroboduus; the Tribochi, Nemetes, and Vangiones, remained in Gaul, or went over the Rhine, and submitted, with the Ubii, to the Romans; for we find them still seated along the banks of that river ^c. As for those Suevi who were assembled on the same side, they retired, upon their receiving the news of his defeat; but a great number were cut off, in their flight, by the Ubii, who had been treated in a hostile manner by them. And thus ended this second expedition of the Germans into Gaul.

*Belgæ allies
to the Celtes
against
Cæsar.*

The very next year the Belgæ, alarmed at the success of the Romans, formed a grand alliance with the Celtes, Germans, and Gauls, in order to drive them farther from their neighbourhood. Cæsar, according to his custom, found means to sow such divisions amongst them, that many of those allies submitted to him; only the Nervii, Atrebatas, and Veromandui, stood firm, and though defeated at length, yet yielded him one of the dearest victories he had ever obtained: so that the whole Belgic nation was forced to submit to the Roman yoke ^f. Comius, a faithful dependent upon

*The Belgæ
subdued.*

Cæsar, was made king of the Atrebatas, and soon gained a considerable authority over all that country. The Atuati, about the same time, hearing of these rapid conquests, came in a body to the succour of the Atrebatas, and entertained no small contempt of the Romans, when they found them so far inferior in stature: they were, however, soon undeceived, to their cost, when being vigorously besieged in their capital, into which they had been forced to retire after the defeat of the Atrebatas, and unable to obtain better terms than to surrender at discretion, both their city, and all the garrison, to the number of fifty-three thousand, were sold by the conqueror.

*Fifty-three
thousand
Atuati sold
for slaves.*

Cæsar was, not long afterwards, forced into a war with two other German nations, the Tencteri and Usipetes; these, having been driven out of their own territories by the

^c Tacit. Germ. cap. 28.

^f Cæs. Comment. lib. ii. pass.

Suevi, the fiercest and most warlike of all the northern Germans, had passed into Gaul, and settled themselves in the neighbourhood of the Eburones and Condrusi. Cæsar was then at Rome, taking measures for obstructing the cabals of Lucius Opmitius against him; but was obliged to hasten into Gaul, to prevent their joining with that nation against the Romans. Upon his arrival, they sent an embassy to acquaint him with the reasons of their coming into that country, and to intreat that he would allow them settlements there, promising, on that condition, to serve him upon all occasions; otherwise declaring they would maintain their ground by force of arms. Cæsar not only refused to grant them their request, but fell suddenly and furiously upon them, and made a terrible slaughter. Of those who escaped, the greatest part perished in endeavouring to cross the Maese^s; but their cavalry, who happened not to be in the battle, crossed the Rhine, and fled to the Sicambri, whose territories lay between those two rivers. This retreat, and the assistance which the Ubii about Cologne solicited against the Suevi, afforded him a pretence for building a bridge over the Rhine, to the great surprize of all the Germans, but especially of the Sicambri, whose country he ravaged without mercy.

Tencteri and Usipetes defeated.

A bridge built over the Rhine.

This was the first time, in all probability, that the Romans set foot on the German territories, which became afterwards the scene of much bloodshed on both sides, both under that conqueror and his successors, and which ended in the conquest of this brave nation. The Treviri were the first who provoked that general to invade their country, who does not appear to have had any intention, upon his first entering Germany, to carry on a war against them, but only to keep them in awe, by convincing them that he was not afraid to attack them in their own territories (I). However that be, the Treviri, grown jealous of the Romans, had, by their credit, almost stirred up a general revolt in Gaul, which had groaned some time under the Roman yoke. This obliged Cæsar to send Labienus against them, whilst he went to the assistance of Cicero, who was, in some measure, besieged by the Nervii. We have already given an

The Treviri bring Cæsar into Germany.

Labienus's success against them.

^s Comment. lib. iv. cap. 1, & seq.

(I) Cæsar had two other views, the one to shew the Germans, by the example of the Sicambri, how dangerous it was to exasperate the Romans; and the other, by the timely assistance he gave the Ubii against the Suevi, to induce them to set a high value upon Roman friendship.

account of all these transactions, in the history of the Romans, to which we refer the reader.

*Germans
endeavour
to recover
their li-
berty.*

For the same reason we shall content ourselves with a summary recapitulation of the principal efforts which they made, in all favourable conjunctures, for the recovery of their liberty, and the desperate wars which they renewed, and carried on, against the Roman emperors, during several centuries, till they had accomplished their end, and subdued their conquerors.

*Revolt a-
gainst Au-
gustus;*

*and sup-
pressed by
Agrippa.*

*Lollius de-
feated by
them.*

In the reign of Augustus, who had issued out some edicts against the inhuman superstitions of the druids, which, in all likelihood, affected both nations, the Germans seized that opportunity to pass the Rhine, and ravaged those countries which were subject to the empire. Agrippa was sent against them, whose arrival so intimidated them, that they quickly repassed that river; but whilst he was gone into Spain; they repassed it, and defeated a body of Roman horse, and afterwards the Gallic proconsul M. Lollius, from whom they carried off a standard: but he soon recovered his honour, and drove them back again with considerable loss. All this time the Gauls were meditating a general revolt; upon which Drusus was sent to quell them, which he had no sooner done than he passed the Rhine, carried every thing before him, and penetrated almost to the German Ocean.

The dangerous revolt which happened among the Roman legions left in Pannonia, and which was happily quelled partly by Drusus, and afterwards wholly by Germanicus, gave occasion for a fresh invasion, which the last mentioned general carried on with great success, and much havock and slaughter of the Germans for fifty miles round; and, if we may believe Tacitus, without the loss of one single Roman. This action, which may be more properly called a massacre than a conquest, irritated some other German nations against them; but these likewise had the misfortune to be defeated. The Roman general had soon after a fairer field offered to him, by the rupture between the two German chiefs, Arminius and Segestes, the former a sworn enemy to the Romans, the latter a firm friend. What advantage Germanicus took of this rupture, we need not repeat, but only observe, that the Germans suffered several defeats, and Arminius himself, after some advantages gained over them, was totally routed. All that we shall add concerning this war is, that though it cost the Roman general very dear, yet he had received such reinforcements of men and arms from Gaul and other parts, that he hoped in one campaign to have reduced all Germany; but his success raised the jealousy of Tiberius, and occasioned his being recalled.

Their

Their other most considerable wars with the Romans were waged against the emperors M. Aurelius, Alexander, Maximin; Valerian, Aurelian, Probus, Constantius, Julian, Valentinian, and some of his successors; but these, and the sequel of their history, will be best seen in some of the subsequent chapters, where we shall speak of them under the names of Alemans, Gepidæ, Franks, Suevi, Heruli, and Burgundi.

All therefore that is necessary to add in this chapter, and that only by way of connection and introduction to the modern history of Germany is, that these frequent and successful inundations of those fierce and warlike northern nations happened about the time of the declension of the Western empire, when it had been not only much weakened by the division made by Constantine the Great, and afterwards by Theodosius, but most parts of it torn by intestine broils and wars, especially the provinces of Italy, Gaul, and Spain, divisions which proved a great encouragement to these Barbarians to invade and ravage them almost without resistance. In the first of these provinces Odoacer, king of the Heruli, made so successful an expedition, that Augustulus, then on the throne, not being in a condition to make head against him, was forced to yield the empire to him, a cession which put an end to that dignity in the West, as we have formerly hinted, and shall more fully unfold in a subsequent chapter.

*Decay of
the Western
empire.
Northern
invasion.
A. D. 476.*

The Heruli reigned not long in Italy before they were driven out of it by the Ostrogoths, and these were at length expelled by Justinian; so that the province became again a part of the Eastern empire; but it was already rendered so weak in every part, and more especially in Italy during the exarchate of Ravenna, that the popes found means to obtain the temporal as well as spiritual jurisdiction over a considerable portion of it; while the Lombards seized upon another part, which they erected into a kingdom. These last gave the pontiffs so much uneasiness, that pope Adrian I. who was then besieged in his capital by Desiderius, king of the Lombards, was forced to apply to Charlemagne for assistance, who came accordingly with a powerful army, and having defeated Desiderius, caused himself to be crowned king of Lombardy. By this expedition he became master of a great part of Italy, as he was before of France and Germany.

It was upon this occasion that the pope, as well to express his gratitude to that successful monarch for his past services, as to secure the friendship of so powerful a protector, and thereby his new-acquired temporalities, did, by

the consent of the Roman people, cause him to be declared emperor, and erected a new Western empire; but with this condition, however, that as that pontiff was lord of the territories about Rome, he should still continue to have his residence in that metropolis, while Charlemagne, whose dominions were mostly on this side the Alps, as well as in gratitude and complaisance to the popes, should fix the head of his new empire in Germany, that he might be nearer the center of it. Thus did Germany become the seat of the Western empire, which, though but a shadow of the ancient Roman, hath hitherto maintained itself under a constant series of imperial monarchs, as will be more fully related in the modern history.

But before we describe the progress of those northern invaders, it will be necessary, according to our plan, to pass over to the British isles, whose first inhabitants were undoubtedly of ancient Celtic extract.



C H A P. LXXXIV.

The Ancient State and History of Britain, to the Time of its being deserted by the Romans, and the Invasion of the Angles and Saxons.

S E C T. I.

Description of Britain: The first Inhabitants. The Customs, Religion, Government, &c. of the Ancient Britons. The State of Britain under the Romans.

Britain, called in more ancient times, Albion,

THE island which is now called Great Britain, and Scotland, with the principality of Wales, was, in more ancient times, by way of distinction, styled Albion, the name of Britain being then common to all the islands that lie round it. Hence Agathemerus, speaking of the British islands, "They are many in number (says he); but the most considerable among them are Hibernia and Albion^a." And Ptolemy, to the chapter wherein he describes the island now called Great Britain, prefixes the following title, "The

^a Agathemer. lib. xi. cap. 4.

Situation of Albion, a British island¹. But as this far excelled the other British islands, the name of Albion, in process of time, was entirely laid aside, and that of Britain, by way of excellency, used in its room. By this name it was known in Pliny's time, and even in Cæsar's. "The island of Britain (says Pliny), so much celebrated by the Greek and Latin writers, was formerly called Albion, the name of Britain being then common to all the islands round it²." And Cæsar observes, "The other angle of Britain, shooting out to the west, lies over-against Spain; on which side is Hibernia, an island thought to be half as big as Britain, and about the same distance from Britain as Britain is from Gaul³." Hence it is manifest, that the name of Britain, once common to all the islands in our ocean, was in Cæsar's time become peculiar to the island which is still known by that name. Whence it had the name of Albion is uncertain, some deriving it from the Greek word *alphon*, which, according to Festus, signifies *white*, the chalky cliffs that in several places rise on our coasts being of that colour; while others pretend this name to have been borrowed from a giant, the son of Neptune, mentioned by several ancient writers. Some of our etymologists have recourse to the Hebrew tongue, and some to the Phœnician; *alben* in the former signifying *white*, and *alp* in the latter *high*. The derivation from the Greek word *alphon*, or from the Hebrew *alben*, seems to be countenanced by the British poets, who style Britain, *Inis Wen*, that is, the *white island*^m.

Various conjectures concerning the original of this name.

The origin of the name Britain is no less uncertain than that of Albion. Nennius, and some other British writers, derive it from Brutus, whom they likewise call Brito, the fifth in descent from the celebrated Æneas. Others bring it from the British words *pryd cain*, that is, a *white form*, softened by degrees into Britannia. The learned Camden derives it from the word *brith*, which, in the ancient language of the island, signifies *painted*, and *tania*, importing in Greek a *region* or *country*, so that the name Brithania changed, in process of time into Britannia, expresses what the Britons really were, that is, *painted*. Somner, disliking Camden's etymology, supposes that the name Britain comes from *prydio*, signifying, in the British tongue, *rage*, in allusion to the violent motion of the sea that surrounds the island. Of these four etymologies the first is founded on a fable; and against the other three lies one common, and, in our opinion, unanswerable objection, which is, that the name

Whence styled Britain. Various etymologies of the word Britain.

¹ Ptol. lib. ii. cap. 3.
v. cap. 1.

² Plin. lib. iv. cap. 16.

^m Vide Seld. Annot. ad Poly-alb. p. 20.

³ Cæf. lib.

of Britain was given to the island by foreigners, who could not borrow it from the British tongue, with which they were, in all likelihood, unacquainted. That the island received the name of Britain from foreigners is evident, since the natives never styled themselves Britons, nor their country Britain, their true name being Cumri or Cumbri; whence Cambria, the name of Wales to this day among the Welsh. Besides, the second etymology, deriving Britain from pryd cain, appears too far fetched. As to Camden's etymology, Somner observes, that Cæsar, in telling us the Britons painted their bodies with woad, speaks only of the inhabitants of Albion; whereas, all the isles in our ocean were called by one general name, Insula Britannicæ, British Islands. Is it probable that a name, common to all the islands in our ocean, should owe its origin to a custom peculiar to one, though the most considerable amongst them? With respect to the rage and fury of the sea, whence Somner derives the name of Britannia, it is not true that the sea rages more on the coast of Great Britain than elsewhere.

*Bochart's
opinion the
most na-
tural.*

The learned Bochart, speaking of the colonies and language of the Phœnicians, offers a conjecture, which most of our modern writers have adopted as the most natural. The Phœnicians, according to that writer^a, called this island, and some others near it, Bara-Anac, that is, *the land or country of tin or lead*, and more contractedly Bratanac; which name, passing from the Phœnicians to the Greeks, and from these to the Romans, might have been softened into that of Britannicæ and Britannia.

*Description
of the coun-
try.*

Britain lies opposite to France and Germany, in a triangular form, having three promontories stretching out three different ways; Belerium, the Land's-end, towards the west; Cantium, the Kentish or North Foreland, towards the east; and Traviſum or Orcas, Cathness, towards the north. It is divided from Ireland, to the west, by the Vergivian or Irish sea; washed on the north by the northern ocean; on the east, where it faces Germany, by the German ocean; and on the south, towards France, by the British channel, called by the Romans Fretum Britannicum. Some writers have conjectured, that, where the channel is most contracted, the island was anciently joined by an isthmus to the continent. It lies between the 50th and 59th degrees of north latitude, extending from north to south about 560 miles. Its breadth is various; and in compass its three sides are found to contain, allowing for the windings of the coast, about eighteen hundred miles.

^a Bochart. lib. i. cap. 39.

The fertility and pleasantness of Britain gave occasion to Iſaacius Tzetzes to imagine, that theſe were the Fortunate Iſlands deſcribed by the poets, where the face of nature ſmiled with a perpetual ſpring. It was, in former times, the granary of the Weſtern empire; for hence an immense quantity of corn was every year transported for the ſupply of the armies on the frontiers of Germany.

The ſouthern parts of Britain were peopled, according to Cæſar *, by the Gauls. Tacitus is of the ſame opinion †; which is followed by moſt of the ancient as well as modern writers. It is chiefly founded on the ſimilarity obſerved by the Roman writers between the two nations in their cuſtoms, manners, language, religion, form of government, and way of fighting. Beſides, as the Gauls ſent colonies into Italy, Spain, Germany, Thrace, and Aſia, it is but reaſonable to conclude, that they did the ſame with reſpect to Britain, which lay ſo near them, that they could diſcern it from the continent, and was no leſs plentiful than the other countries where they ſettled. As for the more northern inhabitants of Britain, Tacitus infers, from the make of their limbs, and other circumſtances, that they came from Germany ‡; and Cæſar telling us that they were Aborigines, ſeems to imply, that he diſcovered no affinity in their language, manners, and cuſtoms, with thoſe of Gaul, and the ſouthern parts of Britain.

Its firſt inhabitants.

The Picts, who poſſeſſed the eaſtern parts of Britain, which lay north of the Tyne, the venerable Bede ſays, came out of Scythia in long ſhips, and landed firſt in the north of Ireland; but not being ſuffered to ſettle there by the Scots, who then poſſeſſed that iſland, they were adviſed to plant themſelves in the north part of Britain; which they did accordingly, with the aſſiſtance of the Scots, who likewiſe ſupplied them with wives to perpetuate their colony, on this condition, that, in all diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown, the Picts ſhould prefer the female to the male line of their former kings; “which is obſerved among them (ſays Bede) to this day.” By Scythia, Bede perhaps meant the northern parts of Germany; for that Scandinavia, now comprehending the kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, was, by the beſt writers of the middle ages, ſtyled Scythia, is proved by the learned Uſher §, and Stillingfleet ¶; of whom the latter admits, as not improbable, the conjecture of Hector Boetius, deriving the Picts from the Agathyrfi who from Sarmatia came into Cim-

The origin of the Picts.

* Cæſar, lib. v. cap. 16. † Tacit. Vit. Agr. § Bed. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 1. ¶ Uſ. Antiq. Brit. cap. 15. § Stillingf. Orig. Brit. cap. 5.

*Whether
the Picts
and Britons
one
and the
same
people,*

brica Chersonesus, and from thence into Scotland. As no Roman author mentions the Picts before Ammianus Marcellinus, who lived about the end of the fourth century, some writers are of opinion, that the Picts were not a distinct people from the Britons, but such of that nation as, to avoid the tyranny of the Romans, had retired into the northern part of the island, were continuing to paint their bodies, they were by the Romans called Picti, to distinguish them from those, who, submitting to Rome, had laid aside that custom, and adopted the Roman manners. To confirm this opinion, they allege the authority of Camden, who, in his introduction, endeavours to shew, that the names of places formerly held by the Picts in the south and west parts of Scotland, are British; and consequently, that the language of the Britons and Picts was the same: but that these two nations spoke different languages, is manifest beyond dispute from Bede, who tells us, that, in his time, God was served in five several languages in Britain; of the Angles, of the Britons, of the Scots, of the Picts, and of the Latins; which latter was commonly used in divine worship. Now this difference of language, which Bede, who lived so near a neighbour to the Picts, could not be ignorant of, overturns all the arguments that are alleged to prove, that the Britons and Picts were the same people. Besides, it is certain, that the Picts were for several ages a distinct nation, differing both from the Scots and Britons, not only in their language, but in their laws and customs. The contrary opinion is entirely built on the conformity of the name Picts with the Latin word Picti; which is but a weak foundation, since some writers, and among the rest Verstegan, derive the name of the Picts from a word in their own tongue signifying warrior. The Scots called them Pehiti, which name, in the opinion of some antiquaries, answers that of Picts, from the Latin word Picti; but others think altogether improbable, that the Scots, who were late subdued by the Romans, and continued but a short time under their dominion, should give their neighbours a Roman name.

*The origin
of the Scots.*

As for the origin of the Scots, Bede affirms, that they came into this island out of Ireland: "In process of time (says that writer¹), Britain received a third nation, namely, the Scots, besides the Britons and Picts, who, coming out of Ireland, under the conduct of Reuda, possessed themselves of those territories, which they still hold among the Picts." From this Reuda, adds our historian, they are

¹ Bed. lib. i, cap. 1.

called,

called, to this day, *Dalreudini*, the word *dal*, in their language, signifying *share* or *portion*. This, however, is a matter of great uncertainty.

To return to the Britons: their manners, customs, religion, and form of government, are described, not only by Cæsar in his Commentaries, but by others, and perhaps more fully, who wrote after the Romans were become masters of the island. The country was, according to Cæsar, well peopled and stocked with cattle. Their houses were not unlike those of the Gauls. They used copper or iron plates, weighed by a certain standard, instead of money. If they reared domestic fowls, hens, or geese, it was for their diversion, being strictly forbidden by their religion to eat them. Of all the Britons, those who inhabited Cantium or Kent, were the most civilized, not differing much in their manners from the Gauls. The more inland people, in general, sowed no corn, their usual food being milk and game, with which their woods and plains were well supplied. The use of cloaths was scarce known in the island. The inhabitants of the southern coast covered their nakedness with skins of wild beasts, carelessly thrown over them, not so much to defend themselves against the cold, as to avoid giving offence to strangers, who came to trade with them. All the Britons stained their bodies, with the juice of woad, of a sky-colour, and wore long hair; but shaved the rest of their bodies, except their upper-lip. One custom prevailed among them, which seemed detestable to other nations; which was for ten or twelve men, brothers or friends, to have wives in common*. This custom continued some time after the Romans were masters of the island; for Diodorus Siculus relates, that a British lady, being upbraided with this usage by Julia, wife to the emperor Severus, replied to this effect: "Surely the Roman ladies ought not to reproach us on this account, since we do publicly with the best of men no more than what they do privately with the worst of their freedmen and slaves". They abstained from all manner of fish, though the seas, that surrounded their island, and their rivers, were plentifully stored with them.

The customs and manners of the ancient Britons.

Their towns, or rather villages, were composed of wretched huts, placed at a small distance from each other, and generally in the middle of a wood, the avenues to which were defended with slight ramparts of earth, or with the trees, that were cut down to clear the ground. Strabo tells us, that they exceeded the Gauls in stature, but their bodies

Their towns and houses.

* Cæf. Comm. lib. v.

† Diod. Sic. lib. lxxvi.

were:

were not so well-set; that he saw, at Rome, some of their youth taller by half a foot than other men; that they had many princes and distinct governments; that their woods served them instead of cities; for having cut down trees, and inclosed a large round spot of ground, there they built huts for themselves, and folds for their cattle². Diodorus Siculus speaking of the manners and customs of the ancient Britons, "Their houses, says he, are made of reeds or wood; they lay up their corn in the ear in granaries, taking from thence no more than what they consume in one day; they are simple and honest in their dealings, and strangers to the craft and subtlety of our countrymen; their manner of living is remote from the luxury of other nations; they are satisfied with a very mean and frugal diet; their island abounds with men, who are subject to divers kings and princes." Tacitus writes, that the Britons, in their manners, resembled the Gauls, a resemblance which was owing either to the same original, or the like climate; that the Britons however, not yet enervated by a long peace, displayed greater intrepidity in war; that they were formerly governed by kings, but were, in Agricola's time, divided by petty princes into parties and factions. He adds, that nothing was of greater advantage to the Romans against the most powerful among them, than their not consulting one common interest, nor their joining to repel common dangers. Thus, while they fight separately, says that author, they are all alike subdued³. Dio Cassius, as epitomized by Xiphilin, speaking of the more northern Britons, says, that they tilled no ground, their food being game and fruit; that they lived in their huts naked; that they had wives in common; that the chief authority was vested in the people; that, in war, their arms were a shield, and a short spear, to the lower end of which was fastened a ball of brass, in order to terrify the enemy with the noise, when they shook it. "They are inured to hunger, cold, and all manner of hardships, continues the same writer, and, when in the woods, can live upon the bark and roots of trees." He adds, that on all occasions, they had ready a certain kind of food, of which if they took but the quantity of a bean, they were not troubled with hunger or thirst for a considerable time after⁴. Herodian and Solinus, describing the more northern nations of Britain, say, that they knew not the use of garments, but girt their waists and necks with iron, by way of ornament, that metal being

*Manners of
the more
northern
Britons.*

² Strab. lib. iv.
apud Xiphilin, lib. lxxiii.

³ Tacit. Vit. Agric. cap. 2.

⁴ Dio,

no less in request among them, than gold was among other nations; that they made deep incisions in their bodies in the shape of flowers, trees, and animals, which, with the juice of woad, they painted of a sky-colour, that never wore out ^a. "They are a warlike nation (adds Herodian) and most greedy of slaughter. In war they use a narrow shield, a lance, and a sword. They consider breast-plates and helmets as an incumbrance ^b." Pliny observes, among their other customs, that they wore rings on their middle fingers, and manured their land with marl; a remark which must be understood of the more civilized Britons dwelling near the coast; for the others, as we have observed above, did not apply themselves to agriculture.

As to their manner of fighting, Cæsar, who extols their valour, and the undaunted bravery with which they went to battle, tells us, that they made use of chariots, driving furiously among the enemies ranks, and discharging their darts, by which means they often put the Romans in disorder. When they engaged the horse, they quitted their chariots to fight on foot, their charioteers in the mean time retiring, and arranging themselves in such a manner, that their masters, if overpowered by numbers, might readily find them, and have an easy retreat. "By this manner of fighting, they had," says Cæsar, both the speed of the horse, and the steadiness of the foot, and were, by daily practice, so expert, that they could stop their horses on a steep descent, though in full career, turn them into a narrow compass, run along the pole, sit upon the yoke, and from thence, with incredible quickness, return to their chariots."

Their manner of fighting.

Their trade was very inconsiderable, notwithstanding the convenient situation of their island for carrying on an extensive commerce. Their vessels were very small, their keels and ribs made of slight timber, interwoven with wicker, and covered with hides; circumstances which shew, that they undertook no long voyages; for, in all likelihood, they never ventured to sea beyond the coasts of Gaul. Their chief traffick was with the Phœnician merchants, who, after the discovery of the island, which happened, according to Samnes, before the Trojan war, yearly exported great quantities of tin, which they sold to the Greeks, and other distant nations.

Their trade.

The religion of the ancient Britons was much the same with that of their neighbours the Gauls. They worshipped Jupiter under the name of Taramis, or Taran, signifying in the ancient British language, as it does still in the Welsh,

Their religion.

^a Herodian, lib. xi. & Solin. lib. vii. cap. 8. ^b Herodian, lib. xi.

thunder.

abundex. Maximus Tyrius writes, that they paid divine worship to the highest oak they could find, as the figure or representation of this god: Their other deities were Tutates, called by the Britons Duw Taith, *the god of journies*, and supposed to be the same with Mercury; Hesus, called also Camulus, according to Camden, *the god of war*, or the Mars of the Romans; Beleus or Belinus, that is, Apollo, who is also supposed to have been called Belatucardus, this inscription, Deo Belatucardo, being found in several monuments of antiquity. They worshipped Diana under the name of Camma, and paid a very particular veneration to Andate, their goddess of victory, who had a temple at Camalodunum, now Malden, in Essex: to her they are said to have sacrificed their prisoners of war ^c.

The druids.

The care and direction of all religious matters was, by the Britons as well as the Gauls, committed to the druids, whose authority was great, not only in religious, but civil affairs. Their name was probably derived from the British word *deru*, or the Greek word *drus*, both signifying an oak, not only because they esteemed nothing more sacred than the mistleto that grows on the oak, but likewise because their usual residence was in groves of oaks; nor did they perform any of their ceremonies without some branches or leaves of that tree ^d. They were held, both by the Britons and Gauls, in such veneration, that their power was almost absolute. To them belonged the care of private and public sacrifices, the interpretation of religion, the bestowing rewards, or inflicting punishments, the deciding controversies, let the difference be of what nature soever; and whoever refused to obey their decree, whether lord or vassal, was excluded from the sacrifices. Persons thus excommunicated, were reckoned in the number of the wicked, and, as such, avoided by all, not allowed to commence a suit, or to discharge any public office.

The superintendent or pontiff of the druids.

These druids had a superintendent or pontiff, to whom they were all subject. Upon his decease, the most worthy succeeded him; but if there happened to be several candidates of equal merit, the election was decided by a majority of votes, and sometimes, as Cæsar relates, by the sword. Once a year, the druids of Gaul had a general assembly in the midst of the country, to whom persons resorted from all quarters, who had any controversies to decide, every one submitting cheerfully to their decrees ^e. The discipline of the druids was thought to have been first instituted in Britain, and from thence transferred to Gaul. The druids

^c Dio, lib. lxxiii.

lib. vi. Plin. ubi supra.

^d Vide Plin. lib. xvi. cap. 44.

^e Cæs.

were

were exempted from all military duties, taxes, and imposts, and received such encouragement, that many embraced that order. The youth, especially the nobility, were educated by them. Those who embraced the same profession, were first obliged to learn by heart a great number of verses, which often employed them for the space of twenty years; as the druids never committed any thing to writing.

One of the chief tenets they taught, was the immortality of the soul, and its transmigration from one body to another; which doctrine they esteemed as proper to inspire them with courage and a contempt of death. They instructed their youth in several other traditions concerning the stars, and their motions, the extent of the world, the nature of things, and the power of the immortal gods. There were women as well as men druids; for a female druid of Tungria, now the bishoprick of Liege, foretold to Dioclesian, as we read in Vopiscus, when a private soldier, that he should one day be emperor. The sect and religion of the druids spread as far as Italy; for Augustus published an edict, forbidding the Romans to celebrate their mysteries. Besides the druids, there were, among the Britons and Gauls, priests of an inferior rank, called bards, whose province it was to celebrate the exploits of their heroes in verses, which they sung to the harp. The bards were still found in Britain, after the Romans had entirely abandoned it.

Their tenets.

The same form of government prevailed in Britain as in Gaul; that is, the whole country was divided into several small states, with a head over each, dignified by authors with the name of king. Of these heads or kings, Cæsar mentions four in the small compass of Kent. Whether these states were hereditary, or elective, we find no where recorded. In great and imminent dangers, one of those heads or kings was, in a general assembly, and by universal consent, chosen commander in chief of all their forces. Thus, when Cæsar invaded the island, the chief command of all the British forces was conferred upon Cassibelanus; and when the Britons revolted in the time of Claudius, Caractacus, king of the Silures, was chosen general. As in other cases, the several states, into which Britain was divided, had no dependence upon each other, they had, no doubt, quarrels and contests among themselves. But of their affairs before Cæsar's invasion we have no account, but such as would be deemed fabulous; and therefore at that period, and no higher, ought the English historian to begin his history.

The civil government of Britain.

That part of Britain which comprehends the present kingdom of England, and the principality of Wales, was in

Division of the country.

*The Dan-
monii.*

in ancient times divided into seventeen petty states, whereof the inhabitants were distinguished by the following names, the Danmonii, the Durotriges, the Belgæ, the Attrebatii, the Regni, the Cantii, the Dobuni, the Cattieuchlani, the Trinobantes, the Iceni, the Coritani, the Cornavii, the Silures, the Dimetæ, the Ordovices, the Brigantes, the Ottadini. That part of Britain which extends a great way to the West, and is bounded on the north by the Severn sea, on the south by the British ocean, and on the west by St. George's channel, was anciently inhabited by those Britons who are called by Solinus Dunmonii, by Ptolemy Domnonii, and, in the more correct copies, Danmonii. In the tract, or peninsula, now comprehending the counties of Cornwall and Devon, the following places are mentioned by Ptolemy, the estuary Vexalla, formed by the confluence of the two rivers Pedredus and Ivellus, now the Parret and the Ill; the promontory of Hercules, about half-way between that estuary and another promontory called by Ptolemy Bolerium, and by Diodorus Siculus Belerium. The promontory Belerium, which is by Ptolemy called also Antivestæum, is the most western point of Britain, now known by the name of the Land's-End. Not far from this shoots out to the south the promontory Danmonium, or Ocrinum, now the Lizard. On the south coast the following places are taken notice of by our geographer, Voliba, now Falmouth; the mouth of the Tamara, now the Tamar or Tamer, on which stands the town of Plymouth; the mouth of the Isca, now the Ex. The inland places mentioned by Ptolemy, are, Isca Danmoniorum, Exeter; Tamare, Tavistock; Uxella, according to Camden, Lestwithiel.

Durotriges.

Next to the Danmonii, eastward, were the Durotriges, inhabiting that tract, which is now called Dorsetshire. In this country Ptolemy takes notice of one place only, which he calls Dunium, and Antoninus, in his Itinerary, Durnovaria. All critics agree, that, instead of Dunium, we ought to read in Ptolemy Durnium; and that this was the ancient name of Dorchester, the chief town of the county of Dorset. To the north and east of the country of the Durotriges, were situated the Belgæ, who possessed Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire. In this country Ptolemy and Antoninus mention on the coast Magnus Portus, Portsmouth; and Trifantonis Portus, Southampton, so called from the river Trifanto, now Hampton, on which it stands. Either Portus Trifantonis, or another place very

Belgæ.

* Ptol. lib. ii. cap. 3.

* Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 22.

near it, is called by Antoninus, Clausentum. In the inland country stood Venta Belgarum, Winchester, a place of great fame in ancient times, as we read both in Ptolemy and Antoninus; Aquæcalidæ, or, as Antoninus styles it, Aquæfolis, so called from its hot waters, now Bath; Iscalis or Ischalis, Ilchester. On the Belgæ bordered the Attrebatii, *Attrebatii.* the inhabitants of Berkshire. The Attrebatii, as well as the Belgæ, came originally from Belgic Gaul, according to Cæsar^h, and settling in Britain, retained their ancient names. The chief city of the Attrebatii was Calcuæ, as Ptolemy calls it, or Caleva, as it is called by Antoninus, now Wallingford. Antoninus mentions another place, Spinæ, which, according to Camden, still retains its ancient name, being called Spene; but is now only a village near Newbury, which rose out of its ruins.

On the country of the Attrebatii bordered that of the *Regni.* Regni, comprehending Surry, Suffex, and part of the sea-coast of Hampshire. In this country Ptolemy mentions but one city, namely, Noviomagus, which is also taken notice of by Marinus Tyrius, as appears from Ptolemyⁱ. Some antiquaries suppose this to be the present town of Guilford; but Noviomagus was only ten miles distant from London, as we read in Antoninus's Itinerary; whereas Guilford is thirty. Camden asserts, that, in his time, were still to be seen the ruins of a city, answering exactly the distance set down in the Itinerary. Besides Noviomagus, Antoninus mentions several other places in the country of the Regni, namely, Othona, which was, according to the Notitia, the station of the Roman soldiers called Fortenses. Camden takes Othona to have stood where Hastings is now built; Portus Adurni, at present the small village of Ederington; and Regnum, now Ringwood, that is, the wood or forest of the Regni, into which they fled for protection. In the country of the Regni, namely at Ockham in Surry, where the Wey falls into the Thames, at a place to this day called Coway-stakes, from the stakes with which the Britons had fenced the bank, Cæsar passed the Thames, and entered the territories of Cassivelaun. That commander crossed the Thames eighty miles from the sea; and this is the only place, at that distance, where the river is fordable.

To the east of the Belgæ and Attrebatii, lay the country of the Cantii, called by Ptolemy and Cæsar^k, Cantium; by *Cantii.* Bede, Cantia^l, now Kent. The places in Cantium, mentioned by the ancients, are, Durovernum, Durobrivis, Du-

^h Cæsar. Comm. lib. v. cap. 12. ⁱ Ptol. lib. i. cap. 15. ^k Ptol. ubi supra. Cæsar. Com. lib. v. cap. 14. ^l Bed. Hist. lib. i. cap. 26. & lib. iii. cap. 3.

*Count of
the sea-
coast.*

rolenum, Portus Rutupiae, Portus Dubris, Regulbium or Regulvium, and Portus Lemanis, now Canterbury, Rochester, Lenham, Dover, Reculver, and Lime. Ptolemy reckons Londinium, London, among the cities of the Cantii; but he was certainly mistaken in this particular. When the Roman government was established in Britain, the sea-coast of Kent, which they termed Litus Saxonicum, or the Saxon Shore, had, from the time of Dioclesian, a particular governor, called by Marcellinus, count of the sea-coast, and by the Notitia, count of the Saxon shore, whose province was to prevent the Barbarians, especially the Saxons, who began to infest Britain, from plundering the country. In imitation of the Romans, our ancestors appointed a governor or portreeve over this coast, commonly called the warden of the cinque ports, from his presiding over five ports. Caesar landed, when he invaded Britain, in the country of the Cantii, and, as is commonly believed, at Deal, on the twenty-sixth of August, in the afternoon, fifty-four years before the birth of Christ^m. Cantium is separated from the continent by a narrow sea, called by Solinus, Fretum Gallicum; by Tacitus and Ammianus Marcellinus, Fretum Oceani, and Oceanus Fretalis. We have now described that part of Britain which is bounded by the ocean, the Severn sea, and the river Thames.

Dobuni.

On the north side of the Thames, near its head, are placed by Ptolemy the Dobuni, the ancient inhabitants of Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire. In their country that writer mentions but one city, namely Corinium, called by Antoninus, as far as we can conjecture from the distances set down in his Itinerary, Durocornovium, which stood in or near the place where the present town of Cirencester stands. Two other places are taken notice of by Antoninus, called Altona or Avone, and Clevum or Glevum, built by the Romans, to curb the Silures, now Alvington and Gloucester. To the east of the Dobuni lay the country of the Cattiuchlani, Calyuchlani, Cattidudani, Cathcludani, as they are styled in different copies of Ptolemy's works. Dio calls them Cattuellani, and also Cassii. In their country, which comprehended Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire, the following places are named by Antoninus; Laetodorum, Bedford; Magiovinium, Athwell; Dufocobrivis or Durocobriva, Hertford; Pontes, placed in the Itinerary twenty-two miles from London; and Verulamium, mentioned not only by Antoninus, but by Ptolemy, and all the Roman writers, who speak of Britain. Camden

*Catti-
uchlani.*

^m Vide Halley Philosoph. Transact. N^o. 193.

supposes

supposes Verulamium to have been the town of Cassivelaun, which was taken by Cæsar^a. In Nero's time it was a municipium, as we read in Tacitus^b; but being afterwards destroyed in the Saxon war, the town of St. Alban's rose from its ruins, which are still called Verulam. In the country of the Cattieuchlani, Ptolemy mentions only Verulamium, which he calls Urolamium, and Salenæ, of which no traces are remaining. Before the arrival of Cæsar, the Cattieuchlani had reduced great part of the country belonging to the Dobuni, and were constantly at war with their neighbours.

Next to the Cattieuchlani were the Trinobantes, as Cæsar calls them, or Trinonnantes, as they are styled by Tacitus and Ptolemy. They inhabited the present counties of Middlesex and Essex. To them belonged the city of London, called by Tacitus, Ptolemy, and Antoninus, Londinium; by Ammianus, Lundinum; by Stephanus, Lindonion; and by Bede, Lundonia, and civitas Lundonia^c. There seems to have been no such place as London in Cæsar's time; and yet it was a city of great trade in Nero's, as appears from Tacitus. It must, therefore, have been founded between the times of these two emperors, and, in all probability, about the time of Claudius. Tacitus calls it a place famous for trade, and the concourse of merchants, though not distinguished with the title of colony. Whether in process of time it attained this honour, may be questioned; for though Ammianus Marcellinus styles it Augusta, yet we cannot from thence conclude, that it was a Roman colony, since many antiquaries are of opinion, that the emperors allowed some towns, that were not colonies, to assume that title^d. Perhaps it took the name of Augusta from Constantine the Great, who is said to have surrounded it with a wall. Ptolemy, as we have already observed, and also Ravennas, place London in Cantium, on the south side of the Thames. The other towns of the Trinobantes were, Durolitum, Cæsaromagus, Cononium, Camalodunum, and Colonia, now Leiton, Burghstead, Cannonden, Maldon, and Colchester. Camalodunum, called by Ptolemy, Camudolanum, was the first Roman colony in Britain, granted by the emperor Claudius to the veterans, who, driving out the natives, settled there; but they were afterwards themselves, in a general insurrection, either expelled, or put to the sword, the theatre, the temple of Clau-

Trinobantes.

London, when founded.

The first Roman colony in Britain.

^a Cæf. Comm. lib. v. cap. 21.

^b Tacit. lib. iv. cap. 33.

^c Bed. lib. ii. cap. 4, 7, 3.

^d Vide Cell. Geog. Antiq. tom. ii. lib. ii. cap. 4.

dius, and the several villas in the neighbourhood, belonging to the Roman commanders, being totally demolished by the incensed Britons, who beheld the colony as the seat of slavery¹.

Iceni.

The country bordering on that of the Trinobantes, comprehending the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, was inhabited by the Iceni, called by Ptolemy *Simenti*, and by others *Tigeni*. Camden is of opinion, that the Iceni were the people whom Cæsar calls *Cenomagni*². To them belonged the following places, mentioned both by Ptolemy and Antoninus, *Villa Faustini*, *Cambretonium*, *Sitomagus*, *Venta Icenorum*, *Garienis Ostium*, *Iciani*, *Brannodium*, and *Durobrivæ*, now *St. Edmundsbury*, *Bretenham*, *Thetford*, *Castle*, *Yarmouth*, *Ichborough*, *Brancaster*, *Dornford*. In the Roman times, the commander of the horse under the count of the Saxon shore was stationed at *Ostium Garienis*, called also *Oppidum Garianorum*; and the *Dalmatian horse*, as appears from the *Notitia*, at *Brannodunum*. To these we may add *Camboritum*, mentioned by Antoninus though not by Ptolemy, and in the *Itinerary* placed on the *Cam*, where the present town of *Cambridge* stands; which Camden supposes to have been built out of the ruins of *Camboritum*.

Coritani.

On the Iceni bordered the *Coritani*, whose country comprehended Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire. Their chief places were, *Lindum*, *Lincoln*; *Tripontium*, *Towcester*; *Bennavenna* or *Beneventa*, thought to be *Northampton*; *Rata*, or, as Ptolemy calls it, *Rage*, according to Camden, *Leicester*; *Verometum*, *Burrowhill*; *Margidunum*, *Margedoverton*; *Pontes*, *Panton*; *Crococolanum*, and *Agelocum*, or, as Camden will have it, *Adelocum*, *Idleton*. *Lindum*, called by Bede, *Lindocolina civitas*, was, according to Ptolemy, the metropolis of the *Coritani*. In this county, between the springs of the *Nen* and the *Avon*, are still visible the ruins of ancient fortifications, and military fences, erected, as Camden believes, by *Ostorius* governor of Britain, after he had fortified the banks of the *Severn*, the *Avon*, and the *Nen*, in order to prevent the irruptions of those who inhabited *Wales*, and the north parts of Britain. When the banks of the two latter rivers, the one running eastward, and the other westward, were well defended, the only passage from the north into the hither part of Britain was between the springs of those two rivers; and this pass was fortified with strong works, the ruins of

¹ Tacit. Vit. Agricola. cap. 16.

² Camd. Brit. p. 434.

which

which are still to be seen at Gildsbrough and Dantrey. Ostorius, says Tacitus¹, after having disarmed such as were suspected, by fortifying the banks of the Antona and Sabrina, restrained them from breaking into the province; where, instead of Antona, mentioned by no other writer, Camden reads Aufona, or Avona, which name was common to the Nen and Avon².

To the west of the Coritani were situated the Cornavii, *Cornavii*, who, according to Ptolemy's description of their country, seem to have possessed Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire. Their chief towns were Branonium, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Branogenium, Worcester; Præsidium on the Aufona or Avona, Warwick, where the prefect or commander of the Dalmatian horse was posted, by the appointment of the governor of Britain, as we read in the Notitia; Pennocrucium, Penkridge; Viroconium or Uricomium, the metropolis of the Cornavii, probably built by the Romans, when they fortified the banks of the Severn, which is here fordable, and no where lower. It is now a small village, called Wrockcester. Out of its ruins rose the present town of Shrewsbury. Deva, or Deuna, on the river Deva, from whence the town borrowed its name, now Chester. It was anciently a Roman colony, and the station of the twentieth legion, surnamed Victrix. Condate, Congleton; and Rutunium, now Roughton.

The principality of Wales, formerly comprehending the whole country beyond the Severn, was, in the Roman times, inhabited by the Silures, the Demetæ, and the Ordovices. To these belonged not only the twelve counties of Wales, but likewise the two others lying beyond the Severn; namely, Herefordshire and Monmouthshire, now reckoned among the English counties. The Silures and Demetæ inhabited that district which is now known by the name of South Wales, and comprises the following counties, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Glamorganshire, with Herefordshire and Monmouthshire. With respect to the origin of the people, Tacitus is of opinion, that they came originally from Spain, on account of their ruddy complexion, their curled hair, and their situation over-against that country. They were a warlike people, of great intrepidity and resolution, utterly averse to servitude, and great sticklers for liberty. In Herefordshire stood Bletium, now the Old Town on the Munow; and about three short miles west of the present city of Hereford, near the village of Kenchester, Ariconium, mentioned by Antoninus. In this

¹ Tacit. lib. xii. cap. 31.

² Vide Camd. Brit. p. 404.

country are to be seen the vestiges of several Roman camps. In Brecknockshire, towards the north, where it is divided from Radnorshire by the Wye, some place Bullæum Silurum; but others think it stood in Glamorganshire. Brecknock, the chief town of the county, was inhabited in the Roman times, as appears from several coins found there, from a brick discovered, with this inscription, LEG. II. AUG, and from a square camp near this place, called by the natives Gaer, that is, *fortification*.

*Venta Si-
lurum.*

In Monmouthshire, about three miles from Chepstow, which stands near the conflux of the Wye and the Severn, is placed by all our antiquaries Venta Silurum, called to this day Caer-Went, that is, the city Venta; but now only some ruins of it are to be seen. On the north-west border of the county stood Gobannium, mentioned by Antoninus, at the junction of the Ifca, now Wyk or Uyk, and the Gavenni, whence it took the name of Gobannium, which, with a small alteration, it retains to this day, being called Aber-Gavenni, that is, the confluence of the Gavenni or Gobannium. About twelve miles from Gobannium, Antoninus places Burrium, where the Birdhin or Borthin falls into the Uyk. This place is now known to the Welsh by the name of Brynbiga, and to the English by that of Uyk. On the other side the Uyk, twelve miles from Burrium, stood Ifca Silurum, where the second legion was stationed; whence it is styled by Antoninus, Legio Secunda, and by the Britons, to this day, Caer-Lheion, or Caer-Wyk, that is, the city of the legion, or of the river Uyk. The Legio Secunda, called also Britannica Secunda, was raised by Augustus, and removed from Germany into Britain by Claudius, under the conduct of Vespasian, to whom, upon his aspiring to the empire, it secured the British legions. It was placed in garrison at Ifca by Julius Frontinus against the Silures; and long after that, in the reign of Valentinian, translated from thence by count Theodosius, the father of Theodosius the Great, to Rutupia, as we read in the Notitia and in Marcellinus *. At Ifca Silurum, many monuments of antiquity, have been discovered, as the reader will find in Camden *. The most southern county, formerly belonging to the Silures, is Glamorganshire, where, at a small distance from the Remney, which divides it on the east from Monmouthshire, is Caer-Phily castle, in the opinion of Camden, the most noble and ancient piece of architecture remaining in Britain. That this castle was built

* Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxvii. cap. 18.
p. 718. 728.

* Vide Camd. Brit.

by the Romans seems extremely probable, though we have no other reason to conclude it Roman but the stateliness of its structure, no Roman inscriptions, statues, coins, or other monuments of antiquity, having ever been discovered there. Camden thinks it was the *Bullæum Silurum*, of which we have spoken above.

The remaining part of South Wales, comprehending *Demetæ*, *Caer-Mardhinshire*, *Pembrokeshire*, and *Cardiganshire*, was likewise inhabited, according to Pliny, by the *Silures*; but Ptolemy, to whom Britain was better known, placed another nation here, called by him *Demetæ* and *Dimetæ*. In the country of the *Demetæ* Ptolemy takes notice only of two places, *Loventium* or *Luentium*, at the mouth of the *Tuerobis*, now the *Towy*, and *Maridunum*, or, as Antoninus calls it, *Muridunum*, now *Caer-Mardhin*.

The country now distinguished by the name of North Wales, and comprehending *Montgomeryshire*, *Merionethshire*, *Caernarvonshire*, *Denbighshire*, and *Flintshire*, was inhabited by the *Ordovices*, a brave and powerful nation, who defended themselves first against the Romans and afterwards against the English, when the other Britons were subdued; for by the Romans they were not reduced till the time of Domitian, nor by the English till the reign of Henry I. In their country, namely, in *Montgomeryshire*, where the village of *Meivod* is situated at present, stood formerly, according to the conjectures of the best antiquaries, the city of *Mediolanum*, celebrated both by Ptolemy and Antoninus. Besides *Mediolanum*, Antoninus mentions several other places in the country of the *Ordovices*, such as *Segontium*, on the river *Sejant*, whence, without all doubt, it took its name; *Conovium*, now *Conway*, and *Varis*, of which the ruins were to be seen in Camden's time, near the village of *Bodwar*. In this country are the vestiges of several ancient forts raised by the Romans, to awe and keep in subjection the natives. Opposite *Caernarvonshire* lies the island of *Mona*, now *Anglesey*, the ancient seat of the druids, first attempted by *Paulinus Suetonius*, and afterwards reduced by *Agricola*. It was called in the British tongue *Môn*, and, when conquered by the English, *Anglesey*, that is, the English Island.

The *Brigantes*, whom *Stephanus* calls *Brigæ*, a numerous and powerful people, and much commended by the ancient writers, possessed *Yorkshire* and the bishoprick of *Durham* towards the east and the German ocean, and to the west *Lancashire*, *Westmorland*, and *Cumberland*. In *Yorkshire*, and in the *West-riding*, on the *Dan*, now the *Don*, stood the city of *Danum*, mentioned by *Antoninus*, and in

the Notitia called the station of the Crispinian horse. *Nennius* styles it *Cacr-Dann*; but it is now known by the name of *Doncaster*. *Olicana*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, is, from its situation with respect to *Eboracum* or *York*, thought by *Camden* to have been the spot where *Ilkly-on-the-Wharf* now stands. It was rebuilt in the reign of *Severus* by *Virius Lupus*, legate and *proprætor* of Britain, as appears from an ancient inscription dug up there¹. The second cohort of the *Lingones* was quartered here. Near the confluence of the *Calder* and the *Aire* stands the small village of *Castleford*, formerly, according to *Camden*, *Lageolium*, or, as *Antoninus* styles it, *Lagetium*. *Colcaria*, according to some *Tadcaster*, according to others *Aberford*, is mentioned by *Antoninus*, but not by *Ptolemy*. *Isurium Brigantum* is placed by both on the *Ure*; and by *Camden* thought to have been situated where the present village of *Aldborough* stands, at a small distance from *Boroughbridge*.

Eboracum,
now York.

Eboracum or *Eburacum*, now *York*, on the *Ouse*, was the metropolis of the *Brigantes*. It owed, no doubt, its origin and grandeur to the Romans, for it was both a Roman colony and a municipium, as appears from several ancient inscriptions². The sixth legion, called *Victrix*, sent out of Germany into Britain, was quartered here in the time of the *Antonines*, and likewise the ninth in *Galba's* reign. In this city the emperors had a palace, in which *Septimius Severus* and *Constantius Chlorus* died. In the *East-riding*, about seven miles from *York*, stood *Derwentio*, now *Auldby*, a small village on the *Derwent*, formerly *Derwentio*. At the same distance from the *Abus*, now the *Humber*, where the small town of *Wigton* stands, stood, in the Roman times, *Delgovitia*; and on the promontory, called by *Ptolemy*, *Ocellum*, now *Holderneffe*, the city of *Prætorium*, now *Patrington*.

Remark-
able places
in Lan-
castre.
Westmor-
land.

The only places in *Lancashire* mentioned by *Antoninus*, are *Mancunium*, now *Manchester*; and *Alone*, called in the *Notitia*, *Alione*, now *Lancaster*, the chief town of the county, to which it gives name. In *Westmorland*, two short miles from the *Ituna* or *Eden*, stood *Veteræ*, now a village called *Burgh*. Not far from hence stood *Aballaba* on the *Ituna*, the station of the *Mauri Aureliani*. It retains its ancient name, being now called by contraction *Apelby*. At *Whallop* castle appear vast ruins of an ancient town, where Roman coins and urns have been frequently dug up. Here stood, according to *Camden*, *Gallagum*, mentioned by *Pto-*

¹ Vide *Camd.* p. 867.
Anton. It. Brit. p. 19.

² *Grut.* p. 485. *Gale* in *Comment. ad*

Tenny, and called by Antoninus, Gallatum; which conjecture agrees with the distances in the Itinerary. From this place an old causeway runs almost in a strait line for about twenty miles, to Caer-Varran, near the Picts wall. Upon this causeway, now commonly called the Maiden-way, Camden thinks that the stations and mansions, mentioned by Antoninus in his ninth Iter, were settled. At Brougham, according to Camden, the ancient Brocovum and Brevoniacum of Antoninus, called in the Notitia, Brocaniacum, where a cohort of the Defensores was quartered, several coins and other monuments of antiquity have been found. In Cumberland the sea-coast was fortified by the Romans in such places as were convenient for landing.

Cumberland, &c.

Many remains of antiquity are still visible at Moresby, perhaps, as the present name seems to imply, the Morbium of the ancients, where, according to the Notitia, the Equites Catafracta were quartered. At the head of the Wize, a small river which falls into the Waver, are the ruins of an ancient town, called by the neighbouring inhabitants Old Carlisle, perhaps the Castra Exploratorium, placed somewhere hereabout by Antoninus; for it is seated on a high hill, and therefore, as it commands a free prospect round the country, was very convenient for discovering an enemy. From several inscriptions it appears that the Ala, named Augusta, and Augusta Gordiana, was quartered here in the time of the emperor Gordian. A little higher jets out a small promontory, below which is a large arm of the sea, at present the boundary of England and Scotland, and formerly of the Roman province and the country of the Picts. On this promontory stood Blatobulgium, now Bulnesh, from which, as the most remote limit of the province of Britain, Antoninus begins his Itinerary. At Blatobulgium are frequently found Roman coins and inscriptions. A mile beyond it, at low water, are to be seen the foundations of the famous wall called the Picts Wall, built by the Romans to restrain the Barbarians from breaking into the province. Though a vast arm of the sea comes up here about eight miles, called by Ptolemy Itunæ Æstuarium, now Solway-frith, yet at low water the Scots and Picts found means to ford it.

Remains of antiquity.

Upon the same frith stands Drumburg castle, formerly *Ituna Æstuarium*, a Roman station; and thought by Gale to be the ancient Blatobulgium. This frith is called by Ptolemy, Itunæ Æstuarium, from the river Ituna, now Eden, which here falls into the bay. It is now called Solway-frith, from the town of Solway in Scotland standing upon it. At the present Burgh-upon-Sands was another Roman station. At a small

distance from the confluence of the Eimot and the Loder stands Penreth, according to Gale, the Voreda of Antoninus. The city of Carlisle, having the Eden to the north, the Petervil to the east, and the Caude to the West, was by the Romans called Luguwallum, Luguballum, and Lugubalia. The word *vallum* was no doubt derived from that famous vallum of the Romans, which ran close to the city. The word *lugus* or *lucus*, signified among the Celtæ, who spoke the same language as the Britons, a *tower*; for what Antoninus calls Lugo-Augusti, Pomponius Mela styles *Turris Augusti*; so that Luguwallum signifies a *tower on the vallum*. This city was a place of great consequence in the Roman times, as appears from several monuments of antiquity found in that neighbourhood, and from the frequent mention made of it by the ancient writers.

Ottadini.

Next to the Brigantes, Ptolemy places the Ottadini, Ottadeni, or Ottalini, according to the various readings of the several copies. Camden reads Ottatinos, because they dwelt ultra Tinam, beyond the Tyne. Their country extended from the wall at least to the Tweed, and was afterwards part of the province Valentia; for so count Theodosius named it, after he had recovered it by driving out the Barbarians. It is now called Northumberland, as lying north of the Humber. In this country, near Caer-Vorran, part of the wall was still standing in Camden's time, fifteen feet in height, and nine in breadth. Bede writes that it was only twelve feet high; and his account is, generally speaking, exact; for where there has not been any extraordinary fortification, what was still standing in Camden's time came near to that height, and no part exceeded it. The breadth which Bede allows of eight feet, is pretty exact; for every where it still exceeds seven. In this country have been discovered many monuments of antiquity, of which the reader will find an account in Camden². Beyond the wall, and at the mouth of the Tina or Tyne, stood Segedunum, now Seton, where resided, according to the Notitia, the tribune of the sixth cohort of the Lergi. At a small distance from Segedunum, Antoninus places Corstorpitum, or, as Camden reads it, Morstorpitum, according to him Morpeth. On the north side of the Alaunus, now the Aln, and not far from that river, stood anciently Bremenium, from which Antoninus begins his first journey in Britain. Some take Bremenium to be Rochester, near the head of the Rhead, others to be Brampton. At Gabrosentum, according to some Newcastle, was quartered the second cohort of the Thracians. The coun-

² Camd. Brit. p. 1071.

try of the Ottadini reached to Edinburgh-frith; but the only places taken notice of by the ancients between Bremenium and that frith, called by the Roman writers Bodotriæ Æstuarium, are Tæi or Tavi Ostium, the mouth of the Tweed, and Castra Alata, thought by all our antiquaries to be Edinburgh. On the west coast, between Solway and Dumbriton friths, are placed by Ptolemy the Selgovæ, and the towns Trimontium and Oxellum, subject to them.

To the north of the Selgovæ were the Damnii, in whose country, extending to Dumbriton-frith, anciently Glotæ Æstuarium, stood the following towns described by Ptolemy; Colania, Coria, Alauna, and Victoria. The Horesti, mentioned by Tacitus, are placed by Camden between the Selgovæ and the Ottadini. Agricola entered their country, as we read in Tacitus, and having received hostages, commanded his admiral to sail round Britain. Hence Camden infers, that their country bordered on Solway-frith, and that the Roman fleet was then riding there. In this voyage were discovered the Orcades, unknown to the world till that time. That narrow neck of land, by which Glotæ and Bodotriæ Æstuarium, that is, Dumbriton and Edinburgh friths, arms of different seas, are kept from joining, was fortified by Agricola with garrisons and castles; by which means all Britain, on this side, being possessed by the Romans, the Barbarians were removed, as it were, into another island.

Those who dwelt beyond the two friths, are by Dio Cassius comprehended under the two denominations of Mætatæ and Caledonii. The south part of Britannia Barbara, as the Romans styled it, was possessed by the former, and the north part by the latter. From the Caledonii, Calidones, Deucalidones, or Dicalidones, as they are styled by different authors, the north part of Britain was called Caledonia. No mention is made of the Picts either by Tacitus or Ptolemy; but under that denomination the Caledonians were comprehended in Constantine's time; "I do not mention (says Eumenius in his panegyric upon that prince) the woods and marshes of the Caledonians and other Picts^a." And Ammianus Marcellinus writing of the time of Valentinian and Vales: "The Picts (says he), under which denomination are comprehended the Dicalidones and the Vecturiones, the Attacotti likewise, a warlike nation, and the Scotti, roaming about, committed great devastations^b." Hence it is manifest, that in the reigns of those two princes,

^a Eumen. Panegy. Const. cap. 7. xxvii. cap. 18. Valef. cap. 18.

^b Ammian. Marcell. lib.

the Attacotti, and the Scotti or Scots, were two different nations from the Caledonii and the Picts. Thus far of the inhabitants of Britain, of their towns and territories, while the Romans were masters of the island, in the description of which we have followed Ptolemy, Antoninus, and our best modern antiquaries: but after all, we cannot pretend exactly to ascertain the bounds of so many different nations, subject to such a number of kings who were continually making encroachments upon each other.

Adrian's
wall.

We cannot dismiss this subject without describing the walls or ramparts raised by the Roman emperors in this island, to secure the countries belonging to Rome against the incursions of the northern Barbarians. That three walls were erected for that purpose by three different emperors, is manifest from history. Of these the first and hithermost was, without all doubt, the work of Adrian; for Spartian tells us in express terms, that he was the first who by a wall or rampart eighty miles in length, separated the Romans and Barbarians^c. This wall is, by our best antiquaries, placed between Solway-frith and Timmouth; and, indeed, considering its extent, it can be placed no where else. This wall or rampart was made says Spartian, *in modum muralis sepis*, or *sepi*, that is, *after the manner of a mural hedge*, with large stakes fixed deep in the ground, and fastened together. Upon it stood Pons Ælia, perhaps Pont Eland in Northumberland, Classis Ælia, Cohors Ælia, and Ala Sabiniana, which took their names from Ælius Adrianus and his wife Sabina. In the reign of Antoninus Pius, the successor of Adrian, the Brigantes revolted; but Lollius Urbicus, then governor of Britain, having overcome them, and driven back the Barbarians, built another wall of turf or earth, says Capitolinus, in the life of Antoninus Pius^d.

Antoninus's
Wall.

As no ancient writer mentions the place where this second wall was built, it is impossible to determine it with any certainty. Some learned antiquaries place it between the friths of Forth and Clyde: but Camden and Brietius, upon the authority of a very ancient chorographical table, are of opinion, that it began at the mouth of the Taus or Tweed, and was carried southward to the head of the Esk in Eskdale, so as to secure the east coast, and inclose part of the country of the Ottadini.

Severus's
Wall.

That a third wall was built by the emperor Severus is evident from Spartian, who, in the life of that prince, tells us, that he secured Britain with a wall carried on cross the

^c Spartian. in Adrian. cap. 11.
cap. 5.

^d Capitol. in Antonin Pio,

island from sea to sea *. The hithermost wall was, as we have observed already, built by Adrian, not with stone, but turf or earth, and defended by a rampart, and sharp stakes driven deep into the ground. However, it is certain, that afterwards a stone wall was built in the same place; but when, or by what emperor, we cannot determine. The remains of this wall were still to be seen in Camden's time (K). On the north side of the wall was a ditch twelve yards broad. In some places it is six yards deep, hewn out of the solid rock: the wall itself was about eight feet thick, and in very few places built upon that of Adrian. Camden imagines this to be the wall that was built by the Romans about the middle of the fifth century, upon their abandoning the island: but one legion only was then sent over, and that was soon after recalled; and could one legion, in a very short time, and in great haste to return, build, even with the assistance of the Britons, a stone wall eight feet in breadth, twelve in height, and eighty miles in length? This appears incredible, and, therefore, we are inclined to think, that this last wall was built upon that of Severus between Bodotria and Glota, where, in Buchanan's time, were discovered the remains of a stone wall †.

Remains of a stone wall.

But of all the noble works in Britain, Stonehenge in Wiltshire is justly esteemed by all antiquaries the most ancient, as well as the most curious, both for the stupendous size and the elegant disposition of the stones that form that fabric, of which we promised in a former chapter to give our readers such an account as might help them to form an idea of the excellent taste of those druids, who were the projectors and conductors of it; and might serve to shew the nature and design of all other works of this kind that are extant in any parts of Europe (L), where they bore any authority.

Stonehenge, a druidish work.

The

* Spart. in Vit. Sever. cap. 18. sub rege 27.

† Buchan. Rer. Scotl. lib. iv.

(K) That learned antiquary traced it with great care, and, according to the account he gives us of it, it began at Blatobulgium, or Bulnefs, on the Irish sea, kept along the side of Solway-frith by Burgh-upon-Sands to Lugovallum, now Carlisle, where it passed the Ituna or Eden. Thence it was carried on cross the little river of Cambeck,

where the ruins of a great castle were to be seen. Afterwards passing the rivers Irthing and Poltrose, it entered Northumberland, and through those mountains along the river South-Tyne, was continued by a bridge over North-Tyne, and ended at the German ocean.

(L) Though there are many of these to be found in Germany,

and not
built by
either
Saxons or
Danes.

The name of Stonehenge being of Saxon extract, and signifying barely a heap of hanging or gallows stones, is so contemptible a denomination for so noble a work, as plainly implies it was reared long before their coming into England. Had they been the builders of it, or capable of judging of the magnificence of that work, or had any traces of its builders, and their design in it, remained in their time, they would doubtless have called it by a much more honourable name. The ancient Britons spoke of it only by long and immemorial tradition, as of a work far above human power; and called it in their language *choir gbaur*, which some interpret the *choir* or *dance of giants*, on account of a general notion that ran through all those countries, where such heaps of vast stones were set up, that they were the works of giants or dæmons; and yet, if it was in reality a structure raised by the druids for religious purposes, one would imagine it must have had another name among the Britons who professed that religion, and doubtless went thither at stated times to worship. Be that as it may, antiquaries are now generally agreed that this work is previous to the first descent of the Romans; though with respect to its use, they are divided in opinion. The greater part, however, believe it to have been a temple; while others imagine it was a sepulchral monument.

Described.

This fabric is situated on Salisbury plain, about two miles from Ambersbury, and six from Salisbury, not upon the summit of a hill, but very near it; the approach being by a very easy ascent. It is a double circle of great upright stones, exhibiting a very awful and august appearance: the circumference of it exceeds that of the outside of St. Paul's cupola: the height of the outward cornice is eighteen feet complete, and that of the inner twenty-four at a medium; for these are not all of equal height: the height of the inner-circle, or rather ellipsis, bears a just proportion to the curve of the circumference, which is above one hundred feet, and was one fourth part of it, though at present some of these stones either stooping, or by long time being sunk lower, come somewhat short of the proportion above-mentioned. The nobleness of their lights and shades, as well

many, France, Spain, Brabant, Holland, &c. yet they are nowhere so frequent as in the British isles, even, as our author observes, from the very Land's End in Cornwall to the utmost promontory in Scotland, where

the Roman power never reached. They are to be seen in all the islands between Scotland and Ireland, in the isle of Man, in all the Orkneys, and are numerous in Ireland.

as the variety arising from their circular form, add to the elegance of the prospect; so that it is not without reason that our great Jones blamed Mr. Camden for calling it so contemptuously as he doth in his *Britannia*, “infana substructio.”

*Camden's
senseless
censure
of it.*

The whole is inclosed within a circular ditch, at the distance of thirty-five yards from the external circle. The whole work is about one hundred and eight feet in diameter; the outward circle consisted of sixty stones, of which one half were upright, and the other, imposts, laid over the tops of the former, to which they were fixed by mortices and tenons; the lesser circle standing about eight feet within the other, consisted of forty lesser stones standing upright, without any imposts. Seventeen uprights of the great circle are still standing, and ten of the other; some are removed from their places; and some are fallen. Within both circles is an adytum, or cell, composed of upright stones, and over every three of these an impost. The whole height of the outward circle, including the thickness of the impost, amounts to ten cubits and a half; and the length of the impost over the grand entrance, to eleven feet ten inches; from which dimensions the reader may conceive an idea of the prodigious bulk of those stones, especially when he considers that besides what appears above the surface of the earth, there must be a considerable mass under ground to give a proper stability to each. He will also reflect with wonder upon the mechanical power which must have been exerted, not only in moving those huge masses sixteen miles from Marlborough Downs, from whence they appear to have been taken; but also in raising and fixing such immense imposts upon the tops of the uprights. The stone at the upper end of the cell, which is fallen and broke, has been found to weigh above forty tons, and would require one hundred and forty oxen to draw it: they seem to have been first set up, and then coarsely chizzled; but are quite destitute of ornament, sculpture, or inscription of any kind. Upon the whole, Stonehenge exhibits one of the most striking scenes of ancient ruins now extant. It stands in the middle of an extensive plain, interspersed with a great number of circular mounds called barrows, of different dimensions. The largest is inclosed with a ditch, a hundred cubits in diameter; these are set thicker and closer in one place, and thinner at another. Upon digging some of them up, there have been found human bones, urns, some kinds of beads, and other pieces of glass, crystal, jet, amber, and many female trinkets, of different colours and metals; as
also

*The bar-
rows or
burying-
places.*

*Weapons,
and other
things
dugged out
of them.*

*The great
number of
them.*

*That of
king Car-
wifius.*

*That called
Bushbar-
row.*

*Stonehenge
probably
a sepulchral
monument.*

also swords, hatchets, and other weapons ^a, which plainly shew them to have been burying-places; but whether of the ancient Britons, Romans, Saxons, or Danes, is not easy to determine; though that they belonged to the first seems most probable (M). These barrows, however, are so thick about the neighbourhood of Stonehenge, that from some heights a person can count one hundred and twenty-eight ^b. Among them one may observe, in some places, two or more, sometimes to the number of six or seven, inclosed in the same circle or ditch, of which one is larger than the rest, and seems to be the tomb of some head of a family, and the rest that of the family itself. The most remarkable of all is that called the tomb of king Carwifius, who, at the head of the Iceni, fought against Julius Cæsar. It stands on the other side of Wilton, anciently Carvitium, so named as is supposed from that monarch. It is situated on an eminence, and of a considerable height; has four tall stately trees planted on the top, and affords an extensive prospect of Salisbury and its neighbourhood. The other, called Bushbarrow, is beautifully planted by the shepherds, and commands the prospect of Stonehenge, of the cursus, or ancient races, and of all the barrows around that plain, besides a most elegant and spacious landscape.

But these barrows evidently appear to have been burying-places, and to bear a kind of relation to the fabric itself, which is, as it were, the center and kebla of them. Will not this destroy our supposition of the latter being likewise a sepulchral monument? Will it not appear absurd to suppose such a noble fabric to have been subservient to the same ends with those hillocks which are seen around it?

^a Stonehenge Restored, p. 10, 43, & seq. & plate xxxi. & seq.

^b Ibid, p. 43.

(M) The Via Icenia, or Ikening-street, a road made by the Romans, which reached from Norfolk into Dorsetshire, infringes upon one of those barrows, and crosses some part of it; from which it is reasonable to conclude, that these barrows were older than that road (1).

Besides those human and other bones, and materials, which have been dug out of these bar-

rows, there was a broad sword taken out of one, and sent to Oxford; in another was found a weapon of the same metal like a pole-ax, which weighed twenty pounds: out of a third was dug a brass instrument, called celt, supposed to have belonged to some druid, and to have been used for cutting the mistletoe off the oaks.

(1) Stukeley's Stonehenge, p. 3, & seq.

and

and will it not be more reasonable to suppose it to have been a temple, than a monument? We should have made no difficulty of admitting it to be such a temple, had we not so many convincing arguments, that neither Celtes, nor Gauls and Britons, had any such buildings till long after the coming of the Romans. However, to shew that our conjecture is not really so inconsistent as it may appear at the first sight, we shall observe, first, that there is a manifest difference between a monument and a burying-place; and that the latter is designed only to inclose the remains, and the other to preserve the memory of the deceased. These might be appropriated for the sepulture of great personages; and this to burn their bodies, to be afterwards deposited in urns, and conveyed to their proper burying-place: the stone fabric might be the sepulchre of kings, or of the chief druid, and consequently deserve greater magnificence; or, lastly, it might be the center or kebla, in other words, the point of view, or rather of distance, to all the rest, erected at the charge of the whole nation, designed not only as a magnificent monument, or rather an open and majestic edifice for the performance of funeral rites to the whole people, and more especially to those of a superior rank and merit, but likewise to ascertain the property of each barrow to its respective family, by the number of cubits or furlongs they stood east or west from it; for that they had a clear notion of the points of the compass, and of geometry, is evident from the very planting, structure, situation, and symmetry of the fabric.

Some conjectures concerning its use.

The three walls which we have already described, were in different times the boundaries of the Roman empire, dividing Britannia Romana from Britannia Barbara; which last appellation they gave to that part of Britain not subject to Rome. Britannia Romana was divided into Britannia Superior, and Britannia Inferior, or Upper and Lower Britain: the former reached from the Channel at least as far as Chester, comprehending both England and Wales, as they are now styled; for on one hand we read, in Dio Cassius, that the legio secunda Augusta was quartered in Upper Britain; and on the other, in Ptolemy, that it had its station at Isca Silurum, now Caer-Lheon, about four miles from the Severn in Monmouthshire. Dio Cassius also tells us, that the legio vigesima, called likewise Valeriana and Victrix, was quartered in Upper Britain; and both Ptolemy and Antoninus determine the place, Deva, now Chester, on the Deva, now the Dee. The legio sexta Victrix is placed by Dio Cassius in Lower Britain; and by Antoninus, as well as by Ptolemy, at Eboracum, or York, which stood in Lower

Britannia Superior and Inferior.

Lower Britain. Under this division was comprised only that part of Britain which was subject to the Romans, the other more northern part being distinguished by the name of *Britannia Barbara*: this division owed, without all doubt, its origin to the emperor Severus, who having settled the affairs of Britain, divided it, as we read in Herodian, into two prefectures. Before that prince's reign, no mention is made of any division of Britain; and Ptolemy, who divides Germany, Pannonia, and *Mœsia*, into Upper and Lower, takes no notice of any such division in his description of Britain; a convincing proof that when he wrote, that is, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus, this division was not yet introduced. If Severus was, as he seems to have been, the author of this division, *Britannia Inferior* extended to the isthmus between *Glota* and *Bodotria*, where he built a wall, parting *Britannia Romana* from *Britannia Barbara*.

Britain divided into five governments.

Britannia Romana, comprehending the Upper and Lower Britain, was first divided, probably by Constantine the Great, into four governments; *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, *Flavia Cæsariensis*, and *Maxima Cæsariensis*. *Britannia Prima* lay between the Channel on one side, and the Thames and the Severn on the other; *Britannia Secunda* reached from the Severn to the Irish sea; *Flavia Cæsariensis* was inclosed by the Thames, the Severn, and the Humber; and *Maxima Cæsariensis* extended from the Humber to *Adrian's Wall*. To these was added afterwards the province of *Valentia*, probably so called by the emperor Valentinian from his brother Valens; for, in the reign of Valentinian, this country, extending from *Adrian's Wall* to the friths of *Bodotria* and *Glota*, was recovered by Theodosius, father of the emperor of that name. This division we have taken from the *Breviary* which Sextus Rufus wrote, and dedicated to the emperor Valentinian. Some imperfect copies of this work omit *Flavia Cæsariensis*; and one of these Camden has followed.

The form of the Roman government in Britain.

Their civil government.

Each of these provinces had its particular magistrate, some a consular, others only a præses or president. They were all, according to the *Notitia*, subject to the vicarius of Britain, as he was to the præfectus prætorio of Gaul, one of the four præfecti prætorio instituted by Constantine. The vicar of Britain had several officers under him, for the better and more expeditious administration of civil affairs; namely, his princeps or lieutenant; a cornicularius, who published the sentences and decrees of the vicar and other magistrates, and was so called from *cornu*, a horn, with the sounding of which he commanded silence in the court; two numerarii or accountants, whose province it was to take

take an account of the public revenues; a commentariensis or gaoler, so called from the commentaria or kalendars of the prisoners, which he kept, and delivered to the judges; officers called ab actis, that is, public notaries, who wrote testaments, contracts, and other instruments; secretaries called de cura, and de cura epistolarum, whose office it was to write and send letters and dispatches from the governors of the provinces to the emperor, or to each other. Besides a great number of petty officers, informers, pursuivants, and apparitors, the vicar had under him the governors of the five above mentioned provinces, who were three presidents, and two consulars; for by presidents were governed Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Flavia Caesariensis; and the other two, Maxima Caesariensis and Valentia, by consulars; as appears from the Notitia, and this disposition was agreeable to the custom of the Romans, who, on the decline of the empire, committed to consulars the care of those provinces only, that, lying next to the enemy, were most exposed to their attempts. The vicar had the power of reversing the judgments and decrees of the other governors; and with the same power was the praefectus praetorio of Gaul vested, over the judgments and decrees of the vicar. The ensigns of the vicar's office were a book of mandates in a green cover, and five castles placed on the triangular form of the island, with the names of the five above mentioned provinces which they represented¹.

By the vicar, and the governors of the five provinces under him, was the civil government administered. As to the military, it was executed by the three chief officers under the magister militum of the west; the comes Britanniarum, the comes litoris Saxonici, and the dux Britanniarum. No mention is made in the Notitia of the troops under the command of the count of Britain, nor of the places under his jurisdiction; but as the other two commanded on the coasts, and in the northern parts of Britain, we conclude from thence, that the inland and south part of the island was subject to his command. The comes litoris Saxonici, or count of the Saxon shore, whose province it was to cover the eastern coast lying opposite Germany, and prevent the Saxon pirates from ravaging the country, had eight praepositi under his command, and one tribune; the praepositus or commander of the numerus or cohort of the Fortenses, quartered at Othona, thought to be Hastings; the praepositus of the Tungricani at Dubris or Dover; the praepositus of the Turnacenses at Lemanis or Lime; the praepositus

Comes Britanniarum.

Comes litoris Saxonici.

¹ Vide Pancirol. in Notit. Imperii.

positus of the Branodunenses, who were Dalmatian horse, at Branodunum or Brancaſter in Norfolk; the præpoſitus of the Stableſian horſe at Gariannonum or Caſtor, near Yarmouth; the præpoſitus of the ſecond legion, called Augusta, quartered at Rutupia or Richborough; the præpoſitus of the Abulci at Anderida or Newenden; and the præpoſitus of the exploratores, whoſe office it was to diſcover the ſtate and motions of the enemy, at Portus Adurni, or Ederington, in Suſſex. The tribune commanded under the præpoſitus of the legion.

Dux Britanniarum.

The dux Britanniarum had under him fourteen præpoſiti; namely, the præpoſitus of the ſixth legion quartered at York or Eboracum; the præpoſitus of the Dalmatian horſe at Præſidium, or Patrington in Holderneſſe; the præpoſitus of the Criſpian horſe at Danum or Doncaſter; the præpoſitus of the Cataſtractarian horſe at Morbium, perhaps Moreſby, in Cumberland; the præpoſitus of the Barcarii Tigritenſes at Arbeia or Jerby, in the ſame county; the præpoſitus of the Nervii Diſtenſes at Diſtis or Diganwy, in Caernarvonſhire; the præpoſitus of the Vigiles or ſcouts at Concangii or Kendal, in Weſtmoreland; the præpoſitus of the Exploratores at Lavatres or Bowes, in Yorkſhire; the præpoſitus of the Directi at Vetera or Burgh-upon-Stanmore, in Weſtmoreland; the præpoſitus of the Deſenſores at Broconiocum or Bougham, in the ſame county; the præpoſitus of the Solenſes at Magona, thought by Camden to be Mackleneth, in Montgomeryſhire; the præpoſitus of the Patenſes at Magi or Old Radnor; the præpoſitus of the Longonicarii at Longonicus or Langcheſter, in the biſhoprick of Durham; and laſtly, the præpoſitus of the Derventionenſes, ſo called from Derventio, where they were quartered, a town upon the Derwent, ſeven miles from York, thought to be Auldby. All theſe præpoſiti are named in the Notitia, with the places where they were quartered.

A guard kept on the wall.

Befides theſe forces, a ſtrong guard or watch was kept on the wall, or, as the Notitia expreſſes it, along the line of the wall, "*per lineam valli.*" Here was poſted the tribune of the fourth cohort of the Lari, at a place called Segodunum, now Seaton, on the ſea-coaſt of Northumberland. The tribune of the cohort of the Comonii had his ſtation at Pons Ælii or Pontland, in Northumberland: this bridge was probably made by order of the emperor Ælius Adrianus. The tribune of the ala of the Aſtores was quartered at Condercum or Cheſter-upon-the-Street, in the biſhoprick of Durham. Next to him was ſtationed the tribune of the firſt cohort of the Frixagi at Vindobala, as we read in the Notitia, or Vindomora, as it is ſtyled in the Itinerary, the former

former name importing, in the British language, *finis muri*, and the latter *finis valli*; and hence the place is now called the Wall's-end, in Northumberland, the river Tyne serving, perhaps, instead of a rampart, from this place to the sea. The præfect of the ala Saviniana was posted at Hunnum, which Camden conjectures to be Sevenshale, in the same county. The præfect of the second ala of the Astores lay at Cilurnum, which some take for Cillerford, and some for Sciliceston-on-the-Wall, likewise in Northumberland. The tribune of the first cohort of the Batavi was stationed at Procolitia, according to some Colchester upon the Tyne. The tribune of the first cohort of the Tungri was quartered at Borcovicus or Borwick, in Northumberland. The tribune of the fourth cohort of the Gauls at Vindolana, or Winchester-on-the-Wall. The tribune of the first cohort of the Astores at Ælica, thought to be Netherly on the Esk, in Cumberland. The tribune of the second cohort of the Dalmatæ at Magni, a place without all doubt near the wall, and not Radnor, called by the same name. The tribune of the first cohort Ælia at Amboglanna, according to some Willoford, in Cumberland, according to Camden Amble-side, in Westmorland. The præfect of the ala Petriana at Perith, in Cumberland. The præfect of the Mauri Aureliani at Aballaba, or Appleby, in Westmorland. The tribune of the second cohort of the Largi at Congavata, or Rose-castle, near Carlisle, in Cumberland. The tribune of the cohort of the Hispani at Axelodunum, now Hexham, in Northumberland. The tribune of the second cohort of Thracians at Gabrosetum, Gateshead, close to Newcastle. The tribune of the first cohort, called Ælia Classica, at Tinnocellem, or Tinmouth: this cohort, Camden thinks, was employed in naval affairs, being induced to adopt this opinion by the surname of Classica given it in the Notitia.

That the Romans kept some vessels on the Tyne, to hinder the Caledonians from making descents on their territories, is not improbable; for that they maintained a fleet in the ports of this island, is manifest from a law still extant in the Pandects, wherein mention is made by Javolenus of Seius Saturninus, archigubernus, or admiral, of the British fleet*. The tribune of the first cohort of the Morini was stationed at Glannobanta, thought by Camden to have stood on the Wentsebek, in Cumberland. The tribune of the third cohort of the Nervii at Alione, now Whitley-castle, in Westmorland. The cuneus of the Armatuæ is placed by the Notitia at Brementuracum, a sta-

Some vessels kept by the Romans on the Tyne.

* Pand. SC. ad Trebell.

tion near the wall, and not in the neighbourhood of Preston, in Lancashire, sixty miles distant from the wall, as Camden maintains. The præfect of the first ala Herculea had his station at Olenacum, or Ellenborough, in Cumberland, where many monuments of antiquity have been discovered. The tribune of the sixth cohort of the Nervii is last mentioned in the Notitia, and placed at Verosidium, thought to be Werewich upon the Eden, near Carlisle. All these forces were appointed to defend the limit, that is, to secure the wall, under the command of the dux Britanniarum. These three officers, namely, the comes Britanniarum, the comes litoris Saxonici, and the dux Britanniarum, were equal in power, but subordinate to the vicar. The forces maintained in Britain, under the two latter officers, amounted, according to Pancirolus, to nineteen thousand two hundred foot, and seventeen hundred horse. Of the troops under the comes Britanniarum, we find no account in the Notitia; Pancirolus thinks, because the greater part of the island was then in the power of the Barbarians: but this reason might have served against enumerating the forces under the two other commanders; for, at the very time the Notitia was compiled, the Britons were, by frequent embassies, soliciting the emperor, and his officers in Gaul, for assistance; which they could not have wanted, had the fourth part of the troops, set down in the Notitia, been quartered towards the wall. In the times before the Notitia, no mention is made of the comes Britanniarum, but only of the dux, and the comes tractus maritimi, called comes litoris Saxonici, when the Saxon pirates began to infest the coasts. The first vicar of Britain we find mentioned in history, and probably the first who, with that title, governed here, is Pectianus, to whom we find an edict directed in 319, enacting, that one decurio should not be bound to pay the taxes that were due from another¹. The authority of the count of the Saxon shore was thought to have been confined within Britain, till it was, by the learned Selden, extended to the opposite coasts of Cimbria, Batavia, Belgica, and Armorica²; for to them he finds the name of litus Saxonicum given by the writers of those times, no doubt, from their being infested by the Saxon pirates.

*Ensigns of
the Ro-
man offi-
cers here.*

The count of Britain had for his ensigns a book of mandates, and the island represented in a triangular form: the count of the Saxon shore a purple book, with nine castles, representing the nine places where the præpositi and tribune

¹ Lib. ii. de Exact. Cod. Theod. lib. xii. tit. 7. dat. 12 calend. Decemb. A. D. 319. ² Vide Seld. in Mari clauso.

under his command were quartered: and the dux likewise a purple book, with the fourteen places where the præfects under him were stationed. Of these munitions or forts, fourteen have over them the names we have mentioned; but the first has only the word *sextæ*, signifying, we suppose, the station of the sixth legion, which was quartered at York; whence that city is styled by Antoninus, in his Itinerary, *Eboracum legio sexta*; and, in a coin of Severus, *COL. EBORACUM LEGIO VI. VICTRIX*. If the power and jurisdiction of the count of the Saxon shore had extended to the opposite coasts of Gaul and Germany, as Selden maintains, mention would have been made in the Notitia of the forces under his command in those places; but as the Notitia is quite silent upon that head, and, in the ensigns of that officer, we find only the names of nine British towns or garrisons, we conclude from thence, that his authority was confined to this island. His troops were quartered in several towns or stations along the coast from Kent to the most northern part of Norfolk. The more northern coasts, and that facing Ireland, with the inland countries in those parts, were under the jurisdiction of the dux Britanniarum; for Danum, now Doncaster, seems to have been the most southern station of his troops. These stations, designed at first for camps, called in Latin *castra*, grew, by degrees, into cities; and this is the origin of almost all our great cities and towns, built either in the same places where the Roman camps were situated, or at a small distance from them. This observation holds especially in those places whose names end in *chester* or *cester*, derived from the Latin word *castra*; for, to this day, the stations or forts near the Picts wall, the remains of which are to be seen in several places, are, by the common people, called *chesters*."

To maintain a communication between one station and another, and for the convenience of the armies when they marched, or of the governors when they visited the provinces, the troops, in peaceable times, were employed in making roads or causeways, called *væ militares*, *consulares*, *prætorixæ*, and *stratæ publicæ*. As no fewer than a hundred and fourteen mansions through fifteen different roads are mentioned in the Itinerary, and in the Notitia forty-six garrisons, to wit, nine on the sea-coast, under the command of the *comes litoris Saxonici*, fourteen more inland, and twenty-three per *lineam valli*, or along the wall, under the jurisdiction of the dux Britanniarum, many highways must have been made for passing, according to the

The Roman highways.

^a Vide Burton. Comment. in Antonin. Itiner.

Roman custom, from one place, however distant, to another. Our historians, indeed, mention only four of note ; but, in a province so abounding with stations, camps, fortresses, and cities, there must, without all doubt, have been a great many more. Had the Notitia given us an account of the forces and places under the command of the dux Britanniarum, as well as of the other two great officers, we should have come to the knowledge of more cities and places of consequence in this island ; for Bede tells us out of Gildas, who flourished about the time the Notitia was composed, that, in those days, there were twenty-eight stately cities, besides innumerable castles, fortified with strong walls, towers, and gates °.

*The four
great
roads.*

The four ways, or, as we call them, streets, mentioned by our historians, are, Watling-street, so called, as is conjectured, either from Vitellianus a Roman, perhaps employed in making it, or from a Saxon word signifying *a beggar*, it being much frequented by beggars : this way is thought by some to have reached from Dover to Cardigan in Wales ; by others to have extended from Dover to the coast opposite Anglesey, passing through London, Dunstable, Towcester, Allerton, and crossing the Severn near the Wrekin in Shropshire. The Foss-way, so called perhaps, because, in some places, it was never perfected, but left like a ditch, This way is thought to have reached from Totnes to Lincoln, and from Lincoln to Caithness, the most northern point in Scotland. Ikenild-street, so called, perhaps, from Icenî : it led from Southampton to York, and from thence to Tinmouth. Ermine, or Erminage-street, reaching from St. David's to Southampton *. Besides these, we find two others mentioned in history, namely, Julia Strata, in Monmouthshire, made, as Camden conjectures, by Julius Frontinus, who subdued the Silures ; and Strata Marcella, mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, as lying at a small distance from Julia Strata. The former is thought to have been the work of Ulpius Marcellus, the proprætor of Britain in the reign of Commodus.

*Several
corps of
Britons in
the Roman
armies.*

The forces employed in the defence of Britain were all foreigners, as the reader must have observed, the Romans not thinking it safe to trust the natives, who, perhaps, would have defended their country with more vigour and resolution against the Barbarians ; but might, when masters of all the strong places, have turned their arms against their masters, and shaken off the yoke. To prevent any such de-

* Bed. Hist. lib. i. cap. 7, Antonin.

† Vide Barton. Comment. in Itiner.

sign, the Romans transplanted into other countries the numerous levies raised here. It appears from the Notitia, and several ancient inscriptions, that bodies of British troops were dispersed almost over the whole empire: for we find the following corps mentioned, namely, Ala Britannica milliaria, Ala quarta Britonum in Ægypto, Cohors prima Ælia Britonum, Cohors tertia Britonum, Cohors septima Britonum, Cohors vicefima sexta Britonum in Armorica, Britanniciani sub magistro peditum, Inviæti juniores Britanniciani, ex cubitores juniores Britanniciani, Britones cum magistro equitum Galliarum, Inviæti juniores Britones intra Hispaniam, Britones seniores in Illyrico. These different corps were supplied, from time to time, out of this island. No wonder, therefore, that Britain, exhausted and deprived of its youth by such numerous levies, became, upon the withdrawing of the foreign troops quartered there, a prey to the northern Barbarians.

S E C T. II.

The History of Britain, from the first coming of Julius Cæsar to its Desertion by the Romans.

B RITAIN was but little known to the Romans till the time of Julius Cæsar, who, having carried his victorious arms to the opposite coast of Gaul, separated from Britain by a narrow channel, formed the design of bringing the Britons, as he had already done the most warlike nations of Gaul, under the dominion of Rome. Whatever was the real motive that urged him to this undertaking, whether his unbounded ambition, and thirst of glory, which appears most likely, or the hopes of enriching himself with the British pearls, as we read in Suetonius^a, the pretence he alleged was, that, in all the wars of Gaul, the Britons had assisted, with considerable supplies, the enemies of the republic. Upon this either real or pretended provocation, he attempted to pass over into Britain, and, by the conquest of this island, increase the reputation which he had already acquired in Gaul. As the summer was already far spent, and winter came on very early in these northern climates, he was sensible, that the time of the year would not allow him to finish the war. However, he thought it would be no small advantage to view the island, to learn the temper, customs, and manners, of the inhabitants, and to get some knowledge of their ports and havens, then visited by none

Cæsar's first expedition into Britain.

^a Suet. in Jul. cap. 58.

but merchants, who were acquainted with the coast lying opposite Gaul, but seemed utter strangers to the rest of the country : for, being called together by Cæsar from all parts, they could not inform him of what extent the island was ; by what nations, and how powerful, it was peopled ; how they understood the art of war ; by what customs they were governed ; or what ports were capable of receiving a fleet of great ships.

*He sends
over C.
Volusenus
for intel-
ligence.*

In order, therefore, to discover what he could not learn of the merchants, he dispatched C. Volusenus with a galley, commanding him to return as soon as possible with what intelligence he could obtain. In the mean time Cæsar marched all his forces into the country of the Morini, now the province of Picardy, whence was the shortest passage into Britain, ordering at the same time all the vessels that lay in the neighbouring ports, and the fleet, which he had built the year before for his expedition against the Morini, to attend him. The Britons, alarmed at these preparations, dispatched ambassadors to Cæsar, offering to submit to Rome, and deliver hostages for their fidelity. Cæsar received them with great kindness ; and, having encouraged them with fair promises to persist in their resolution, sent them back to their own country, ordering Comius, whom, for his extraordinary wisdom, virtue, and fidelity, he had made king of the Atrebates, to attend them into Britain, with instructions to visit as many states as he could, to persuade them to accept of an alliance with Rome, and to acquaint them with his design of landing in a short time in their country.

*The Bri-
tons send
ambassa-
dors to
Cæsar.*

*Cæsar em-
barks with
two legi-
ons.*

In the mean time Volusenus, having made what discoveries he could from his ship, returned five days after to Cæsar, and acquainted him with what he had observed. Hereupon Cæsar, having embarked two legions on board eighty transports, and appointed eighteen more, which were wind-bound at a port about eight miles off, to convey over the cavalry, weighed anchor about the third watch, commanding the cavalry to embark at the port, where the vessels lay ready to receive them, and follow him ; which orders were too slowly executed. Cæsar himself arrived in a few hours on the British coast ; but finding the hills and cliffs hanging over the sea covered with armed men, who from thence might, with their darts, easily prevent his landing, he lay by till three in the afternoon, waiting for some of his ships, in order to discover another place, where he might land his troops with less danger. Upon their joining the fleet, he summoned the chief officers to a council of war ; and having acquainted them with the intelligence he had received from Volusenus, and given such orders as

he thought proper for the occasion, he set sail, and arriving at a plain and open shore about eight miles farther, came to an anchor.

The Britons, apprised of Cæsar's design, sent their cavalry and chariots before, the rest of the army hastening after, in order to oppose his landing. The principal difficulty proceeded from the largeness of the ships, which required a considerable depth of water; so that the Roman soldiers were obliged, incumbered as they were with heavy armour, to leap into the sea, and at the same time struggle with the waves, and encounter the enemy, who, having their hands disengaged, as they either stood on dry land, or waded but a little way into the water, could securely cast their darts, and drive back an enemy thus hampered. This disadvantage so discouraged the Romans, that they did not appear so alert, nor so eager to engage the enemy, as in their former conflicts on dry land; which backwardness being perceived by the general, he ordered his long ships or galleys to advance with their broad sides towards the shore, in order to force the Britons, with their slings, arrows, and engines, to retire from the beach. The Britons, surpris'd at the make of the galleys, a sort of shipping they had never seen, and overwhelmed with showers of darts and arrows discharged from these vessels, began to give ground; but the Romans still betraying great reluctance to throw themselves into the water, the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, having first invoked the gods, cried out aloud, "Fellow-soldiers, unless you will forsake your colours, and suffer the Roman eagle to fall into the hands of the enemy, follow me; for I am resolv'd to discharge my duty to the commonwealth, and my general." So saying, he leaped into the sea, and advanced with the eagle towards the enemy. Hereupon the soldiers in the same ship, encouraging each other not to suffer so great a disgrace as the loss of their ensign, followed his example. Those in the other ships, fired with emulation, cast themselves boldly into the sea, and, pressing forward, began the fight, which proved very sharp on both sides, and, for some time, unfavourable to the Romans; for not being able either to keep their ranks, get footing, or follow their particular standards, they were put into great confusion by the Britons, who, being acquainted with the shallows, when they saw them coming in small numbers from their ships, spurred their horses into the water, and attacked them incumbered and unprepared. Cæsar caus'd several boats to be manned, and sent them to the assistance of those whom he saw most distressed. The Romans, having at length gain'd firm footing, charg'd the enemy

The Britons oppose the landing of the Romans.

Yr. of FL
2294.
Ante Chr.
54.

The Romans land with great difficulty.

enemy so vigorously, that they put them to flight; but could not pursue them for want of horse, the cavalry not being yet arrived ^r.

The Britons sue for peace.

Upon this defeat, the Britons immediately sent ambassadors to sue for peace, and with them Comius, whom they had committed to prison. Cæsar, having upbraided them with breach of faith, in making war upon him after they had sent ambassadors into Gaul, desiring peace, promised to pardon them, on condition they delivered a certain number of hostages. Part of these they brought immediately, promising to return in a few days with the rest, who lived at some distance. Peace being thus concluded four days after Cæsar's landing in Britain, the British princes, having disbanded their troops, and sent them back into their several countries, submitted themselves and their states to Cæsar. In the mean time the eighteen transports, with the Roman cavalry, being overtaken by a violent storm, were driven back to the ports of Gaul. By the same storm, Cæsar's fleet, which lay in the road, was greatly damaged, several ships being dashed to pieces, and others, by the loss of their anchors, cables, and rigging, rendered altogether useless. What added to the misfortune, the same night the tide rose so high, that the gallics, which had been drawn ashore, were filled with water. These disasters produced a general consternation in the Roman camp.

Cæsar's fleet greatly damaged by a storm.

The British chiefs, who were assembled to perform their agreement with Cæsar, perceiving his want of horse, ships, and provisions, and judging of the number of his men from the smallness of his camp, which was narrower than usual, because the legions had left their heavy baggage behind them, resolved to take arms again, in order to protract the war till winter, persuading themselves that, if they could cut off the few Romans that were come over, or prevent their return, they would thereby deter others from invading Britain for the future. The plan being laid, and the resolution taken, they began to steal out of the camp by degrees, and privately to collect their disbanded troops. Cæsar knew nothing of their design; but nevertheless suspecting an alteration from their delay in delivering the hostages after the loss of his shipping, resolved to prepare against all events. Accordingly he caused all the provisions that could be found in the neighbouring country to be brought into his camp, and gave orders that the ships, which had been the least damaged by the storm, should be refitted with the materials of those that had been dashed to pieces. He sent likewise to

The Britons break the peace;

^r Cæf. Comment. lib. iv.

Gaul for what things were farther necessary, which were so well applied by the soldiers, who on this occasion laboured with uncommon diligence, that, only twelve ships being lost, the rest were soon in a condition to put to sea once more.

In the mean time, the seventh legion being sent out to forage, while part of the soldiers were employed in reaping the corn, and the rest in gathering, and conveying it to the camp, the Britons, who had lain all night concealed in the neighbouring woods, fell upon them unexpectedly; and, having killed many, drove the rest into a small compass, and surrounded them with their horse and chariots in such manner, that not a single man would have escaped, had not the advanced guards informed Cæsar that they observed a greater dust than usual rising from that quarter. He, suspecting the Britons had recommenced hostilities, flew to the assistance of the legion, with the two cohorts that were upon guard, ordering two others to supply their place, and all the rest to take to their arms, and follow him with all expedition. Upon his arrival, the Britons gave over the attack, and the Romans resumed their courage: however, Cæsar, not thinking it advisable to engage the enemy, stood some time with his troops drawn up in order of battle, and then retreated to his camp. After this action, the heavy rains, which continued several days successively, kept the Romans in their camp, and hindered the Britons from attempting any thing against them.

and fall upon the seventh legion.

The latter, however, were not idle in the mean time. Having dispatched messengers into all parts of the island, to inform their countrymen how small an army the Romans had, how great a booty they might acquire, and what a favourable opportunity offered of freeing themselves for ever, by forcing the Roman camp, they drew together a great body of horse and foot, and boldly advanced to the Roman intrenchments. Upon their approach, Cæsar drew up his legions in order of battle before the camp, and gave the Britons so warm a reception, that they immediately turned their backs, and fled. Cæsar pursued them with great slaughter, burnt several towns and villages in the neighbourhood, and then returned to his camp. The Britons, dispirited at the loss they had sustained, sent the same day ambassadors to implore peace; which Cæsar granted, upon their promising to send him over into Gaul double the number of hostages he had required before. His want of horse, and the fear of exposing his fleet to another storm, if he remained till the equinox, made him hasten his departure. The same night therefore, the wind proving favourable, he weighed

They attack the Roman camp; but are repulsed with great slaughter.

*Cæsar re-
turns to
Gaul.*

weighed anchor, and arrived safe in Gaul, whence he immediately wrote to the senate, acquainting them with his exploits in Britain; for which a supplication, or general thanksgiving, was decreed for twenty days*.

*Yr. of Fl.
2295.
Ante Chr.
53.*

*Cæsar's se-
cond expe-
dition into
Britain.*

*He lands
without op-
position;*

The Britons were not much awed by Cæsar's arms; for of all the states, into which the island was then divided, two only sent him hostages. Provoked at this neglect or contempt, he resolved to make another descent the following spring, with a far more powerful fleet and army. With this view, before he left Gaul to return to Italy, where he generally spent part of the winter, he ordered his lieutenants to refit the old ships, and build a great number of transports. His orders were executed with such diligence, that, upon his return, he found six hundred ships, and twenty-eight galleys, ready to launch. Having therefore commended the application and diligence of his soldiers, and the supervisors, he commanded them to repair, with the fleet, to Pontus Itius, while he marched, with four legions, and eight hundred horse, into the country of Treves, to prevent a revolt in that quarter. Having taken proper precautions for this purpose, he hastened back to the Portus Itius, now called Witsand, betwixt Calais and Boulogne. Here, leaving Labienus, with three legions, and two thousand horse, to provide corn, and to send him intelligence from time to time of what might happen on the continent, he embarked, with five legions, and two thousand horse, and, weighing anchor about sun-set, arrived, with his whole fleet, the next day by noon, on the British coast, where he landed, without opposition, in the same place, which he had found so convenient the year before. The Britons had assembled in great multitudes to oppose his landing, as he afterwards understood from the prisoners; but, being terrified at the sight of so numerous a fleet, amounting, with the vessels which several persons had provided for their own use, to upwards of eight hundred, they had abandoned the shore, and retired to the hills. Cæsar, receiving intelligence of their motions, left ten cohorts, and three hundred horse, to secure the fleet, and, with the rest, marched in quest of the enemy, whom he found posted on the other side of a river, about twelve miles from the place where he had landed (N). Their design was to oppose his passage; but, notwithstanding

* Cæf. Comment. lib. iv.

(N) This river is supposed to be the Stour, the Thames being too distant; so that the battle was fought on the banks of that

river, to the north of the town. Horsely is of opinion, that the strong place, to which the Britons retreated after their defeat, must

ing the advantage of the ground, they were obliged, by the Roman cavalry, to quit their post, and retire to a wood, all the avenues of which were blocked up with huge trees cut down for that purpose. Out of this place, which seemed to have been fortified in some former war, they never ventured, but in small parties; but, notwithstanding their utmost efforts to prevent the Romans from entering it, the soldiers of the seventh legion, having cast themselves into a testudo, and thrown up a mount against their works, obliged them to abandon their asylum, and save themselves by flight. But, the day being far spent, Cæsar, who was quite unacquainted with the country, thought it more prudent to return, and fortify his camp, than to pursue the fugitives¹.

and defeats the Britons.

Early next morning, Cæsar dispatched both his horse and foot, in pursuit of the enemy; but, when he was already come in sight of their rear, he was acquainted by some horsemen from Q. Atrius, that, by a dreadful storm, which had happened the night before, most of his ships were dashed to pieces, or driven ashore. Upon this intelligence, he returned to the sea-side, where he was an eye-witness of the misfortune, which had happened. Forty ships were entirely lost, and the rest so damaged, that they could not be refitted without great labour. However, having, without loss of time, set all the carpenters in the fleet and army to work, and sent over to Gaul for others, ordering at the same time Labienus to build as many ships as he could with the legions that were there, to prevent the like misfortune for the future, he resolved upon a very difficult undertaking; which was, to draw all his ships ashore, and inclose them within the fortifications of his camp. This stupendous work being completed in ten days, the soldiers labouring the whole time night and day without intermission, and the camp being strongly fortified, Cæsar, leaving a strong guard to defend it, marched with the rest of his forces to the place, whence he had returned from pursuing the enemy.

The Romans sustain a great loss by a storm.

Upon his arrival, he found their numbers greatly increased, under the conduct of Cassibelan, king of the Trinobantes, whose territories lay about eighty miles from the sea. This prince had formerly commenced hostilities on his neighbours; but, upon the arrival of the Romans, they had unanimously

¹ Cæf. Comment. lib. v.

must have been Durovernum, miles from the place where Cæsar now Canterbury, distant twelve far landed (1).

(1) Horsely, p. 14.

committed

*Cassibelan
falls upon
the Ro-
mans; but
is repulsed.*

*The Britons
fall upon
three Ro-
man le-
gions; but
are defeat-
ed.*

*Cæsar
passes the
Thames.*

committed the whole management of the war to him, as the most proper person to head them at such an important conjuncture. While the Romans were on their march, they were attacked by the British horse and chariots, whom they repulsed with great slaughter, and drove into the woods; but, pursuing them too eagerly, they lost some of their own men. Not long after, the Britons made a sudden sally out of the woods, and fell upon the advanced guard, while the Romans were employed in fortifying their camp. Cæsar immediately detached two cohorts to their assistance; but the enemy, while the Romans stood amazed at their method of fighting, boldly broke through the two cohorts, and returned again, without the loss of a man. Quintus Laberius Dyrus, a tribune, was slain in this action: but, some fresh cohorts coming to the relief of the Romans, the Britons were, in the end, defeated. Next day, they kept on the hills, at a considerable distance from the Roman camp, till about noon; when three legions being detached by Cæsar, with all the cavalry, under the command of C. Trebonius, to forage, they attacked the foragers with great fury; but meeting with a vigorous resistance, they fled; and being pursued by the Roman cavalry so close that they had not time to rally, to make a stand, or to descend from their chariots, according to their usual custom, great numbers were cut in pieces. Upon this overthrow, the auxiliary troops, abandoning Cassibelan, returned to their respective countries; nor did the Britons ever after engage Cæsar with their united forces^u.

After this victory, Cæsar marched towards the Thames, with a design to cross that river, and enter the territories of Cassibelan; but, when he came to the only place where the river could be forded, he saw the enemy's forces drawn up in a considerable body on the opposite bank, which was fortified with sharp stakes. They had likewise driven many stakes of the same kind in the bed of the river. Notwithstanding these obstructions, Cæsar ordered the cavalry to ride in, and the legions to follow; and these orders were executed with such resolution and intrepidity, that, though the foot were up to the chin in water, the enemy, not able to sustain their assault, abandoned the bank, and fled (O). Cassibelan,

^u Cæf. Comment. lib. v.

(O) The stakes are just above Walton in Surry; and the meadow facing them is called Coway. They are even now to be seen at low-water; and one

of them was lately pulled out of the Thames, but with great difficulty. They are of oak, and, though they have been so long in the water, are as hard

Cassibelan, despairing of success by a battle, disbanded the greatest part of his forces, retaining only about four thousand chariots, to observe the motions of the Romans. With these he kept at some distance in the woods, or in such places as were scarce accessible to the enemy, carrying off the corn and cattle from those countries through which they were to march. As he was well acquainted with roads and bye-paths, if the Roman cavalry ventured a little too far to ravage the country, he detached part of his chariots to attack them; which they could not engage without great disadvantage. This conduct prevented the Romans from making excursions, and obliged Cæsar to give orders that his cavalry should not advance farther to burn and plunder the country, than the legions were able to follow them.

In the mean time, the Trinobantes sent ambassadors to Cæsar, promising to submit, and, at the same time, intreating him to protect Mandubratius against the oppression of Cassibelan, and appoint him their king and governor. Mandubratius, by Eutropius and Bede called Androgeus, was the son of Imanuentius king of the Trinobantes; but, upon the death of his father, who was slain by Cassibelan, he had fled to Cæsar, who had granted him his protection. Cæsar readily complied with the request of the Trinobantes, at the same time injoining them to send him forty hostages, and corn for his army; demands with which they immediately complied. The example of the Trinobantes, whose submission secured them from being plundered by the Roman soldiers, was soon followed by other states; particularly, the Cenomagni, Segontiaci, Anaclites, Bibroci, and Cossi (P), who submitted to Cæsar. He had received

The Trinobantes submit to Cæsar;

as Brazil, and as black as jet. At Shepperton, they have several knife-handles made of them (1).

(P) Lippius, instead of Cenomagni, reads Icenii, Cangi (2), the names of two nations mentioned elsewhere by Cæsar. The Icenii inhabited Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire; and the Cangi, the country lying on the Irish sea. Camden, instead of the

Cangi, reads Regni, who were the inhabitants of Sussex and Surry, consequently more likely to follow the example of the Trinobantes, who inhabited Hertfordshire, Essex, and Middlesex, than the Cangi, who lived at a great distance. The Segontiaci are placed by some in Berkshire, by others in Hampshire (3). The Anaclites and Bibroci are placed by most of our antiquaries in Berkshire,

(1) Tindal, in Not. ad Rapin. cap. 32.

(2) Lipp. in Tacit. lib. xii.

(3) Thom. Savil. in Epist. 13. ad Cam.

*who takes
Cassibelan's
chief city.*

ceived intelligence, that the town of Cassibelan, supposed to be Verulamium, now St. Alban's, well secured by woods and marshes, whither the country-people had retired with their cattle, was not far from his camp. Thither, therefore, he marched with his legions; and, though he found the place strongly fortified both by nature and art, he ordered it to be stormed at two different places. The assault was given with such resolution, that the Britons fled from one of the avenues of the wood; for this town was only a thick wood, surrounded with a ditch, and fortified with a rampart; and many of them were overtaken as they attempted to make their escape, and cut in pieces. Here Cæsar found great plenty of cattle *.

*Four Kent-
ish kings
attack the
Roman
camp; but
are re-
pulsed.*

*Cassibelan
sues for
peace, and
obtains it.*

To repair, in some degree, this loss, and divert Cæsar from pursuing his conquests, Cassibelan, by his deputies, persuaded four petty princes of Kent, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, whom Cæsar styles kings, to raise forces, and attack the camp, where the ships were laid up; but the Romans, having made a sally, repulsed them with great slaughter, took Cingetorix prisoner, and returned, without loss, to their trenches. Upon intelligence of this defeat, Cassibelan, considering the many losses he had sustained, how his country was laid waste, and above all, that several states had already submitted to the conqueror, resolved to follow their example. He accordingly authorized ambassadors to treat of a surrender, who were introduced by Comius of Atrebatum or Arras. As the summer was already far advanced, Cæsar, who was determined to winter in Gaul, accepted their proposals: so that a treaty was soon concluded upon the following conditions; that the Britons should pay an annual tribute to the people of Rome; that Cassibelan should leave Mandubratius in the quiet possession of his dominions, and not molest the Trinobantes; and that he should deliver a certain number of hostages. These Cæsar no sooner received, than he marched to the sea-side, where he caused his fleet, which he found refitted, to be launched. As he had a great number of captives, and some of his ships had been lost in the storm, he resolved to transport his army at two voyages; but most of those vessels, which were sent back to Gaul after they had landed the soldiers that were first embarked, being driven back by contrary winds, Cæsar, after having

* Cæf. Comment. lib. v. cap. 21.

the former about Henley, and habited some parts of Hertford-
the latter about Bray. The shire, perhaps the hundred of
Cossi are supposed to have in- Caishow.

long

long expected them in vain, lest the winter should prevent his voyage, the equinox being near at hand, crouded his soldiers closer than he designed, and, putting to sea about the second watch of the night, reached the continent, with his whole fleet, by break of day ^x.

After the departure of Julius Cæsar, the Romans were diverted, for the space of twenty years, by their domestic broils, from attempting any thing against Britain. During this interval the tribute was not paid, nor perhaps demanded; so that the Britons continued no less free from the Roman yoke than they had been before the arrival of Cæsar.

But Augustus having at length terminated the civil wars, and firmly established himself in the possession of the empire, resolved to force the Britons to perform the agreement they had made with his uncle Julius. With this view he advanced as far as Gaul, but was, by a revolt in Pannonia, prevented from putting his design in execution. About seven years after he entered Gaul with the same resolution; but the unsettled state of that province induced him to listen to the proposals of the ambassadors sent by the Britons to sue for peace; which was granted, no doubt, upon their promising to confirm their agreement with his predecessor Julius: but they neglected, it seems, to perform their promise; for the year ensuing Augustus resumed the resolution of passing over into Britain; but was again prevented by the revolt of the Cantabrians in Spain. However, some of the British princes took care to cultivate his friendship with presents, which were deposited in the Capitol ^y.

*Augustus.
State of
Britain
during his
reign.*

Cunobeline, who is said to have succeeded Tenuantius, the successor of Cassibelan, maintained a correspondence with Rome, and even caused coins to be stamped after the manner of the Romans, some of which are still preserved. Among the rest, one with the word TASC on the reverse, signifying, according to our antiquaries, *tribute*; whence they conclude, that this money was designed for the payment of the tribute; for though brass and iron rings of a certain weight served, as Cæsar informs us, for their current coin, yet the Romans exacted the tribute in gold or silver; and of the latter metal the coin we are here speaking of is composed (U). Thus Britain, by degrees, became well known to

*Cunobeline
maintains
a corre-
spondence
with Rome.*

^x Cæf. Comment. lib. v. cap. 23—25.

^y Strabo, lib. iv.

(U) On this medal is represented Apollo playing on the lyre, the name of Cunobeline being engraved round it. Alford observes, that the Gauls and Britons worshipped Apollo under the name of Belus or Belinus; and thence he derives

to the Romans, even in the time of Augustus. That prince, however, satisfied with the small tribute that was yearly sent to him from Britain, forbore any farther attempts upon the island, either thinking the friendship or enmity of the Britons of no consequence to the Romans, as Strabo insinuates^z, or being, out of a state maxim, resolved to set bounds to the empire, lest it should grow too great and unwieldy^a.

*Tiberius
suffers the
Britons to
enjoy their
liberties.*

Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus, being more inclined to contract than enlarge the bounds of the empire, followed the example of Augustus, and never entertained the least thought of conquering Britain; but, satisfied with the respect the British princes shewed him in sending back some of Germanicus's soldiers who had been shipwrecked on their coast^b, and with their paying the usual customs for such commodities as they brought into Gaul, suffered them to enjoy their liberties, and live according to their own laws. These customs the Roman officers collected in a precarious manner, fearing to provoke the Britons, as Strabo asserts. Caligula, the successor of Tiberius, having passed the Alps with a design to plunder Gaul, received under his protection Adminius, called by our writers Guiderius, the son of Cunobeline, who had been banished by his father. Hereupon he wrote boasting letters to Rome, ordering the messengers to drive their chariots into the forum, and to the very curia, strictly enjoining them not to deliver their letters but in the temple of Mars, and in a full senate, as if the whole island had submitted to his dominion. Soon after, no doubt at the instigation of Adminius, he marched with his forces to the sea-side; but being informed that the Britons were ready to receive him, his courage cooled, and instead of pursuing his design, he ordered his soldiers to fill their helmets with cockle-shells, which he called the spoils of the conquered ocean. Having by such marks of folly

*Caligula's
mock expe-
dition a-
gainst the
Britons.*

^z Strabo lib. ii.

^a Tacit. in Vita Agric. Julian. in Cæf.

^b Tacit. Annal. lib. ii.

the name of Cunobeline. On the reverse is engraved the figure of a woman, with the words *Tascia* and *Novane*. *Tascia* signifies, in the British tongue, according to Powel, a *tribute-penny*, probably from the Latin word *taxatio*, the letter

X not being used by the Britons. By the woman is, in all likelihood, represented Britain; and as for the word *Novane*, Alford conjectures it to be the name of some town, perhaps the metropolis of the *Novantes* or *Trinobantes* (1).

(1) Alford. Annal. ad ann. 1. Camden. Numism. not. 7.

and madness exposed himself to the derision both of the Gauls and Britons, he wrote to the senate, desiring them to decree him a triumph; but they being averse to comply with his demand, he resolved to cause them all to be massacred, but was murdered himself, before he could put his barbarous design in execution^c.

The Britons may be said to have continued hitherto free from the Roman yoke: but in the reign of Claudius, the successor of Caligula, great part of the island was brought under subjection to Rome, and the rest, by degrees, under the succeeding emperors. Dio Cassius gives us a distinct account of the invasion by Claudius, the occasion of which he thus relates: Cunobeline being dead, his two sons, Togodumnus and Caractacus reigned. In their reign, Bericus being driven out of the island for attempting to raise a sedition, fled, with those of his party, to Claudius, and being highly incensed against his countrymen, persuaded the emperor to invade Britain. On the other hand, the Britons, resenting the emperor's receiving the fugitives, and his refusing to deliver them up when demanded, forbade all commerce with the Romans. A war being therefore resolved on, Claudius ordered Plautius, then prætor in Gaul, to transport the legions under his command into Britain. The soldiers, unwilling to make war, as they said, out of the compass of the world, refused to follow their general, or obey his commands; but being at length reclaimed to a sense of their duty, they embarked cheerfully, and put to sea from three ports, in order to land in three different places. They were driven back by contrary winds, a circumstance which greatly disheartened them; but resuming their courage upon the appearance of a meteor shooting from the east, they put to sea again, and landed in Britain without opposition, the inhabitants, who had been informed of the mutiny in the Roman army, and did not expect so sudden an alteration, having neglected to assemble and take measures for opposing the invasion. Hearing, therefore, they were landed, they kept in small bodies behind their marshes, and in their woods, in order to spin out the time till winter, when they imagined Plautius, after the example of Julius Cæsar, would return to Gaul.

But the Roman general having, with great difficulty, first found out Caractacus, and afterwards Togodumnus, defeated them both, and reduced part of the Dobuni, who were then subject to the Catticuchlani; then leaving a garrison to keep them in awe, he marched to a river where

Claudius.

What induced him to make war on the Britons.

Yr. of Fl.
239.
A. D. 43.

Plautius sent into Britain with an army. He lands without opposition;

and defeats two British princes.

^c Suet. in Calig. Dio, lib. lix.

The Britons attack the Romans.

the Britons lay carelessly encamped, imagining the Romans could not pass it without a bridge; but the German soldiers, accustomed to stem the strongest currents in their armour, having passed the river, and fallen upon the horses that drew the chariots, in which the chief strength of the Britons consisted, Vespasian, and his brother Sabinus, sent over with a body of troops to support them, easily defeated the enemy, their chariots being rendered unserviceable. The Britons, however, not yet dispirited, engaged the Romans next day so vigorously, that the victory, for a considerable time, inclined to neither side; but at length the Romans, encouraged by the example of Caius Sidius Geta, charged the Britons so briskly, that they were routed after a most obstinate resistance. The conduct of Geta in this action was so remarkable, that triumphal honours were decreed him, though he had never been consul^d. This battle is supposed to have been fought on the banks of the Severn. From hence the Britons retired to the mouth of the Thames, and being acquainted with the flats and shallows, drew the Romans, who followed them, into great danger; but the Germans having crossed the river by swimming, and the others on a bridge somewhat higher, the Britons were surrounded on all sides, and great numbers put to the sword. Many of the Romans, pursuing the fugitives with too much eagerness, fell into the marshes and were lost. In one of these battles Togodumnus was killed, whose death was so far from discouraging the Britons, that they betrayed greater eagerness than ever to oppose the Romans, and revenge his loss. Plantius, not thinking it prudent to penetrate farther into the country, put garrisons into the places he had taken, and wrote to the emperor, acquainting him with the progress he had already made.

Yr. of Fl.
2392.
A. D. 44.

Claudius sets out from Rome, and lands in Britain. He defeats the Britons, and takes Camalodunum.

Claudius, who aspired at the honour of a triumph, no sooner received this letter than he left Rome, and embarking at Ostia, sailed to Marseilles, whence he pursued his journey by land to Gessoriacum, now Bologne, where he again embarked, and landing safe in Britain, joined his lieutenant Plautius, who lay encamped on the banks of the Thames. Upon his arrival the whole army passed the river, and falling upon the Britons defeated them entirely. After this victory he advanced to Camalodunum, the royal seat of Cunobeline, which he took, and, without any considerable opposition, reduced some of the neighbouring states. For these exploits he was several times by his soldiers saluted emperor, contrary to the received custom of the Romans,

^d Dio, lib. lx. p. 679, 680.

which

which allowed no general to assume that title more than once in the same war*. Part of Britain being thus subdued, Claudius disarmed the inhabitants, and appointed Plautius to govern them, ordering him, at the same time, to subdue those who remained yet unconquered. To such as had submitted he remitted the confiscation of their estates, which gained their affections to such a degree, that they erected a temple, and paid him divine honours. The emperor, after having remained in Britain only sixteen days, set out from thence on his return to Rome, having sent thither his two sons-in-law, Pompeius and Silanus, before him with the news of his victories. Upon his arrival he was honoured with a triumph and the surname of Britannicus, which was given both to him and his son: the officers who had attended him in this expedition were distinguished with triumphal ornaments: annual sports were decreed by the senate, and two triumphal arches, one to be erected at Rome, and the other at Gesoriacum, whence he had passed over into Britain. On the top of the imperial palace was fixed a naval crown, implying the conquest of the British ocean.

He returns to Rome, where he is honoured with a triumph, and the surname of Britannicus.

Plautius, governor of Britain, pursued his conquests, after the emperor's departure, with such success, that upon his return to Rome, he was honoured with an ovation, and received without the gates by the emperor himself, who, at his solemn entry, gave him the right-hand. In this war, Vespasian, afterwards emperor, and his son Titus, distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner. The former fought thirty battles with the Britons, subdued two powerful nations, and reduced about twenty towns, with the isle of Wight; for which exploits he received the triumphal ornaments, two sacerdotal dignities, and the consulship†. As for Titus, he no less signalized his piety than his courage and valour; for seeing his father in a battle surrounded on all sides, and in imminent danger of his life, he broke through the enemy's ranks, and having rescued him, put the Britons to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter‡. Some years after, in the ninth of Claudius's reign, P. Ostorius Scapula, being sent into Britain, suddenly attacked the Britons, who had broken into the Roman conquests; and having put great numbers to the sword, and dispersed the rest, to restrain them from making inroads for the future into the territories of the Romans, or their allies, he built several forts on the Severn, the Avon, and

*Yr. of Fl.
2398.
A. D. 50.*

P. Ostorius Scapula, governor of Britain.

* Dio, lib. lx. p. 680, 681. Suet. in Claud. cap. 19.
in Vesp. cap. 4.

† Dio, lib. lx. p. 679.

‡ Suet.

Camalodunum is made a Roman colony.

Ostorius defeats the Iceni, and quells the rebellious Brigantes.

Yr. of Fl.
2399.
A. D. 51.

Caractacus defeated.

Ostorius is succeeded by Aulus Didius;

and he by Veranius.

Yr. of Fl.
2400.
A. D. 51.

the Nen, reduced that part of the island which lies south of these rivers to a Roman province, and, for a farther security, made Camalodunum a military colony. This progress the Iceni could not endure, and therefore, being joined by the neighbouring nations, they raised a considerable army, and encamped in an advantageous post, in order to prevent the Romans from penetrating farther into the island. However, Ostorius, after a most obstinate conflict, put them to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter. After this victory, he led his army into the country of the Cangi, probably the present counties of Shropshire and Cheshire; but being informed, as he approached the Irish sea, that the Brigantes were in arms, he marched with all speed against them; and having caused the chief authors of the disturbance to be put to death, and pardoned the rest, soon restored that country to its former tranquility.

In the sequel he made war upon the Silures, the inhabitants of South Wales, headed by Caractacus, a commander of great reputation, whom nevertheless he defeated in a pitched battle. Caractacus, upon his defeat, fled for protection to Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, who, dreading the Roman arms, delivered him in bonds to the conqueror, by whom he was sent to Rome, with his wife, daughter, and brothers, and received by the emperor in triumph. Claudius, moved with the speech which the captive prince made when brought before his tribunal, and admiring the constancy with which he bore his misfortunes, granted to him, to his wife, to his daughter and brothers, their lives and liberty. The Silures, notwithstanding the loss of their general, pursued the war with great vigour, and gained very considerable advantages over the Romans; which so affected Ostorius, that he died with grief. He was succeeded by A. Didius, who restrained the Silures from making frequent and wide incursions into the Roman territories, by confining them within more narrow bounds; but was not able to restore Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, and an ally of Rome, to her kingdom. He defeated the Brigantes in a pitched battle; but afterwards, as he was advanced in years, he contented himself with acting only defensively, and restraining the enemy by his lieutenants. Veranius, who succeeded him in the reign of Nero, died in less than a year after his arrival in Britain, without performing any thing worthy of notice.

After him, Suetonius Paulinus governed Britain, who reduced the island of Anglesey, and defeated the Britons with great slaughter, who, under the conduct of queen Boadicea, had taken arms, and put incredible numbers of the

the Romans and their allies to the sword. Suetonius Paulinus was succeeded in the government of Britain by Petronius Turpilianus, and he by Trebellius Maximus. During their government nothing remarkable happened; for, as they were both men of an indolent temper, they took care not to provoke the Britons by any acts of hostility. In the mean time Nero dying, the Roman army in Britain was commanded, during the short reigns of Galba and Otho, by tribunes, among whom Caelius bore the chief authority, who, by carefully avoiding to give the Britons any just cause of complaint, kept all things quiet in the island. Vitellius, upon his accession to the empire, appointed Vespasian governor of Britain, who ruled with great gentleness, without either provoking the Britons, or being provoked by them. In the reign of Vespasian, who succeeded Vitellius, Petilius Cerealis was sent into Britain, to take upon him the command of the army. Petilius, upon his arrival, attacked the Brigantes, the most numerous and powerful of all the British nations: having defeated them in several encounters, he reduced great part of their country, and continued to ravage the rest ^b. He was succeeded by Julius Frontinus, who not only maintained the conquests made by his predecessor, but fought himself with great success against the warlike nation of the Silures, whom he entirely reduced.

Suetonius Paulinus reduces Anglesey.

Julius Frontinus being recalled, the celebrated Cneius Julius Agricola was sent to command in his room. He arrived in Britain about the middle of summer, when the Roman soldiers supposed the service of the season to be concluded. The Ordovices, of North Wales, had, not long before his arrival, cut in pieces a body of horse stationed upon their confines, and by this exploit roused the whole province to arms. The Roman troops were divided, and lay dispersed over the province; and the soldiers had assured themselves of rest for the remaining part of the year.

*Yr. of Fl. 2426.
A. D. 78.*

Julius Agricola governor of Britain.

Notwithstanding these discouragements, and the remonstrances of some who judged it better only to guard the places that were threatened, Agricola resolved to march against the enemy without delay. Having therefore collected the flower of the legions, and a small body of auxiliaries, he advanced against the Ordovices: but as the enemy kept themselves upon the ridges of the mountains, and dared not descend into even ground, Agricola marched in person at the head of his army, and led them to the encounter upon the ascent. The soldiers, animated by the

His exploits in Britain during his first campaign.

^b Tacit. in Vit. Agric. cap. 4—9.

example of their general, attacked the enemy with great resolution, put them to flight, and made such a dreadful havock, that almost the whole nation was cut off. In order to maintain the fame he acquired by this action, and to strike the enemy at once with universal terror, he resolved to reduce the island of Anglesey, which had been formerly conquered by Paulinus, but lost again by the general revolt of Britain. As this plan was suddenly concerted, and consequently ships were wanting, he detached a chosen body of auxiliaries, such as knew the fords, and were dexterous at swimming. These, unincumbered with baggage, made a descent and attack so sudden, that the enemy were struck with consternation, as they believed no enterprize difficult and insurmountable to men who began the war with such resolution. Thus they implored peace, and immediately surrendered the island to Agricola.

*Recovers
the island
of Anglesey.
Reverſes
the griev-
ances com-
plained of
by the Bri-
tons.*

As he was well acquainted with the temper of the people in his province, and had also learned from the conduct of others, how little arms avail to settle a province, if victory is followed by grievances and oppressions, he resolved to cut off all causes of complaint. Beginning therefore with himself, and those about him, he regulated his own household. His domestics did not transact any thing concerning the public. In preferring the soldiers, he was induced by no personal interest or partiality, nor by the recommendations of centurions, but by his own opinion and knowledge. He would know all that passed; but did not punish all that was amiss. He readily pardoned small faults; but such as were enormous, he punished with proportionable severity. In conferring offices and employments, he chose men of talents and integrity. Though the tribute had been augmented, yet he lightened it by a just and equal distribution of all public burdens, and totally abolished whatever exactions had been devised for the benefit of individuals, and were therefore borne with more discontent than the tribute itself; for the publicans used, under colour of securing the taxes, to seize all the corn of the inhabitants, lock up their barns, and oblige them to purchase their own grain at a high price, and afterwards sell it back again to them at a low rate; besides, the unhappy people were enjoined to take long journies, and carry grain across the several countries to places extremely distant; insomuch that several communities, instead of supplying the winter-quarters, which lay adjoining, were obliged to furnish such as were remote, unless they redeemed themselves from that oppression with considerable sums. All these grievances were entirely suppressed by Agricola in his first year; by which means

means the Britons began to be reconciled to the Roman government, and to live in a state of peace and security¹.

In the beginning of the second summer he assembled his army, and penetrated farther into the country. He himself always chose the ground for encamping; the friths and woods he always first examined; and in the mean time allowed the enemy not a moment's quiet, but was ever harassing them with sudden incursions. Then having sufficiently alarmed and terrified, he used to spare them, in order to tempt and allure them with the sweets of peace. By this conduct several communities, which till that day had maintained themselves in a state of independency, laid down their arms, gave hostages, and suffered fortresses to be erected in their territories. This is the account which Tacitus gives us of what Agricola performed in the second summer's expedition; but as he speaks in general, without naming any particular place, it is no easy matter to determine through what part of Britain Agricola marched, and how far into the country.

Agricola, having thus spent the summer, employed the winter in measures extremely advantageous and salutary: to the end that the people, wild and dispersed over the country, and easily excited to war, might, by a taste of pleasures, be reconciled to inactivity and repose, he first privately exhorted, and then publicly assisted them, to build temples, houses, and places of public resort, reprimanding such as were dilatory, and commending those who were assiduous and forward in such pursuits. He took care to have the sons of their chiefs instructed in the liberal sciences; and such was his success, that those who had lately scorned to learn the Roman language, were now become fond of its elegancies: thence they began to assume the Roman apparel. Thus, by degrees, they proceeded to the charms and allurements of vice and effeminacy, to magnificent galleries, sumptuous bagnios, and elegant entertainments. In the beginning of the summer, Agricola again took the field, and, in pursuit of his conquests, discovered new nations, proceeding northwards as far as the mouth of the Taus or Tay: whence such terror seized the enemy, that they durst not attack him, though his troops were harassed by terrible tempests; so that he had time to secure the places he had conquered by erecting forts. It was observed of Agricola by men of experience, that no commander ever chose his posts with more skill, with regard to situation and convenience; and that no place of

Reconciles them to the Roman government.

Yr. of Fl.

2427.

A.D. 79.

Agricola's second campaign in Britain. Several communities submit, and give hostages.

Agricola brings the Britons to adopt the Roman customs.

Yr. of Fl.

2428.

A.D. 80.

He extends his conquests to Taus or Tay.

strength, founded by him, was ever taken by storm, or abandoned as not defensible. From these fortresses frequent excursions were made; and, as they were supplied with provisions for a year, the Romans passed the winter in them without the least apprehension, every single fort defending itself; so that the enemy, in all their attempts, were baffled, and reduced to despair, not being able, as formerly, to repair, by their success in the winter, the losses they had sustained in the summer^k.

Yr. of Fl. The fourth summer after Agricola's arrival in Britain
2429. was employed in settling and securing the places which he
A.D. 81. had already conquered; including all the countries on this side the Glota and Bodotria, now the Clyde and Forth, into which rivers the tide, from the opposite seas, flows so far up the country, that their heads are parted only by a narrow neck of land, not above twenty miles over.

He employs the fourth summer in securing the places already conquered.

In the following year, the first of Domitian's reign, and the fifth of the British war, he passed the frith himself in the first ship that landed, subdued, in many successful encounters, tribes till that time unknown, and placed forces in that part of Britain which fronts Ireland; not that he apprehended any danger from the inhabitants of that island, but because he already entertained thoughts of reducing it; for, as it lies between Britain and Spain, and is capable of an easy communication with the coast of Gaul, Agricola considered, that it would prove of infinite use in bringing together those powerful members of the empire. A petty king of the country, expelled by domestic dissension, was already received into protection by Agricola, and, under the appearance of friendship, reserved for a proper occasion^l. For these conquests, Domitian assumed the title of imperator the fourth time.

Yr. of Fl. Next year, Agricola continued his conquests in Britain,
2430. or rather Caledonia. As it was apprehended, that the nations beyond Bodotria, or the frith of Edinburgh, would take arms, and that all the ways and passages were beset with the enemy's forces, his first step was to coast, and examine, by means of his fleet, the large communities beyond the frith, probably those of the counties of Fife, Angus, Mernes, and Aberdeen, which lie beyond Edinburgh frith. In this expedition the fleet constantly attended the army. The Britons, upon sight of the fleet, were seized with consternation and dismay. The several nations, inhabiting Caledonia, had immediate recourse to arms, and boldly attacking the Roman forts, caused great terror and alarm among

Agricola's farther conquests in Britain.

^k Tacit. Vit. Agric. cap. 22.

^l Idem ibid, cap. 24.

the soldiers; infomuch that there were some who advised Agricola to return to this side of Bodotria, seeing it was less shameful to retreat of their own accord, than to be repulsed, and driven by force. As Agricola was informed, that the enemy designed to attack him in different bodies, he divided his army into three parts, and thus marched, to prevent their surrounding him; for they surpassed him in numbers, and in the knowledge of the country. In consequence of this disposition, the Caledonians changed their measures, and, in one body, fell upon the ninth legion. As the attack was in the night, they slew the guards, entered the trenches, and were already pursuing the slaughter in the camp, when Agricola, having learnt from his spies what route the enemy had taken, and following their track, commanded the lightest of his foot and cavalry to charge them, while yet engaged, in the rear, and the whole army to give a loud shout. By this motion the Caledonians were dismayed, and the Romans inspired with fresh courage; so that they fell upon the enemy with great resolution, and drove them to the gates of the camp, where a bloody conflict ensued. At last the Caledonians were routed; and, had not the bogs and woods covered their flight, the war would have been ended by this victory. This battle was probably fought in the county of Fife; for Agricola's army was at that time, as is evident from Tacitus, on the north side of Bodotria, or the frith of Edinburgh; and the remains of a Roman camp are still to be seen in that country, at a place called Lochore^m.

The Caledonians attack the ninth legion; but are repulsed.

The Roman soldiers, elated with this success, and thinking nothing could now prove insurmountable to their bravery, demanded to be led into the heart of Caledonia, and to the utmost limits of Britain, which they hoped to discover by a constant course of success. On the other hand, the Caledonians, ascribing the victory gained by the Romans, not to their superior courage, but to the skill and address of their general, lost nothing of their spirit and resolution; but armed their youth, removed their wives and children into places of security, and, in general assemblies of their several communities, engaged in a league, which they ratified by solemn sacrifices. Thus they mutually retired for the winter, with minds on both sides equally irritated, and determined upon war and revengeⁿ.

The Roman soldiers demand to be led into the heart of Caledonia.

During the same summer, a cohort of Usipians, levied by the Romans in Germany, and transported to Britain, having slain the centurion, embarked in three vessels, with

^m Gordon Itin. Septentr. p. 36.

ⁿ Tacit. ibid. cap. 24.

*Britain
discovered
to be an
island.*

a design to return to their own country, forcing the pilots to conduct them : but one of these making his escape, or bringing them back, as we read in Dio Cassius, to Britain, they suspected, and therefore killed, the other two, and abandoned themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves; which, after having long tossed them about the sea, carried them quite round Britain; insomuch that, departing, according to Dio, from the eastern, they returned to the western coast, where the Roman army was then encamped ° (L).

*Yr. of Fl.
2432.
A. D. 84.*

*The Cal-
donians
draw to-
gether
thirty thou-
sand men.*

In the following year, Domitian being consul the tenth time, with Appius, or, as others call him, Oppius Sabinus, the brave Agricola pursued his conquests in Caledonia with extraordinary success. Having sent forward his navy, he put himself at the head of his army lightly equipped, and to it added some of the bravest Britons, whose fidelity had been sufficiently proved by long experience in peace. Thus he arrived at the Grampian Hills, upon which the enemy were already encamped; for the Caledonians, undaunted by the issue of the late battle, and boldly waiting to take revenge, had, by embassies and confederacies, assembled the forces of all their communities, to the number of thirty thousand, under the command of Galgacus, the most distinguished of all their leaders. Those who desire to be entertained with a specimen of Roman eloquence, may peruse the harangues which Tacitus has composed for each general, in describing this event. That the Britons as well as the Romans were harangued before the action, is not to be doubted, no more than that Galgacus insisted upon those topics which were most likely to interest his audience.

*He engages
the Caledo-
nians un-
der the
command
of Galga-
cus.*

Agricola had scarce ended his speech, when the soldiers, transported with joy, flew to arms. That general, perceiving them sufficiently animated and inflamed, drew them up in order of battle, placing the auxiliary foot, to the num-

° Dio, lib. lxvi. p. 754.

(L) Tacitus relates, that having sailed quite round the island, they were driven on the coasts of Germany, where their vessels being lost, they were seized as pirates by the Suevians and Frisians; and, being sold for slaves, some of them, by change of masters, were brought over to the Roman side of the Rhine, where they became famous by relating such an extra-

ordinary adventure, and by discovering that Britain was an island. Their provisions had soon failed them; so that they were obliged to make frequent descents, and engage with several of the British nations, in which conflicts they often proved victorious, and were sometimes defeated. They were at length reduced to such distress, as to feed upon one another.

ber

ber of eight thousand men in the centre, and three thousand auxiliary horse in the wings. He would not suffer the legions to advance; but commanded them to stand in order close to the entrenchments. The Caledonians were ranged in such manner, that the front occupied the plain, and the rest rose successively upon the brows of the hills, one rank close above the other. Their chariots of war and cavalry filled the interjacent ground. Agricola, apprehensive, as the enemy far surpassed him in number, that he should be attacked at the same time in the front and on each flank, opened and extended his line. The onset was begun at a distance, by a discharge of missiles, which the Britons sustained without flinching, and returned with effect; till Agricola encouraged three Batavian cohorts, and two of the Tungrians, to close with the enemy, and bring them to an engagement hand to hand. The close fight proved very grievous to the Caledonians, who had no armour but small round targets and long cutting swords blunted at the point, the very same kind of weapons which are still used by the Highlanders of Scotland. The Batavians redoubled their blows, wounded the enemy with the iron bosses of their bucklers, mangled their faces, and beating down all who opposed them in the plain, advanced to the rising-ground: the other cohorts, encouraged by their example, attacked the enemy with equal ardour, and made a dreadful havoc. In the mean time, their cavalry betook themselves to flight, and their chariots of war, mixing with the foot, and entangled with the unevenness of the place, occasioned a general disorder and confusion in the plain.

The Britons, who were posted upon the ridges of the hills, and had hitherto no share in the encounter, now began to descend slowly, hoping to surround the Romans who were engaged and eager in pursuing the advantage they had gained: but Agricola, who had foreseen this very design, detached four squadrons of horse against them, which he had reserved near him for the sudden exigencies of the field. These, falling upon the enemy with great vigour and intrepidity, obliged them to retire, and put them in great disorder: then turning against the Caledonians their own devices, they wheeled about, and attacked the enemy in the rear. In consequence of this charge, the Caledonians began to retire in great confusion. Some of them fled in large bodies; others, quite unarmed, rushing into danger, offered themselves through despair to instant death. On all sides lay scattered arms, carcases, and mangled limbs; and the ground was dyed with blood. Some bands of the vanquished still fought with incredible resolution and

The Caledonians are utterly routed;

bravery;

and pursued by the Romans with great slaughter.

bravery; and, when they gained the woods, they rallied, and surrounded their pursuers, who, without knowing the country, had ventured too far: whence the conquerors must have suffered some terrible disaster, had not Agricola, who was constantly flying from one quarter to another, ordered the light-armed cohorts to invest the enemy on all sides, and some of the cavalry to dismount, and enter the narrow passes, while the rest of the horse advanced into the more open and passable parts of the wood. In fine, the Caledonians were totally routed, and fled for shelter to their woods and deserts, after they had lost ten thousand men killed on the field of battle: whereas the loss of the Romans did not exceed three hundred and forty, including Aulus Atticus, commander of a cohort, who by his youthful ardour, was hurried into the midst of the enemy ^p (M).

He orders his fleet to sail round the island.

The following night proved a night of great joy to the conquerors, both from victory and spoil: but the Caledonians, both men and women, crying and howling, wandered in despair: some dragged away their wounded; others were heard calling for their lost friends; all abandoned their houses, and some in rage even set fire to them: at length they totally disappeared. Next day, when from the spies, who had been dispatched into all quarters, it was learnt, that no certain traces could be discovered whither the enemy had fled, and that they had no-where rallied in bodies, Agricola, considering that the summer was already far spent, and consequently that he could not pursue the operations of the war, led his army into the country of the Horestians, supposed to be the shire of Angus. Having received hostages, he ordered the admiral of the fleet to sail round Britain, furnishing him with proper forces for that expedition, which he happily accomplished; and thence proved Britain to be an island. On this occasion were discovered and subdued the isles of Orkney, and Thule, now called Iceland, or, as others insist, Shetland. In the mean time, Agricola himself led on the foot and horse with a slow pace, that the minds of these new-conquered nations might be awed and dismayed by prolonging his march through their country. He then put his army into winter-quarters. Soon after the fleet having sailed round the island, returned to the port whence it had departed (N).

Thus

^p Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. cap. 35—38.

(M) Antiquaries are not agreed about the place where this battle was fought.

(N) That port is called by Tacitus, Trutulensis, which is entirely unknown. Some, instead

Thus, after many struggles and contests, Britain was at length entirely reduced; but the Romans did not long continue masters, at least of Caledonia, what Agricola gained being soon after lost by Domitian. The poet Juvenal speaks of a British king, named Arviragus, who was at war with the Romans in Domitian's reign⁹; and all the Scots historians relate, that, upon the departure of Agricola, the Caledonians possessed themselves of the castles and forts raised by him in their country. The Roman historians scarce take any notice of the British affairs till the reign of the emperor Adrian, who came over into Britain, where he built a wall eighty miles in length, in order to separate the Romans from the Barbarians^r.

Agricola immediately acquainted Domitian by letters with the success that had attended his arms in Britain. The account was plain and modest, without ostentation, or pomp. The emperor received it with joy in his countenance, but anguish in his heart, being convinced, that his late mock-triumph over the Germans was held in public derision; whereas now a true and glorious victory, gained by the slaughter of so many thousands of the enemy, was every where founded by the voice of fame, and received with universal applause. He could not endure, that the name of a private man should be exalted above that of the prince: to the emperor alone, he thought, properly appertained the glory and renown of being a great general. Tortured with these anxious thoughts, and indulging his humour of being shut up in secret, a certain indication that he was meditating some bloody design, he at last judged it the best course to smother his rancour till the reputation of these conquests, and the affection of the army to Agricola, were somewhat abated. To him, therefore, he caused to be decreed by the senate the triumphal ornaments, a statue crowned with laurel, and every honour instead of a real triumph, heightening these ceremonies with many expressions of esteem and respect: but, in the mean time, he resolved to recall him; and that this step might not be ascribed to jealousy or envy, he caused a report to be spread abroad, that to Agricola was destined the province of Syria, a government then vacant by the death of Atilius Rufus, a man of con-

Yr. of Fl.

2432.

A. D. 84.

Britain entirely reduced.

Domitian is flung with envy at the news of his conquests:

yet causes triumphal honours to be decreed to him.

Yr. of Fl.

2433.

A. D. 85.

He recalls him.

⁹ Juven. Satir. iv. ver. 38.

^r Spart. in Vit. Hadriani.

stead of Trutulensis, read Rutupensis, supposed to be Sandwich haven: but from Tacitus it is manifest, that the fleet at that time attended Agricola in

Caledonia, or Scotland; and consequently must have sailed from some port of that kingdom.

fular

*Agricola
leads a re-
tired life.*

fular dignity. Agricola surrendered to his successor, probably Sallustius Secundus, the province now settled in perfect peace and tranquility. To avoid all popular distinction, by having a concourse of people to meet him, he entered Rome by night, and went, as he was directed, to the palace; where he was received by the emperor with a slight embrace, without a word said, and then passed undistinguished amongst the crowd of courtiers. From this time forward, to lessen the reputation he had acquired of a military man, and a gallant commander, a name ever distasteful to those who live themselves in idleness, he resigned himself entirely to inactivity and repose.

After the departure of Agricola, we have but short and unconnected accounts of the transactions in this island, till the reign of the emperor Adrian. We do not even know who was Agricola's successor in the government of Britain. We only read in Suetonius *, that Sallustius Lucullus was legate of Britain in the reign of Domitian; and that he was put to death by that prince, for suffering his name to be given to a sort of spears which he had invented. In the reigns of Nerva, who succeeded Domitian, and Trajan, who succeeded Nerva, some commotions happened in the island; but all we know of them is, that they were soon appeased, and that the country was restored to its former tranquility, by the Roman troops quartered there; which, according to Josephus, amounted to four legions †.

In the reign of Adrian, the successor of Trajan, the Caledonians, having demolished some of the forts built by Agricola between the above mentioned friths, made an irruption into the Roman province. In the first year of Adrian's reign, Julius Severus, a commander of great renown, was dispatched against them; but he being suddenly recalled, and employed against the Jews, then in rebellion, Priscus Licinius was sent over in his room, and followed soon after by the emperor in person; whose arrival struck the Caledonians with such terror, that abandoning the countries they had seized, they retired to the more northern parts of the island. Adrian, not thinking it worth his while to make war upon them, in order to keep them quiet relinquished all the country between the Tyne and the two friths; but at the same time to restrain them from making incursions into the Roman province, he caused a wall to be built, extending from the Eden, in Cumberland, to the Tyne, in Northumberland, eighty miles in length ‡. Having thus

Yr. of Fl.
2468.
A.D. 120.

*Adrian in
Britain.
His wall.*

* Suet. in Domit.
‡ in Hadrian. cap. 5.

† Joseph. apud Camden. in Roman. Spar-
‡ Idem ibid. p. 6.

settled affairs in Britain, and reformed many abuses, he returned to Rome, where he was honoured with the title of Restorer of Britain.

To Adrian succeeded Antoninus Pius, in whose reign the Brigantes revolted; and the Caledonians having, in several places, demolished Adrian's rampart, began again to ravage the Roman territories. Against them was sent Lollius Urbicus, who obliged the Brigantes to submit once more to the Roman yoke. Having driven back the northern Barbarians, he confined them within narrower bounds than before, by a new wall, extending from the Forth to the Clyde, as appears beyond all doubt from certain inscriptions upon stones found in this wall, part of which still remains in the neighbourhood of Dunbritton; which stones are preserved in the college of Glasgow. For these achievements, Antoninus received the surname of Britannicus, though he had never seen Britain himself.

*Lollius
Urbicus
builds a
new wall.*

In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the successor of Antoninus Pius, new commotions were raised in Britain; which obliged the emperor to send thither Calpurnius Agricola, who, it seems, appeased them; for Fronto, the famous orator, as quoted by Eumenius, in a panegyric on the emperor Marcus Aurelius, says, among other things, that though, residing in his palace at Rome, he had committed the management of the war to one of his generals, yet, like a pilot sitting at the stern, and guiding the helm, he deserved the honour of the whole expedition *.

Yr. of Fl.
2486.
A.D. 138.

Marcus Aurelius succeeded Commodus, in whose reign the Caledonians, having passed the wall which parted them from the Romans, and cut in pieces the Roman general, and most of his army, committed dreadful devastations, without restraint, till Ulpus Marcellus was sent against them, who drove back the Caledonians with great slaughter, and restored the island to its former tranquility. The reputation he gained in this expedition was so great, that the emperor, thinking his own glory eclipsed by that of his general, resolved to put him to death; but, in the end, only removed him from his government: for the great advantages gained by Ulpus in Britain, Commodus assumed the title of emperor the sixth time *. That brave commander had no sooner left Britain, than the army began to mutiny, complaining chiefly of Perennis, the emperor's favourite, who, governing with absolute authority, sent only persons of the equestrian order to command the British army, whom

*Ulpus
Marcellus
drives the
Caledoni-
ans out of
the Roman
provinces.*

*The army
in Britain
mutinies.*

* Eumen. Panegy. x.
Numism. 7. Spedius, fol. 133.

x Dio, lib. lxii. p. 821. Camd.

the soldiers therefore refused to obey. The mutiny was carried so far, that the army sent deputies to Rome, fifteen hundred, says Dio Cassius, of their own body, to complain of Perennis. These the emperor received without the city; and being informed by them that Perennis aspired to the empire, and had, with that view, cashiered the bravest officers, and placed his own creatures in their room, he delivered the traitor to the fury of the prætorian bands, which he then commanded, and must have no less enraged than he had done the British army; for he was, after a thousand outrages, torn in pieces by them, with his wife, his sister, and his two sons ¹. In the mean time Helvius Pertinax, afterwards emperor, was sent into Britain, to bring back the mutinous army to a sense of their duty. Upon his arrival the soldiery, not able to bear the tyrannical government of Commodus, offered him the sovereignty; but he, by rejecting their offer with indignation, and proceeding with too much severity against the mutineers, provoked them to such a degree, that one of the legions openly revolting, much blood was shed, and Pertinax himself left for dead among the slain. However, in spite of all obstacles, he brought the army at last to submit, and restored tranquility to the province; but as his severity had excited the ill-will and hatred of the soldiery, he was some time after recalled, at his own request, Clodius Albinus being appointed governor of Britain in his room ². Albinus having, in a speech to the soldiery, upon a false report of the emperor's death, declared for the power of the senate against that of the emperor, was commanded by Commodus to resign the government of Britain to Junius Severus: but Commodus being soon after murdered, Pertinax, his successor, ordered Albinus again into Britain, where he continued during the short reigns of Pertinax and Didius Julianus. As he had, by his generosity, gained the affections of the British army, he was, upon the death of Julianus, proclaimed emperor. To maintain his title against Severus, who had received the same honour from the army in Pannonia, he passed over into Gaul with his British troops; but being encountered by his rival in the neighbourhood of Lyons, his army was defeated, and himself slain.

*Albinus,
governor
of Britain,
is saluted
emperor.*

*Britain
divided
into two
govern-
ments.*

Severus, now master of the whole Roman empire, divided Britain into two governments, not thinking it perhaps advisable to trust one man with so great a command. The hither, or southern part of the island, was given to He-

¹ Dio, lib. lxxii. p. 321. Lamp. in Commod. p. 48.
in Pertinace, cap. 3.

² Capital.

taclitus, and the northern to Virius Lupus, which last was so harassed by the continual inroads of the Caledonians, that he was at length obliged to purchase a peace with money; which they maintained till the fifteenth year of Severus's reign, when breaking again into the Roman province, they committed most dreadful devastations. Virius Lupus, not thinking himself in a condition to withstand them, retired as they advanced, and in the mean time acquainted the emperor with the state of affairs, and the dangers that threatened the province. Severus, upon receiving this intelligence, resolved to put an end to the daily incursions of the enemy, by the entire conquest of the North, and set out for Britain, at the head of a numerous army, accompanied by his two sons Caracalla and Geta. The Caledonians no sooner heard of his arrival, than they sent ambassadors, offering to conclude a peace upon honourable terms. These the emperor detained, till he was ready to take the field, and then dismissed, without granting their request.

Yr. of Fl.
255.
A. D. 207.

Severus
goes over
into Bri-
tain.

As soon as the season was fit for action, he marched into their country, which he ravaged with fire and sword, to the most distant and northern coasts of the island. Though no battle was fought in this expedition, yet partly by the enemy's continual ambuscades, partly by the hardships and toils the soldiers underwent in cutting down woods, building bridges, and draining marshes, fifty thousand are said to have perished. The Caledonians, however, were obliged to purchase a peace, by yielding to the Romans part of their country, and delivering up their arms. Having concluded a peace with the Caledonians, he returned to York, leaving to his son Caracalla the command of the army, and the task of finishing the wall he had begun: for this expedition Severus was honoured by the senate with the title of Britannicus Maximus, and his two sons with that of Britannicus^a. The emperor being taken ill at York, the Caledonians were no sooner informed of his indisposition, than they universally took up arms; a revolt which provoked Severus to such a degree, that he ordered his son Caracalla to enter their country with the whole army, and put all he met to the sword, without distinction of sex or age: but the emperor dying before his orders could be put in execution, his two sons, having concluded a shameful peace with the Caledonians, returned to Rome^b.

He builds a
new wall.

Severus
dies.

In the reigns of the twelve succeeding emperors, Macrinus, Heliogabalus, Alexander, Maximinus, Pupienus, Gordian, Philip, Decius, Gallus, Valerian, Gallienus, and

^a Spart. in Sever. Goltz, p. 88.

^b Dio, lib. lxxviii. p. 882.

*Constantius,
the father
of Constantine
the Great,
sent into
Britain.*

Claudius, we are left almost in the dark as to the affairs of Britain; for all we know, while these princes ruled, is, that Britain still continued to be a Roman province; that in the reign of Gordian III. it was governed by Nonnius Philippus (O); that under Valerian and Gallienus, the Roman troops quartered in the North, to restrain the Caledonians, were commanded by Desidienus Ælianus (P); that Britain, revolting from Gallienus, declared for Posthumus, who had usurped the sovereignty in Gaul; that of the thirty usurpers, or, as they are styled, tyrants, besides Posthumus, the following were acknowledged in Britain; Lollianus, Victorianus, and Tetricus, of whom the last being overcome by the emperor Aurelian, Britain submitted to the conqueror, who sent hither Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, to establish his authority in the island. Aurelian was succeeded by Tacitus, and he, after a short reign of about six months, by Probus, in whose time Bonofus, descended of a Spanish family, but born in Britain, usurped the sovereignty, and was acknowledged here, as well as in Gaul and Spain; but being, after several battles, reduced by Probus to great difficulties, he chose rather to strangle himself, than fall into the hands of the conqueror (Q). Probus was, according to Vopiscus^d, the first

^c Eumen. Panegy. ix. & x. Trebel. Poll. in 30 Tyrann. ^d Vopisc. in Prob. cap. 18.

(O) This we learn, notwithstanding the silence of the Roman historians, from an ancient inscription found at a place, by the Romans called *Castra Exploratorum*, and by us Old Carlisle. It is a votive inscription for the health of the emperor, of his wife, and the whole imperial family, erected by the Roman horse quartered in Britain, under the command of Æmilius Crispinus, a native of Tuidrum in Africa. In two other inscriptions found at Lancheester in the county of Durham, mention is made of Mæcilius Fuscus, and Cneius Lucilianus, both proprætors of Britain in the reign of the same emperor Gordian III.

(P) This appears from the following inscription found in Northumberland:

PRO SALVTE
DESIDIENI ÆLIANI PRÆ...
ET SVA S.
POSUIT VOT.
... AO. SOLVIT LIBE-
NS TVSCO ET BAS-
SO COSS.

(Q) Zosimus (1) and Zonaras (2) tell us, that a governor, sent hither by Probus, assumed the imperial purple; but was soon after killed by Victorinus, upon whose recommendation he had been preferred to the government of this island.

(1) Zof. lib. i. p. 265.

(2) Zonar. p. 256.

that

that allowed the Britons, Spaniards, and Gauls, to plant vines. The same emperor having, in an engagement on the banks of the Rhine with the Burgundians and Vandals, taken their king Igillus prisoner, with many others of these nations, transplanted them into Britain ^e.

Burgundians and Vandals in Britain.

In the beginning of Dioclesian's reign, Carausius, a native of Gaul, passing over into Britain, assumed the title of emperor, and was acknowledged by all the troops quartered here; nay, by a treaty concluded between him and Maximian, whom Dioclesian had taken for his partner in the empire, Britain was given up to Carausius, who governed it with the title of emperor for the space of six or seven years; but was afterwards killed by Allectus; as was Allectus, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in Britain, in a pitched battle with Asclepiodotus, one of Constantius's officers. Upon his death, Britain was reunited to the empire, after it had been held about seven years by Carausius, and three by Allectus. The two emperors, Dioclesian and Maximian, having resigned the empire to Galerius and Constantius, the latter, to whose share the western provinces fell, soon after his accession to the empire, passed over into Britain, to make war on the Caledonians and Picts, whom he overcame; but, not long after, died at York ^f, where he had the satisfaction to see his son Constantine before he expired, and to appoint him his successor; so that Constantine began his reign in Britain, and, some time after, returned to this island, probably to restrain the incursions of the Caledonians. He altered the division of Britain, which, by Severus, had been formed into two provinces only; but was by him divided into three, Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Maxima Cæsariensis, which last was afterwards subdivided into two parts, namely, Maxima Cæsariensis, and Flavia Cæsariensis. The removal of the imperial seat from Rome to Constantinople, which happened in the reign of Constantine, gave the northern nations an opportunity of making frequent irruptions into the Roman province, the emperor having carried with him, first into Gaul, and afterwards into the East, not only most of the Roman troops quartered in Britain, but likewise the flower of the British youth; on which account he is censured by Zosimus, for neglecting the boundary of the empire on this side ^g.

Carausius and Allectus usurp the sovereignty of Britain.

Constantine begins his reign in Britain.

Constantine divided the empire among his three sons, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius, of whom the lat-

^e Zof. lib. i. p. 865.
Eutrop. p. 587.

^f Hier. Chron. Aur. Vict. p. 526.
^g Zof. lib. ii.

*The famous
informer
Paulus,
surnamed
Cate-a, in
Britain.*

*The Ro-
man pro-
vinces ra-
vaged by
the Scots
and Picts.*

*Theodosius
the Elder
sent into
Britain.*

*He beats
back the
Barba-
rians;*

ter, being in a short time possessed of the whole, sent into Britain the famous notary and informer Paulus, surnamed Catena, to bring from thence the tribunes, and other officers, who had joined Magnentius. Constantius, about the latter end of his reign, committed the government of the western provinces to Julian, afterwards called the Apostate, who being informed, while he was in his winter-quarters at Paris, that the Picts and Scots, about this time first distinguished in history by that name (R), had broken into the Roman province, and committed horrid ravages, dispatched his lieutenant Lupicinus, with some troops, against them. Lupicinus, embarking at Bologne in the depth of winter, reached London in a few days; but he had scarce landed his troops, when he was recalled ^h, the northern nations having perhaps appeased Julian by their submission. During the short reigns of Julian and Jovian, we find nothing in history concerning the affairs of Britain: but, under Valentinian I. the Picts, Scots, Attacots, Saxons, and other northern nations, invaded the Roman province at the same time; and having killed Nectaridus, count of the maritime tract, and Fullofaudes, who is distinguished with the title of dux or duke, ravaged the country to a great extent, and reduced the inhabitants to a most deplorable condition.

Intelligence of this invasion being brought to Valentinian, while he was on his journey from Amiens to Treves, he immediately dispatched into Britain Severus, his comes domesticorum; but soon after recalled him, and sent Jovinus in his room, who having acquainted the emperor with the miserable condition to which the island was reduced, and the still greater evils with which it was threatened, Theodosius, father to the emperor of that name, was chosen for this province, and trusted with the sole direction of so troublesome a war. Theodosius, upon his arrival in Britain, divided his forces into different parties, which advancing against the enemy, who were roving up and down the country, put great numbers of them to death, recovered the

^h Ammian. lib. xx. p. 154.

(R) Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote towards the latter end of the fourth century, is the first historian that mentions the Scots: but St. Jerom, in his epistle against Ctesiphon the Pelagian, has given us a much more ancient passage, which he translated out of Porphyry the

Greek philosopher, who wrote an age before Ammianus. The passage is as follows: "Neither Britain, a province fertile in tyrants, nor the Scottish nations, nor the barbarous nations round about to the very ocean, did ever acknowledge Moses and the prophets."

booty

booty and prisoners they had taken, and obliged them to abandon the province. The Barbarians being thus repulsed, Theodosius entered Londonium, or London, in a kind of triumph, and restored that, as well as several other cities, which had greatly suffered by the late invasions, to their former splendor. As the Barbarians had retired beyond the friths of Glota and Bodotria, he erected several castles on the isthmus between the two seas, in order to restrain them from making fresh incursions into the province. By these means, all the country between Adrian's wall and the two friths, which had been for some time held by the Picts, was recovered. This tract Theodosius formed into a fifth province, to which the emperor gave the name of Valentia, probably from that of his brother Valens. Theodosius, before he left the island, crushed, in its beginning, the revolt of Valentine, or Valentinian, who, being banished into Britain, had prevailed upon some of the inhabitants to proclaim him emperor; but Theodosius, having seized the usurper, delivered him up to the civil magistrates ⁱ.

*and makes
a fifth province.*

Britain being restored to its former tranquility, Theodosius returned to the emperor, by whom he was very graciously received. In the joint reign of the succeeding princes, Valentinian II. and Gratian, Maximus, who commanded in Britain, hearing that Gratian had made Theodosius the Younger his colleague in the empire, and highly affronted at the preference given to a person, in his opinion, so much beneath him in merit, resolved to assume the imperial purple, and equal his rival. Accordingly, having gained over to his party the Roman legions quartered in Britain, he carried them, with the flower of the British youth, into Gaul. As these never returned to their native country, being either cut off with their leader, or settling elsewhere, the nation, thus bereft of its strength, became afterwards an easy prey to the Picts and Scots. In the reign of Theodosius, the Scots and Picts were kept in awe by Chrysantius, the son of Marcian bishop of Constantinople, who being appointed governor of Britain, acquitted himself in that capacity with great reputation ^k.

*Maximus
usurps the
sovereignty
in Britain.*

Theodosius was succeeded by his two sons Arcadius and Honorius, the former having the government of the East, and the latter that of the West. As Honorius was very young, the famous Stilicho, who had been appointed by Theodosius regent of the western empire during the minority of his son, is supposed to have sent over a legion into Britain, to defend it against the Scots, the Picts, and the

ⁱ Ammian. lib. xxviii. p. 368.

^k Socrat. lib. vii.

*Stilicho
secures
Britain
against the
incursions
of the
Scots,
Picts, &c.*

Saxons¹. Be this as it may, it is certain that he secured Britain against the incursions of its ancient enemies; as Claudian, in enumerating the great feats of Stilicho before his first consulship, tells us, that he succoured Britain, attacked by the neighbouring nations, meaning the Scots; that he secured it from the efforts of the Picts; and that he defended the British coasts against the descents of the Saxons^m. He adds elsewhere, that the Saxons being overcome, the sea was in a state of tranquility; and that the Picts having lost their strength, Britain was delivered from her fears. About this time, a proper officer was appointed to guard the coast against the attempts of the Saxons, who bore the title of comes limitis Saxonici; but, not long after, the empire being over-run by the Alans, the Vandals, and the Suevians, most of the Roman troops quartered in Britain were recalled, and the island left almost defenceless and open to the attacks of the Scots and Picts. In this situation the natives, expecting no assistance from Honorius, resolved to appoint an emperor of their own; and accordingly invested with that dignity one Mark, whom, though an officer of great credit among them, in a few days they assassinated, and nominated Gratian, a native of Britain, to succeed himⁿ. Gratian, after a short reign of four months, met with the same fate; and his successor was Constantine, a common soldier, who was chosen merely for the sake of his name, in honour of Constantine the Great. The new prince compelled the Scots and Picts to quit the Roman province, and retire beyond the two friths; which success inspiring him with a great opinion of his own merit and good fortune, he formed a design of making himself master of the whole empire. With this view, he passed over into Gaul, taking with him the few Roman forces that had been left there, and such of the Britons as were able to bear arms. We have mentioned the success that attended him at first in Gaul and Spain, and his unfortunate end, in a former volume.

The Britons choose an emperor.

Marcus and Gratian chosen, and slain.

Yr. of Fl. 2755.

A. D. 407.

Constantine chosen.

The unhappy Britons, thus left to themselves after the departure of the Romans, and the flower of their youth, were more harassed than ever by the Scots, the Picts, and other northern nations, who, meeting with little or no opposition, invaded their country, and ravaging it with fire and sword, soon reduced them to a miserable condition. In this state they continued from the year 407, when the usurper Constantine passed over into Gaul, to 410, when,

¹ Uff. Ecclef. Britann. Antiq. p. 595.

Stil. lib. ii. p. 140.

^m Claudian. de Laud.

ⁿ Soz. lib. ix. cap. 11. p. 813.

after having often implored in vain the emperor's assistance, they withdrew their obedience to Rome^o, and, being resolved to defend themselves with their own strength, refused any longer to obey the laws of the empire. The emperor Honorius seemed to approve their conduct; for by his letters he permitted, and even advised them to provide for their own safety. This implied renunciation was made, according to Bede^p, a little after the taking of Rome by Alaric, in the year of the city 1158. The Britons, now again a free people, appear to have at first fought with success against their ancient and irreconcilable enemies the Scots and Picts; as, according to Zosimus, they delivered their cities from the insults of a tyrannical foe: but, being at length overpowered, they implored the emperor's protection, promising an entire and perpetual obedience to Rome, provided they were delivered from the despotism and oppression of their merciless enemies.

Yr. of Fl.
2758.
A. D. 410:

The Britons withdraw their obedience to Rome.

Honorius, touched with compassion, sent a legion to their relief; which, landing unexpectedly in Britain, slew great numbers of the Scots and Picts. Having obliged them to retire beyond the friths of Edinburgh and Dunbritton, they advised the natives to build a wall on the isthmus from sea to sea, and then returned to the continent, where their assistance was required to repulse the Barbarians, making inroads from all quarters into the empire. The Britons, without loss of time, applied themselves to the building of the wall; but, as it was only constructed of turf, the Barbarians made breaches in several places, and, pouring in upon the territories of the Britons like a torrent, committed more dreadful ravages than ever, destroying every thing with fire and sword^q.

Honorius sends them a legion.

They build a new wall.

The unhappy Britons, after many miseries and calamities, sent deputies again to the emperor; who, appearing before him with their garments rent, and dust on their heads, prevailed upon him to send fresh forces to their relief. These, hastening into Britain, fell upon the Barbarians, not in the least apprised of their arrival, and made a dreadful havock of them, while they were wandering about the island in quest of booty^r. The Scots and Picts being thus driven beyond the friths just mentioned, the Romans, who had no ambitious view in assisting the distressed Britons, but aided them merely out of compassion and good-nature, told them plainly, that they were to expect no farther assistance from the emperor; that the troops he had now sent were ordered

A. D. 421.

Another legion sent to their relief.

^o Zos. lib. vi. p. 827. ^p Bed. Hist. cap. 11. ^q Gild. Excid. Britan. cap. 12, 13. p. 117. ^r Idem. ibid. cap. 14. p. 118.

back to the continent, to oppose the Barbarians, who extended their ravages to all parts of the empire; and that they were therefore obliged to take their last farewell of Britain, and entirely abandon the island. After this declaration, Gallio of Ravenna, commander of the Roman troops, exhorted the Britons to defend themselves for the future, by fighting manfully for their country, their wives, their children, and, what ought to be dearer than life itself, their liberty, against an enemy no stronger than themselves, provided they would but lay aside their fears, and exert their ancient fortitude and courage.

*The Britons
build another wall.*

Not satisfied with encouraging them, that they might be the better able to withstand the attacks of the enemy, he advised them to build a wall, not of turf, but of stone, offering them the assistance of his soldiers, under his own direction in the work. Accordingly, the Britons, jointly with the Romans, began to erect the new wall, and carried it on with such expedition, that, though eight feet in breadth, and twelve in height, it was soon finished. This wall, according to Bede*, stood in the line of that which was built by Severus. They likewise raised towers at convenient distances on the east coast against the Saxons, and other Barbarians, who, coming from Germany, made frequent descents on that side. The Roman commander, having thus secured the nation, took pains to instruct the natives in the art of war; then, leaving among them patterns of the weapons he had taught them to make, he, with his Romans, took his last farewell of Britain; and, telling the Britons that they must expect their return no more, he crossed over to the continent† (S). The Britons fought, as we have seen, for many years against the Romans, in defence of their liberty; and it was not without much bloodshed that they submitted to the yoke: but being at length

*The Romans take
their last
farewell
of Britain.*

* Bed. Hist. cap. 12. p. 156.
cap. 12. p. 156.

† Gild. cap. 24. p. 118. Bed. Hist.

(S) As to the year, in which Britain was thus finally abandoned, there is a great disagreement among chronologers, some placing the retreat of the Romans in 426, some in 435, or 437. According to Alford, Gallio returned to Gaul in 422, the twenty-eighth year of Honorius's

reign (1). Bede, in his history, speaks of the departure of the Romans as happening in 431 (2); but in his Chronicle, he seems to suppose it to have happened even before the year 423, and hence Alford places it in 422.

(1) Alford. Annal. ad hunc Ann. 12, 13. p. 14, 15.

(2) Bed. Hist. lib. i, cap.

pleased

pleased with their servitude, and become, as it were, one nation with their conquerors, who had continued among them for the space of four hundred years and upwards, they were no less unwilling to part with them, than they had been at first to receive them; because, indeed, they now depended upon them for protection from their savage enemies.

S E C T. III.

The History of Britain, from its being abandoned by the Romans to the Invasions of the Angles and Saxons.

THE Scots and Picts no sooner heard of the departure of the Romans, than, landing in swarms from their leathern vessels on the lands of the Britons, they committed greater ravages than ever, destroying all they found with fire and sword. These two nations, differing somewhat in manners, but equally greedy of spoil and booty, seeing the cowardly Britons fly like sheep before them, resolved to attack the wall, which had been lately repaired. At their approach, the Britons, instead of preparing for a vigorous defence, stood trembling on the battlements, till the enemy, more bold and active, brought some of them to the ground with long iron hooks, and driving the rest, with showers of darts and arrows, from their stations, made themselves masters of the wall. The Britons betook themselves to flight, which, however, could not save them; for the Scots and Picts, pursuing them close, made a dreadful havock of the fugitives, and took possession of the frontier towns, which they found deserted by the inhabitants. As the enemy met with no opposition, they traversed the whole country, and ravaged it without controul. This general havock and devastation occasioned a dreadful famine; from whence new mischiefs arose, and a kind of civil war among the Britons themselves, being compelled, for their support, to plunder each other, and take from their friends the little the common enemy had left. The whole country being thus ruined, the famine became general, and raged to such a degree, that the Britons who remained, were obliged to fly to the woods, and there live upon what they could procure by hunting. In this deplorable condition they continued some years. The Britons had already kings of their own; for Gildas, in his usual melancholy strain, condemns his countrymen for raising to the throne such men only as were remarkable for

The Scots and Picts break into the British territories.

¶ Gild. cap. 15, 16. p. 118.

their cruelty *. Perhaps they judged them best qualified to redress the disorders, and put a stop to the robberies, that prevailed all over the island. The same author adds, that those who had placed them on the throne, were soon after instrumental in their assassination; not because they had found them guilty of any crime, but that they might choose worse men in their room. If any of their princes proved more mild and humane than the rest, he was abhorred by all as a coward, and persecuted as a public enemy *. The unhappy Britons, thus at variance among themselves, and at the same time pressed with famine, and pursued by a merciless enemy, had recourse once more to the Romans for assistance, writing to Aetius, who was then consul the third time, and governed the Western empire almost with absolute power. To move him to compassion, they directed the letter thus: "The groans of the Britons to the consul Aetius." And in the letter: "The Barbarians (said they), drive us to the sea, and the sea forces us back to the Barbarians; between which we have only the alternative of two deaths, either to be swallowed up by the waves, or to be cruelly massacred by the enemy." What answer they received is uncertain: all we know is, that they could not prevail upon Aetius, who was then in Gaul, to lend them the least assistance, the emperor Valentinian III. being at that time under apprehension of a war with Attila †, who had not yet made any incursion into the Western empire.

The Britons write mournful letters to Aetius.

Their miserable condition.

The Britons, now despairing of obtaining any relief from the Romans, and, on the other hand, reduced to the utmost extremity by famine, which daily increased, knew not what measures to take to extricate themselves from their unfortunate situation. Great numbers of them fled over to Armorica, where those Britons, who attended Maximus into Gaul, are supposed to have settled: others submitted to the Scots and Picts, purchasing a miserable sustenance with perpetual slavery. Some, however, more resolute, had recourse to their arms, and sallying out in parties from their woods and caves, fell upon the enemy while they were scattered about the country, destroyed great numbers of them, and obliged the rest to retire ‡.

They drive back their enemies.

And now the Britons, having some respite, began again to cultivate their lands; which, after having for some time lain fallow, produced all sorts of provisions in such plenty, as never before had been known. This abundance introduced luxury, wantonness, and all manner of vices incident

* Gild. cap. 19. p. 119.

† Idem. *ibid.*

‡ Uff. p. 1104.

‡ Bed. Chron. p. 114.

to human nature. The clergy, who should have reclaimed the laity with their example, were the foremost to yield to vice and dissipation, being, for the most part, addicted to drunkenness, envy, and contention, and incapable of discriminating between good and evil ^a. In the mean time, the Britons were again alarmed with a report, that the Scots and Picts were returning with a greater force than ever, determined utterly to extirpate the natives, and settle themselves in their room from one end of the island to the other. This report occasioned a general consternation, which, however, was not sufficient to reclaim them from their wicked courses: they were visited with a dreadful plague, which, raging with uncommon fury, swept away most of those, whom the sword and famine had spared; in so much that the living were scarce sufficient to bury the dead. But this calamity likewise proving ineffectual, the contagion no sooner ceased than the enemy, returning with incredible fury, and putting all to fire and sword, soon reduced the miserable Britons to the utmost extremity of distress. Vortigern was then the chief, if not the only king of Britain, a proud, covetous, and debauched tyrant, entirely regardless of the public welfare, and as incapable of promoting it in the field, as in the cabinet. However, being roused by the clamours of the people, and finding it was absolutely necessary for his own preservation to repulse the enemy, he summoned a council, to deliberate with the chiefs of the nation concerning the proper means to deliver the country from the calamities it then groaned under, and prevent the like misfortunes for the future. In this council, they all agreed on the most pernicious expedient that could be imagined, and what, in the end, proved the utter destruction of the nation: they invited the Saxons into the island, a people at that time notorious for their piracies and cruelty, and dreaded, even by the Britons, as death itself ^b (T). The expedient being approved, ambassadors were speedily dispatched into Germany, to acquaint the Saxons with the request of the Britons, and offer them advantageous terms, provided they would come over to their assistance.

They abandon themselves to all manner of vice.

A dreadful plague.

The Britons under Vortigern agree to invite the Saxons over.

The Saxons were highly pleased with the proposal, the more as they were foretold by their soothsayers, that they

^a Gild. cap. 19. p. 119.

^b Bed. Hist. cap. 16. p. 157.

(T) The first Saxon troops are said, by most historians, to have landed in the year 449, though, by some, this event is placed a few years sooner; by others, a few years later.

Yr. of Fl.

2798.

A. D. 450.

The arrival of the Saxons.

should plunder the country, to which they were called, for the space of an hundred and fifty years, and quietly possess it twice that time^c. Having therefore fitted out two great ships, called in their language *chiules*, they put to sea, under the command of Hengist and Horfa, the sons of Witi-gifil, great-grandson to the celebrated Woden, from whom all the royal families of the Saxons pretended to derive their pedigree. Upon their arrival at Ebbesfleet, in the isle of Thanet, they were received, both by the prince and people, with the greatest demonstrations of joy. The isle itself was allotted them for their habitation, and a league was immediately concluded with them, by virtue of which the Saxons were to defend the Britons against all foreign enemies; and the Britons, on the other hand, were to allow the Saxons, besides their place of abode, pay and maintenance. Historians have acquainted us with the number of these Saxon auxiliaries; but they could not be above fifteen hundred, as they all came over in three ships; and we cannot well suppose any of those ships to have carried above five hundred men.

The seats of the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes.

Before we proceed farther in this history, it will be necessary to give some account of the origin, manners, government, and religion of the people, who, being called in by the Britons to their assistance, made themselves masters of the island, and hold it to this day. The Saxons were, according to the most probable opinion, a colony of the Cimbrians, that is, of the inhabitants of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, now Jutland; who, finding their country overstocked with people, sent out, much about the same time, three numerous bands to seek for new settlements. To one of these bands was afterwards given the name of Suevians, to another that of Franks, and to the third the appellation of Saxons. The Suevians took their route towards Italy, the Franks advanced to Belgic Gaul, and the Saxons possessed themselves of the whole country between the Rhine and the Elbe. By degrees, extending their conquests along the coast of the German ocean, when the Britons sent to implore their assistance, they were masters not only of the present Westphalia, Saxony, East and West Friseland, but likewise of Holland and Zealand. The first place they settled in, upon their leaving the Chersonesus, was the duchy of Holstein; which is thence called the ancient seat of the Saxons. Between this country and the Chersonesus, or Jutland, dwelt a people, known even in Tacitus's time, by the name of Angles^d. According to this account, which

^c Gild. cap. 23. p. 119, 120.
p. 316.

^d Tacit de Germ. Mor. cap. 40.

we have taken from Bede *, the Angles inhabited that small province in the kingdom of Denmark, and duchy of Sleswick, which is called at this day Angel, and of which the city of Flensburg is the metropolis. Lindebergius, in his epistles, styles this country Little England; and Ethelwerd, who wrote about the year 950, speaking of the ancient habitation of the Angles: "Old Anglia (says he) lies between the Saxons and Giots. The metropolis of this country is, by the Saxons; called Sleswick, but, by the Danes, Haithby. Britain took the name of those by whom it was conquered, and is therefore now called Anglia." The same writer adds, that Hengist and Horsa came from the country of the Angles into Britain †. When the Saxons came first out of the Chersonesus, going in quest of new settlements, the Angles joined them, and, in process of time, became one united nation. Hence they are, by most authors, comprised under the general name of Saxons, though some distinguish them by the compound name of Anglo-Saxons ‡.

Some time after the Saxons, Franks, and Suevians, had left the Chersonesus, the Goths, having driven out the remaining Cimbrians, made themselves masters of that peninsula, which was from that period called Gothland, or Jutland, from its new inhabitants the Goths, or Jutes (U). *Gothland
or Jutland.* Great numbers of these Giotæ or Jutæ, mixing with the Saxons and Angles, came over with them into Britain, to share their conquests. As the Saxons were, by their piracies on the coasts of Gaul and Britain, better known at the time of their settling in this island, the conquest of Britain is, by the ancient writers, ascribed to them, and not to the Angles, or Jutes; nay, Britain was for some time, from them, called Saxony: but, in the end, the name of Anglia, from the Angles, prevailed. The Jutes were less known, at least under that name, than the other two nations or tribes. Bede, however, tells us, that the province of Kent,

* Bed. lib. i. cap. 15.
Alford. ad Ann. 449.

† Ethelwerd. Chron. lib. i.

‡ Vide

(U) These, in the old printed copies of Bede, are styled Vitæ; but the learned Usher assures us, that all the manuscript copies of that author, which he consulted, read Jutæ, and not Vitæ (1). Fabius Ethelwerd, whom we have mentioned above, a writer of the Saxon blood royal, and the fourth in descent from king Adulph, or Ethelwolf, calls the country Giotæ, and the people Giotæ.

(1) Uss. de Brit. Ecclesi. Primord. p. 391.

the

the isle of Wight, and the country lying opposite to it, now Hampshire, were peopled by the Jutes (W).

*Their man-
ners;*

The Saxons were, as is agreed on all hands, and appears from their conquests, one of the most warlike nations inhabiting Germany. They were not known to the Romans, by the name of Saxons, till the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the poet Claudian, being the first Roman writers, who make mention of them. The former, speaking of them, says, "They were formidable above all other enemies:" and Zosimus declares, "The Saxons are inured to the toils of war, and, for their courage and strength, reckoned the most warlike of all the German nations^b."

*their go-
vernment;*

As they were a barbarous and uncivilized people, they treated their enemies with great cruelty, especially the prisoners they took in war, sacrificing them to their gods. As to their government, the countries subject to them were, according to Verstegan, divided into twelve provinces, each governed by a chief or head, accountable to the whole assembly of the nation. By this assembly, a general was chosen in time of war, who commanded with almost a sovereign power; but his authority ceased as soon as the war terminated. Their religion was the same with that of the other northern nations. Their chief gods, the Sun, the Moon, the celebrated Woden, his son Thor, his wife Frigga, or Fræa, Tuisto, Theutates, Hesus, and Tharamis^c.

*and reli-
gion.*

*Woden,
Thor, and
their other
gods.*

Woden was the god of war; Thor presided over the air, and was thought to have storms, winds, showers, and fair weather at his disposal; Frigga was the goddess of pleasure.

^b Zof. apud Camd.

^c Tacit. de Mor. German.

(W) As to the name of Saxons, it has occasioned a great disagreement among authors. Becanus and Camden suppose them to have been first called Sacafons, that is, the sons or descendants of the Sacæ, to whom, according to these writers, they owe their origin. Isidore derives their name from the Latin word saxum, *a stone*, because they were a strong and hardy nation: but they were so called many ages before the Ro-

mans had any knowledge of them, or they of the Romans. The opinion of Lipsius, which Verstegan has followed, seems to us the most probable, which is, that the name of Saxons was given them by their neighbours, from their wearing a short sword, called in their tongue *sæx*; and hence the arms of Saxony, as Pontanus observes, are to this day two daggers placed across (1).

(1) Pontan. Orig. Francic. lib. ii. cap. 2.

The

The two first days of the week were consecrated to the Sun and Moon; the third, according to some, to Tuisto, or Tuisco, according to others to Thyfa, or Dyfa, the goddess of justice and wife to Thor^k; the fourth to Woden; the fifth to Thor; the sixth to Frigga, or Fræa; and the seventh, as Verstegan suggests, to Crodo, named also Saeter; but the latter name, as Sheringham observes, is not to be found in any writer before Verstegan^l. The Saxons had, besides these, several other deities, to whom they paid great veneration, namely, the goddess Eostre, to whom they sacrificed in the month of April, which was thence by them styled *Eostur monath*, or *the month of Eostre*; and thence the word *Easter*, which the Saxons retained even after their conversion to the Christian religion^m. Nocca was the same among the Saxons, as Neptune among the Romans. Mara was a frightful spectre, that terrified and oppressed people in their sleep; whence the word *night-mare* is derivedⁿ. Tanfana, mentioned by Tacitus^o, was worshipped by the Saxons as the god of lots. The Elvæ, or Elfs, named also Fairies, were honoured by them with a kind of sacrifice called Alf-blót^p. The Dyfæ were inferior goddesses, messengers of the great Woden, whose province it was to convey the souls of such as died in battle to his abode, called Valhall, that is, *the hall of slaughter*, where they were to drink with him, and their other gods, cerevisia, a kind of malt liquor, in the skulls of their slaughtered enemies. On the contrary, those who died a natural death, were, by the same Dyfæ, conveyed to Hela, the goddess of hell, where they were tormented with hunger, thirst, and all kind of evils. The Angles worshipped, as we find in Tacitus, the goddess Herthus, that is, the Earth, as the mother of all things^q. With regard to the worship the Saxons paid to their gods, and the sacrifices they offered to them, we refer our readers to Wormius, Verstegan, Isaacius Pontanus, and other German and Danish writers, it being necessary we should resume the thread of our history.

Upon the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, under their leaders Hengist and Horfa, and being put in possession of the isle of Thanet, king Vortigern did not suffer them to continue long without employment; but led them against the Scots and Picts, who had made an irruption, and were advanced as far as Stanford in the province now called

^k Wormius, Monument. Dan. lib. i. cap. 4. ^l Shering. cap. 14. p. 318. ^m Bed. de Ratio. Temp. cap. 13. ⁿ Shering. cap. 14. p. 331, 332. ^o Tacit. Annal. lib. i. ^p Worm. Mon. Dan. lib. i. cap. 5. ^q Tacit. de Mor. Germ.

They defeat the Scots and Picts.

Lincolnshire. There a battle ensued, in which the Scots and Picts were entirely routed, and forced to save themselves by a precipitate flight, leaving the Saxons in possession of the spoil and booty they had taken^r. Vortigern, highly pleased with the conduct of the two Saxon brothers, rewarded them with ample possessions in Lincolnshire^s. We are told, that Hengiſt deſired here only as much land as an ox-hide could encompass; and that, upon Vortigern's granting him it, he cut the hide into ſmall thongs, and incloſed with them a ſpace large enough to hold a caſtle, which to this day is from thence called Thong-caſter, that is, *the caſtle of thongs*^t. Be this as it may, Hengiſt, captivated by the fruitfulneſs and wealth of the iſland, and, at the ſame time, obſerving the inhabitants were enervated with luxury, and addiſted to effeminacy and idleneſs, began to entertain hopes of procuring a ſettlement in Britain. He, therefore, ſent home to his countrymen an account of the fruitfulneſs of Britain, and the diſſipation of the inhabitants, inviting them to ſhare with him in his ſucceſs.

Yr. of Fl.

2800.

A. D. 452.

New ſupplies of Saxons arrive in Britain.

The Saxons eagerly accepted the invitation; and, arriving in ſeventeen large ſhips, made up, with thoſe they found in the iſland, a conſiderable army. With this ſupply came over, if Nennius is to be credited, Rowena, the daughter of Hengiſt, with whoſe charms the king was ſo ſtruck, that he divorced his wife, and married her, after having obtained the conſent of her father, by inveſting him with the ſovereignty of Kent^u: but no mention is made of Rowena in the Saxon Annals, which rather ſeem to intimate, that the Saxons made themſelves maſters of Kent by force of arms; for we are told, that Hengiſt defeated the Britons in two pitched battles, and obliged them to abandon Kent, and retreat to London. But this event did not happen till the arrival of the third body of Saxon troops; for Hengiſt, exaggerating to the king the dangers that threatened him, not only from the Scots and Picts, but from his diſcontented ſubjects, obtained leave to ſend for a freſh reinforcement of Saxons; who, coming over in forty ſhips, under the conduct of Oſta and Ebuſa, the ſon and nephew, or, as others will have it, the brother and nephew of Hengiſt, arrived at the Orcades. Theſe having ravaged the northern coaſt, the countries of the Scots and Picts, they made themſelves maſters of ſeveral places beyond the friths, and, in the end, obtained leave of the king to ſettle in Northumberland, under the ſpecious pretence of

Oſta and Ebuſa ſettle in Northumberland.

^r Gild. p. 120. Bed. p. 157.
^t Vide Camden. in Coritan.

^s Matt. Weſtm. ad ann. 450.
^u Nenn. cap. 3.

ſecuring

securing' the northern parts, as Hengist protected the southern. Hengist, encroaching still on the king's favour, sent by degrees for more men and ships, till the countries from whence they came were almost left without inhabitants.

Their numbers at this time being greatly increased, they began to quarrel with the natives, demanding larger allowances of corn and other provisions, threatening, if their demands were not complied with, to dissolve the league and lay waste the whole country. The Britons desired them to return home, as their numbers exceeded what they were able to maintain. This answer, however just and reasonable, provoked the Saxons to such a degree, that having secretly concluded a peace with the Scots and Picts, they turned their arms against those whom they pretended to defend, and traversing, without opposition, the whole island, destroyed all they found with fire and sword from the eastern to the western sea. The public as well as private buildings were levelled with the ground, the cities pillaged and burnt, the priests slain at the altars, the bishops cruelly massacred without the least respect to their dignity, and the people without distinction of sex, age, or condition, slaughtered in such multitudes, that the living were scarce sufficient to bury the dead. Some of the unhappy Britons, who escaped the general carnage, took refuge amongst inaccessible rocks and mountains; but great numbers either perished with hunger, or were forced, by the extremity of famine, to abandon their asylum, and, delivering themselves up to their merciless enemies, preserve their lives at the expence of their liberty. Some crossing the sea, took shelter among foreign nations, settling either in Holland, where the ruins of Brittenburg, an old castle built, as is supposed, by them on this occasion, are still to be seen, or among their countrymen in Armorica: but those who remained at home suffered inexpressible calamities, living among the woods, rocks, and mountains, in perpetual apprehensions, and deprived of necessaries.

The Saxons begin to quarrel with the Britons, and lay waste the whole island.

The deplorable condition of the Britons.

Nennius tells us, that Vortigern was so far from being reclaimed by these calamities, that, on the contrary, adding to his other crimes that of incest, he married his own daughter, and had by her a son named Faustus, who led a solitary and religious life near the river Rennis in Glamorganshire. The same writer adds, that the Britons, provoked at the king's wickedness, and the partiality he shewed to the Saxons, deposed him, and placed upon the throne his son

*Vortigern
deposed,
and his son
Vortimer
raised to the
throne*

Yr. of Fl.

2802.

A. D. 454.

*He fights
with suc-
cess against
the Saxons.*

Vortimer. This valiant youth undertook the defence of his distressed country; and, falling upon the Saxons with such troops as he could assemble, drove them into the isle of Thanet, and there closely besieged them, till, being reinforced with fresh supplies from Saxony, they opened themselves a way through the British forces. Vortimer, not yet disheartened, engaged with them in four battles; the first on the banks of the Derwent in Kent, where he obtained a signal victory, and cut in pieces great numbers of the enemy; the second at a place called in the Saxon tongue Episford, and in the British Sathengabail, now Aylesford, in Kent. In this battle fell Horfa, and likewise Catigern, the brother of Vortigern. Some writers affirm that the Britons won the day^x; others give it in favour of the Saxons; and Ethelwerd seems to ascribe to this victory the founding of the kingdom of Kent^y. Horfa is supposed to have been buried at a place called from him to this day Horsted; and Catigern to have been interred near Aylesford, where a monument is to be seen somewhat like Stonehenge, called by the country people Kith's Coty-house, that is, Catigern's House^z. The place where the third battle was fought is not mentioned; but we are told that Vortimer engaged the Saxons a fourth time at a place called Lapis Tituli, which Camden and Usher take to be Stonar in the isle of Thanet; but Somner and Stillingfleet^a, instead of Lapis Tituli, read Lapis Populi, that is, Folkstone, where, according to them, the battle was fought. In this action the Saxons were routed with great slaughter, and forced back to their ships, in which they embarked, being no longer able to oppose the valour of Vortimer, and abandoning the island, returned home, where they continued till the death of Vortimer, that is, for the space of five years, without making any other attempt upon Britain. Such is the account given by Nennius, and the historians who have copied him; but of these battles no mention is made either by Gildas or Bede. The former only acquaints us, that the Saxons retired; and perhaps he meant no more than that, after having laid waste the island, they withdrew to the territories which had been granted them by Vortigern, in Kent and Northumberland. And indeed it seems to us altogether incredible, that, had the Britons gained so many signal victories, Gildas would have passed them all over in silence. Our historians tell us, that Vortimer died about this time, after a reign of six years; and add, that upon

*Vortimer
dies.*

^x Huntin. lib. ii. Matt. Westm. ad ann. 455.

ad ann. 445.

^z Vide Camden, in Cantio.

Orig. Brit. p. 328.

^y Ethel. lib. i

^a Stilling-

his death-bed, he requested his servants to bury him near the place where the Saxons used to land, being persuaded that the secret virtue of his bones would deter them from making any attempts there for the future; but they, neglecting his commands, buried him at Lincoln, or, as others assert^b, at London. Some say he was poisoned by his mother-in-law, Rowena, others aver that he died a natural death^c. Be this as it may, Hengist was no sooner informed of his death, than he returned with a numerous body of Saxons to Britain, and landing in despite of all opposition, engaged in several battles with the Britons, under the conduct of Vortigern, who, upon the death of his son Vortimer, was restored to the throne.

In one of these battles, fought at a place called Crecaford, the Britons were defeated with the loss of four thousand men; a disaster which obliged them to abandon Kent, and retire to London^d. From this victory most authors date the beginning of the kingdom of Kent under Hengist, who took his son Esk for his colleague; but Vortigern still continuing the war against the Saxons, Hengist had recourse to treachery, and pretending a great inclination to conclude a peace, and renew the former amity between him and the British king, sent ambassadors to request an interview. To this proposal Vortigern readily consented; and it was agreed that they should meet at an entertainment without arms; but the treacherous Saxon having secretly ordered those who attended him to conceal their daggers under their garments, when they met, pursuant to their agreement, and the Britons not suspecting any treachery, began to be heated with liquor, the Saxons, starting up at a signal given, and drawing their daggers, dispatched each his next man, to the number of three hundred, who were the flower of the British nobility. Vortigern alone was spared; but being taken prisoner, and put in fetters, he was forced, for his ransom, to surrender to the Saxons those provinces that were afterwards called Essex, Suffex, and Middlesex. Of this transaction, recorded by Nennius and William of Malmesbury^e, no mention is made either by Gildas or Bede. Vortigern, being set at liberty, retired, as we are informed, to a great wilderness near the fall of the Wye in Radnorshire, where he was, some time after, killed by lightning, and the city of Kaer Gourtigern, which he had built for his refuge, was by the same means destroyed^f.

Yr. of Fl.
2805.
A. D. 457.

*The Britons
defeated.
The first
Saxon
kingdom in
Kent.*

*Three hundred of the
British nobility treacherously
slain, and
Vortigern
made prisoner.*

^a Sigebert. ad ann. 437.
cap. 46.
in Radnor.

^b Hunting. lib. ii.
^c Malmesb. de Reg. lib. i. cap. 1.

^d Nenn.
^e Vide Camd.

Yr. of Fl.

2806.

A. D. 458.

*Aurelius
Ambrosius
succeeds
Vortigern.*

*He defeats
the Saxons
with great
slaughter.*

Upon the retreat of Vortigern, Aurelius Ambrosius, or as Gildas calls him, Ambrosius Aurelianus, took upon him the command of the British forces. He was a wise and modest man according to Gildas, and perhaps the only Roman who remained in the island, having, in the calamitous times of Britain, lost his parents, who had worn the purple. He adds, that the offspring of Aurelius continued still in the island in his time, but had greatly degenerated from the good qualities of their ancestors^a. Bede says, that his parents had borne the royal name and ensigns, but had been slain^b. The great disagreement we find among the writers after Gildas and Bede, convinces us, that we cannot depend upon any thing they have related. All we can collect from the best authors is, that the Britons, under the conduct of Ambrosius, resumed their courage, and falling upon the Saxons when most of their forces were returned home, routed them with great slaughter. It was in this battle perhaps that Horsa was slain; for of the other battles mentioned above, no notice is taken either by Gildas or Bede. From this time the war was carried on, says Bede, sometimes favourable to the Britons and sometimes to the Saxons, till the latter made themselves masters of the whole island. Those who have written several ages after Bede, give us a more particular account of the transactions of those obscure times; but we will not take upon us to vouch the truth of what they relate. According to them Ambrosius, after the above mentioned victory, convened the nobility at York, and having ordered the churches to be rebuilt or repaired throughout the kingdom, which had been destroyed by the Saxons, he marched from York to London, from London to Winchester, and from thence to Salisbury (X), endeavouring every-where to restore the declining state of the church and kingdom.

^a Gild. cap. 25.^b Bed. cap. 15. p. 157.

(X) Geoffery of Monmouth tells us, that on this occasion Ambrosius erected the famous monument known by the name of Stonehenge, in honour of the British nobles treacherously slain there, as he supposes, by Hengist. It is surprising that any of our historians should have followed him: yet Matthew of Westminster copies the chief part of his narrative;

and Walter of Coventry sets it down as a matter not to be questioned, adding two circumstances to render it more probable, namely, that Ambrosius was crowned, and not long after interred there. Polydore Virgil supposes it to be the monument of Ambrosius; and John of Tinmouth calls it Mons Ambrosii.

In the mean time Pascentius, Vortigern's third son, being ambitious of aspiring to the crown, raised a rebellion in the North; but was routed and put to flight by Ambrosius, who nevertheless ceded him Bualth in Brecknockshire, and Kaer-Guortigern in Radnorshire. After this transaction the Britons enjoyed some respite; but were, in the eighth year of Ambrosius's reign¹, repulsed, in a pitched battle, by Hengist, and his son Esk, who took a great booty². No mention is made of any other battle till four years after, when other Saxons coming over, under the conduct of Ella and his three sons, Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa, the Britons attacked them as they were landing at a place called Cymen-shore, or Cymen's Shore. The Saxons, says Huntington, who were tall, strong, and vigorous, gave the Britons a warm reception, and having put them to flight, as they advanced in detached parties, pursued them to the forest of Andredesleige, supposed to be the weald of Kent, and the woody parts of Suffex³. After this victory the Saxons possessed themselves of all the sea-coast of Suffex, and continued to extend their dominions till the ninth year after the arrival of Ella, when all the kings and princes of Britain having united their forces, engaged Ella and his sons at a place called Mercredesburne. The victory remained doubtful, and both armies retired with great loss. Ella being greatly weakened by the loss he had sustained, sent for fresh supplies out of his own country.

Yr. of Fl.
2813.
A.D. 465.

The Britons routed by Hengist and his son.

In the mean time Hengist, having built and garrisoned several forts in Kent, marched with great expedition towards the North; and having joined the Scots and Picts, took and fortified several towns; but Ambrosius, collecting his forces, marched in quest of the enemy, and coming up with them, obtained a complete victory⁴. The ensuing year, 467, died Hengist king of Kent, and was succeeded by his son Esk, called also Oisc and Ofric, who reigned twenty-four years without attempting to enlarge his dominions⁵.

Ambrosius obtains a signal victory over the Saxons.

In the mean while Ella, having received fresh supplies from Germany, laid siege to Andredchester, supposed by Camden to be Newenden in Kent; by Somner, to be Pevensy, or Hastings. On the other hand, the Britons, having raised a great army, advanced to the relief of the place, and with frequent attacks harassed the Saxons to such a degree, that they were compelled to abandon the siege. The Britons retired to the woods, not chusing to venture a battle; but the Saxons were no sooner returned to the siege than the

The Saxons besiege Andredchester,

¹ Alford ad hunc Ann. lib. ii.

² Ethelwerd, lib. i.

³ Hunting.

⁴ Hunting. lib. ii. add Ann. 487.

⁵ Ethelw. ad

hunc Ann. Malmesb. de Reg. lib. i. cap. 1.

*which they
take and
level with
the ground.
The second
Saxon
kingdom in
Britain.*

Britons, falling upon them again, forced them to relinquish the enterprize. Thus the Saxons lost great numbers of their men, and made but a small progress in the siege: but Ella having at last divided his army into two bodies, one of which prosecuted the siege while the other observed the enemy's motions, the citizens, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, could no longer withstand the efforts of the besiegers. The town was consequently taken, and, by the merciless conquerors, levelled with the ground, after they had put to the sword all the inhabitants, without distinction of either sex or age. Such is the account Henry of Huntington gives us of this siege. In the year 491, thirty-four years after the beginning of the kingdom of Kent, began the second kingdom in the island, called the kingdom of the South Saxons, which comprised at first only Sussex; but was extended by Ella before his death, to all the provinces lying south of the Humber^o.

Yr. of Fl.
2839.
A. D. 491.

*The South
Saxons.
More Sax-
ons arrive
under Cer-
dic and
Porta.*

Advice being transmitted to Germany of the great success that attended the Saxons in Britain, new adventurers flocked over daily to share their good fortune. Among the rest came Cerdic, the tenth in descent from Woden, with his son Cenric, and as many men as he could transport in five ships. Landing at a place, which, from their leader, was called Cerdic's-Shore, now, according to Brompton, Yarmouth, in Norfolk, they were vigorously attacked by the Britons, whom, after a short engagement, they put to flight. Several other battles were fought, but fortune, ever smiling upon the Saxons, the natives were forced to retire, and leave them in possession of the sea-coasts. About six years after this event, Porta, another Saxon, with his two sons Bleda and Magla, arrived at Portsmouth, so called, as some imagine, from him; and having defeated with great carnage, the Britons, who attempted to oppose his landing, possessed himself of the neighbouring country^p; but the progress made by Cerdic still more alarmed the Britons; and therefore, seven years after the arrival of Porta, and sixty after the first coming of the Saxons, Nazaleod, whom Henry of Huntington styles the greatest of the British kings, assembled the whole strength of Britain to impede his conquests. On the other hand Cerdic, apprised of the danger that threatened him, had recourse to Esk, king of Kent, to Ella king of the South Saxons, and to Porta and his sons, who sent him considerable supplies. With these he advanced against the Britons, himself leading the right wing, and his son Cenric conducting the left.

^o Bed. lib. ii. cap. 5. ^p Hunting. lib. ii. Chron. Sax. ad Ann. 490.
As

As the two armies approached each other, Nazaleod, perceiving the enemy's right wing to be much the stronger of the two, charged it with the flower of his army, and obliged Cerdic, after an obstinate resistance, to escape by flight; but, as he was pursuing the fugitives with more heat than caution, Cenric, falling upon his rear, renewed the battle with such vigour, that the British army was utterly defeated, and Nazaleod himself slain, with five thousand of his men. Who this Nazaleod was, is much controverted: some think it may be the British name of Ambrosius, who, as Gildas informs us, fought, about this time, several battles with the Saxons; others assert it was the name of his brother Uther Pendragon; but the story of Uther Pendragon is now deemed fabulous by all the British antiquaries. Matthew of Westminster speaks of Nazaleod, whom he calls Nathanlioth, not as a king, but only the general of Uther Pendragon, by whom he was sent against the Saxons, who slew him, and fifteen thousand of his men: but the Saxon annals of Ethelwerd, Florence of Worcester, and Henry of Huntington, agree in distinguishing him with the title of king. Uther conjectures Uther and Nazaleod to be one and the same person, the surname *Uther*, signifying in the British tongue *terrible*, having been given him on account of his great achievements^a. But as this is the darkest period of the whole British history, our best antiquaries can allege nothing but mere conjectures to support it. It is even uncertain who succeeded Nazaleod. The Welsh annals leave an interregnum of about six years, and place the beginning of Arthur's reign in 514, or 515. The learned Uther supposes him to have been the son of Nazaleod, called also Uther. Some have doubted whether there ever was such a person; but the generality of our historians not only agree, that there was a prince of that name, but that he made a powerful resistance against the Saxons. Some aver, that he was king of all Britain; while others confine his kingdom to Cornwall (Y).

Nazaleod, a British king, is defeated and slain by Cerdic.

Arthur succeeds Nazaleod.

Nennius,

^a Vide Uff. in Primord. p. 466, 467.

(Y) The following account was hung up in the monastery of Glastonbury, and was to be seen there till the dissolution of the said monastery: "In this island, which is called the island of Avalonia, nay, in this burying-place of saints at Glastonbury, rest the renowned king Arthur, the flower of the British kings, and Guenhumara his queen, who, departing this life, were honourably interred near the old church, between two stone pyramids, where they lay many years, till the time of Henry

*He is said
to have
over-
thrown
the Saxons
in twelve
battles.*

Nennius, who lived about three hundred years after him, tells us, that he defeated the Saxons in twelve different battles. The first of these was fought near the mouth of a certain river, called Glein, or Gleni, placed by some in Devonshire, by others in Lincolnshire: the second, third, fourth, and fifth, near the river Duglas, in the country of Linvis, or Linnis. This river some suppose to be the Dug, or Duc, in Lincolnshire; others the Dugles, near Wigan in Lancashire. The sixth battle was fought on the banks of a river called Bassas, supposed by some to run by the town of Boston in Lincolnshire; the seventh in the wood of Chelidon, called in the British language Cattoit Celidon.

Henry de Soili, who was abbot of the place after the burning of the said church. This abbot, being importuned by many persons, ordered some to dig between the pyramids for the bodies of the above mentioned king and queen. Having dug very deep, they at length discovered a great wooden coffin close shut, which they opened, and found in it the king's body, with a leaden cross, on which was the following inscription: "Here lies buried the renowned king Arthur in the island Avalonia." Then they opened the

queen's grave, and found her lying with her hair disheveled, as if she had been but just buried; which, however, fell to ashes as soon as touched. The abbot and convent, with great joy, took thence their remains, and placed them in the greater church, in a tomb which was cut in a rock, and divided into two parts, the king's body being by itself at the head of the tomb, and the queen's in the eastern part of it. On the tomb were engraved their several epitaphs:

"Hic jacet Arthurus, flos regum, gloria regni,
Quem mores, probitas, commendant laude perenni.

"Here Arthur lies, the flow'r of kings, and glory of his land,
Whose virtuous deeds, and probity, a lasting praise command,

"Arthuri jacet hic conjux tumulata secunda,
Quæ meruit coelos virtutum prole secunda.

"King Arthur's second consort does beneath this marble lie,
Whose fruitful virtues merited a place in heav'n most high."

We are told, that, in the king's body were plainly seen the marks of ten wounds, one of which only seemed mortal. What Giraldus Cambrensis writes of his statue, and the dimensions of his body, is unquestionably fabulous. The leaden cross was preserved in the treasury of

the church of Glastonbury, till the dissolution of that monastery, and there seen and carefully viewed by Leland (1). His tomb was discovered in the reign of Henry II. about the year 1189, that is, six hundred years after his death.

(1) Leland. apud Uff. p. 120. in Assert. Arturii.

Matthew of Westminster gives us a very circumstantial account of this battle, but is, in our opinion, so fabulous, that it does not deserve a place in history. The eighth battle occurred near the castle of Suinnion; the ninth near the city of Lergis or Leogis, called in the British tongue Kaerleon; the tenth in the neighbourhood of the river Ribrot or Arderic; the eleventh on the hill Brenion, supposed to be somewhere in Somersetshire; and the twelfth on the hill of Baden. Gale thinks these battles were fought in the space of forty years, under Vortigern, Ambrosius, and others, though they have been all ascribed to Arthur.

Cerdic, having sustained great losses in the many battles that were fought with the Britons, sent over to Germany for new supplies; which arriving in three ships, under the command of Stuf and Witgar, his two nephews, landed at Cerdic-shore, where they were attacked by the Britons, whom they put to flight. In this year, 514, died Esk, the son of Hengist, and second king of Kent, and was succeeded by his son Otta, who reigned twenty-two years; but we find no exploit worthy of notice ascribed to him. The same period is distinguished by the death of Ella, the first king of the South Saxons, who reigned twenty-four years, and left his crown to his son Cissa, the supposed founder of Chichester. About this time Cerdic, after he had been twenty-four years in the island, and made himself master of a very large territory, took upon himself the title of king, and founded the third kingdom in the nation, called the kingdom of the West Saxons, comprehending Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Berkshire, to which was afterwards added Cornwall. In subduing these countries, Cerdic, though reinforced with continual supplies from Germany, passed twenty-four years; a circumstance which shews that the Britons did not tamely give up their territories. The same year that Cerdic assumed the regal title, he gave battle to the Britons at a place called Cerdic's-ford, supposed to be Charford, in Hampshire.

New supplies of Saxons arrive under Stuf and Witgar.

The third Saxon kingdom. The West Saxons.

The Saxon Annals inform us, that from this time forward, the royal offspring, meaning the offspring of Cerdic, reigned over the West Saxons; an expression which probably implies, that Cerdic won the day, and, by this victory, secured the crown to his posterity. No mention is made of Cerdic till seven years after this battle, when we find him again engaged with the Britons at a place called Cerdic's-lea, or Cerdic's-league, supposed to be Cherdley,

Cerdic defeats the Britons.

in Buckinghamshire¹; but whether the Saxons conquered, or the Britons, we are left in ignorance. All we can learn from the Annals is, that, after this battle, Cerdic reduced the isle of Wight; a convincing proof, that the battle had been favourable to him. He is said to have ceded the isle of Wight to Stuf and Witgar, his two nephews, who massacred an incredible number of the inhabitants, at a place called from the latter Witgaraburgh, and now, by contraction Carisbroke. Henry of Huntington gives us very particular accounts of these battles; but as we are convinced he did not copy them from any authentic or credible writers, we forbear entering with him into particulars.

Yr. of Fl.
2868.

A. D. 520.

The Saxons receive a total overthrow on Badon-hill.

The Britons enjoy a long peace.

The fourth Saxon kingdom, the East Saxons.

Arthur dies.

Yr. of Fl.
2895.

A. D. 547.

The fifth Saxon kingdom, Northumberland.

Gildas, a writer of unquestionable authority, who lived in those times, tells us, that a great battle was fought on Badon-hill, supposed to be Banldown, near Bath, in which the Saxons were entirely routed by the Britons². This battle we are informed by Nennius, and after him most of our historians, to be the last of the twelve fought by king Arthur. In this combat the Saxons received such a repulse, that, for many years, they avoided molesting the Britons. The Britons still enjoyed the peace and tranquility which so signal a victory produced, when Gildas wrote his account of the destruction of Britain, forty-four years after the battle was fought³. Notwithstanding the peace which prevailed, the Saxons, who were continually flocking over, and making new encroachments, founded, according to the Saxon Annals, in the year 527, a fourth kingdom, called the kingdom of the East Saxons, comprising Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. This kingdom was begun by Erchenwin, descended from Saxnat. To Erchenwin succeeded, according to Henry of Huntington, his son Sleda, whom William of Malmesbury records as the first of the East Saxon kings, and the tenth from Woden. About fifteen years after founding of the East-Saxon kingdom, about the year 542, the great king Arthur is supposed to have died, and to have been succeeded by his kinsman Constantine; but the most ancient British chronicles leave an interregnum of near eleven years, without so much as mentioning Constantine.

¹ Sax. Annal. ad Ann. 527.
² Vide Ulf. p. 477.

³ Gild. cap. 26. p. 120.

ed by Vortigern to settle in those parts, under pretence of making war on the Scots and Picts, and securing the northern provinces against their incursions. These, having driven out the ancient inhabitants, seized on those countries for themselves, and held them as inferior governors and vassals to the kings of Kent *. For the space of a hundred years, the princes of Northumberland continued subject to the kings of Kent; but in the course of this year 547, the principality was changed into a kingdom, Ida, a person no less famous for his virtues than his birth, assuming the title of king of Northumberland. This province proved a powerful kingdom; for it comprehended all Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Northumberland, with part of Scotland, as far as Edinburgh Frith. Ida was not, according to Matthew of Westminster, son to any of those princes who governed Northumberland before it became a kingdom, but an adventurer lately arrived from Germany, and raised to the throne on account of his extraordinary merit. He reigned near twelve years with great applause, and built a town, which he called Bebanburgh, now Bamborough, in Northumberland, from his wife Bebba †. Upon his death the kingdom of the Northumbrians was divided into two, and as one was situated south of the Tyne, it was called Deira; and the other, extending from that river to Edinburgh Frith, Bernicia.

In the year 561, Ethelbert commenced his reign in Kent. Being young and ambitious when he ascended the throne, he was the first who excited civil wars and disturbances amongst the Saxons themselves, claiming, as king of the most ancient Saxon kingdom, an authority over the rest. This claim he attempted to support by force of arms; but being twice defeated, he, who at first was formidable, soon grew into contempt. Ceaulin, king of the West Saxons, and his son Cutha, having pursued him into his own dominions, slew, at Wibbandun, Oslac and Cnebba, two of his chief commanders. By means of these civil contests among the Saxons, but chiefly by the late victory gained on Badonhill, the Britons lived, at least for the space of forty-four years, unmolested by their common enemy: but the peace they enjoyed proved more destructive to them than any war; for in this interval they abandoned themselves to all manner of vice and debauchery to such a degree, that, the principles of truth and justice being totally subverted, scarce any traces of them remained either in the clergy or laity,

Yr. of Fl.

2909.

A. D. 561.

*Civil wars
among the
Saxons.*

*A general
corruption
of manners
prevails
among the
Britons.*

* Malmesb. lib. i. cap. 3.

† Bed. lib. iii. cap. 6.

in the people or their princes; so that they became odious to all the neighbouring nations: but how far injustice, irreligion, and immorality, prevailed among all ranks of men, will appear from the words of Gildas, the British historian.

The wickedness of their kings:

In the epistle, which he wrote while living in Armorica, he says, "Britain has kings, but they are tyrants; judges, but they are such as prey upon the innocent; the kings have wives, but abandon themselves to harlots; they swear frequently, but perjure themselves; they wage war, but it is an unjust and civil war; they punish thieves, yet have the greatest near them, even at their own tables; they sit in the seat of judgment, but seldom observe the rules of equity; they proudly overlook the modest and harmless, but countenance the audacious, though guilty of abominable crimes; they fill their prisons, but with men whom they have committed rather out of malice than for crimes." He then proceeds to each king in particular, beginning with Constantine then reigning in Cornwall and Devonshire, whom he calls "The tyrannical whelp of an impure Dæmonian lioness," and charges with the murder of two innocent youths of the blood royal, whom he assassinated in their mother's arms at the very altar, and under the cope of the holy abbot. He likewise inveighs against this prince, as one polluted with many adulteries, and other crimes.

of Constantine;

and of Aurelius Conanus,

In the next place, he reproaches Aurelius Conanus with adulteries, parricide, and greater cruelties than the former was guilty of. He adds, that this prince, hating the peace of his country, had, for the sake of booty and prey, fomented civil wars. Where Aurelius Conanus reigned, is not specified; but his situation was not, it seems, very fortunate. Gildas hopes, that, being now left alone, like a tree withering in the midst of a barren forest, he may call to mind the pride and arrogance of his father and elder brothers, who all came to untimely deaths. In the third place, he applies himself to Vortipore, whom he styles the wicked son of a good father, and the tyrant of Demetia, or South Wales. He upbraids him, though advanced in years, with adulteries, falsehood, and cruelty. In his latter days, he repudiated his wife, and committed incest with his daughter. In the next place, our author comes to Cuneglasus, supposed by some antiquaries to have reigned in North Wales: he is reprov'd for raising civil wars, for divorcing his wife, and marrying her cousin, who had vowed perpetual chastity: he was a great enemy to the clergy, haughty, proud, and insolent. Gildas concludes with a severe reproof to Maglocunus, the greatest, and likewise the most wicked

Vortipore, &c.

wicked, of all the British princes. He had deposed, or slain, many other kings or tyrants, and is called by our author the Island Dragon. He was tall in stature, a great warrior, extravagant, and profuse. While he was yet young, he defeated his uncle in battle, and drove him from the throne: then, touched with remorse, he adopted a monastic life, which he soon forsook, as he did soon afterwards his wife, giving the wife of his brother's son preference, who found means to assassinate her own husband, and Maglocunus's former wife. This is the substance of Gildas's reproof to the British kings; from which all we can collect is, that there were, at this time, at least five kings in Britain, all guilty of enormous crimes; but by what means they came to the crown, what actions they performed during their reigns, who succeeded each of them in their respective territories, we are not told by any authentic writer.

From the kings our author makes a transition to the clergy, whom he sharply reproves as pastors in name, but in reality wolves, intent, on all occasions, not to feed the flock, but to pamper themselves; not called to the ministry, but seizing it as a trade; teaching the people, not by sound doctrine but by evil example; despisers of truth, fabricators of lies; viewing the poor with an eye of contempt, whilst they fawned upon the rich, however wicked; great promoters of other people's alms, but very sparing of their own; seldom officiating at the altar, and scarce ever with undefiled hearts; slightly touching the prevailing vices of the age, but greatly exaggerating their own injuries, as done to Christ himself; aiming at preferments in the church, more than Heaven; ignorant of the doctrines contained in the holy Scriptures, but artful, cunning, and practised in worldly matters; bearing their heads high, but having their thoughts and affections abject and low. He likewise taxes them with being gluttons, drunkards, and, above all, guilty of the enormous sin of simony; and then addresses the laity thus: "What can ye expect, unhappy people, from these beasts, all belly? Will they reclaim you, who weary themselves in committing iniquity? Shall you see with their eyes, which are open only to gain? Leave them rather, lest ye fall both blindfold into perdition." Our author, at the end of his history, gives a farther account of the sad state of affairs, and general corruption of manners, in those times; and complains, that the cities and towns lay in a state of ruin and desolation. Such was the situation of the government and religion among the Britons during the peace,

peace, which was produced by the victory on Badon-hill, and continued till the time Gildas wrote, a space of about forty-four years.

Yr. of Fl.

2013.

A. D. 575.

*The sixth
Saxon
kingdom.
The East
Angles.*

*The Bri-
tons over-
come in se-
veral
battles.*

Not long after this period began the kingdom of the East-Angles, comprising the provinces we now call Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and the isle of Ely; and was founded by Uffa, the eighth successor from Woden, though there were, it seems, before him several petty princes, who had settled in Norfolk and Suffolk; but Uffa, more powerful than them, drove them all out, and reigned alone with such power, that, from him, the succeeding kings were called Uffingæ. The Saxons, who had been, ever since the battle on Badon-hill, either inactive, or engaged in civil wars and quarrels among themselves, began again to harass the Britons, and, in a few years, drove them out of all the countries they held in that part of the island, which is now known by the name of England: for Cuthwulf, the brother of Ceaulin king of the West Saxons, having defeated the Britons at Bedanford, now Bedford, taken from them four towns, namely, Liganburgh, now Loughborough in Leicestershire, or, as others assert, Leighton in Bedfordshire; Eglesburg, now Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire; with Bennington and Ignesham, now Benson and Evesham in Oxfordshire. Cuthwulf died the same year he obtained this victory. During the space of six years after, we hear of no action; but after that time Ceaulin renewed the war. Having, with his son Cuthwin, engaged the Britons at a place in Gloucestershire called Deorham, he slew three of their kings, Comail, Condidan, and Farinmaile; and took three of their chief cities, Glewancester or Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bathancester, now called Bath. Who these kings were, we are not informed; but some conjecture the first to be Cuniglafus, and the second Aurelius Conanus, both mentioned by Gildas. We read of no other battle between the Saxons and Britons, though, in all likelihood, several skirmishes happened, till seven years after the battle of Deorham, when Ceaulin, and his son Cutha, opposed the Britons at a place called Frethan-leag. In this battle Cutha was slain, and the Saxons were obliged to retire; but fresh succours seasonably arriving, they returned to the charge, routed the Britons, and took several towns².

Yr. of Fl.

2933.

A. D. 585.

About this time (the year 585), according to Henry of Huntington, and Matthew of Westminster, was founded by Crida, the seventh kingdom in this island, called the

^y Hunting. lib. ii. Malmf. lib. i.

^z Hunting. lib. ii.

kingdom of Mercia (Z). This, though the last erected, was one of the largest of the English Saxon kingdoms. It comprehended the seventeen counties of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Cheshire, and part of Hertfordshire. The Britons were now confined within very narrow limits. However, before they abandoned all their possessions on this side the mountains, they once more engaged the Saxons at a place called Woden's Bearth, near the ditch in Wiltshire, which, by the neighbouring people, is called Wansdike, and, in the Saxon tongue, Wodensdic, or the dyke of Woden, and running through the middle of the country, divides it from east to west. This battle was a perfect carnage; but who were the generals on either side, we can no where learn. Henry of Huntington only says, that the Britons having drawn up their army after the Roman discipline, the Saxons charged them with their usual boldness. A sharp engagement ensued, adds that writer, in which God gave the victory to the Britons; for the Saxons were routed, and almost their whole army cut off*. In this battle the Britons were assisted by the Angles, jealous of the overgrown power of Ceaulin king of the West Saxons, whose military genius, and great exploits, had struck terror into the Angles, as well as the Britons. After the loss of this battle, he was driven out of his dominions, and forced to take refuge in some other kingdom; but whether in this island, or elsewhere, is not recorded in history.

The seventh Saxon kingdom. Mercia.

The Britons obtain a complete victory over the Saxons;

From this victory the Britons reaped but little advantage; for, being daily more confined, and harassed on one side by the Scots and Picts, and on the other by the Saxons, they were, in the end, obliged to abandon their ancient seats, and take shelter among the craggy and mountainous places in the west of the island, whither their cruel enemies could not easily pursue them. There they long continued a war-

but are, in the end, obliged to retire into Wales, and other parts.

* Hunting. ubi supra.

(Z) Whence it took that Mercian kingdom (1). Others name is uncertain; some deriving it from the river Merse; which, running between Cheshire and Lancashire, was the north-west boundary of the Saxon word *mark*, signifying a limit; because most of the other kingdoms bordered upon it (2).

(1) Lhuyd. fol. 23.

(2) Camd. in Cornaviis.

*Wales divided into
six petty
kingdoms.*

like nation, defending their liberty, and, though separated from the Saxons by a deep ditch, the work of Uffa king of the Mercians, making frequent inroads into the Saxon, or, as we may now style them, the English territories, which they ravaged with fire and sword. The Britons, upon their retiring into Cambria, or Wales, divided that country, as we read in the same author, into six regions, Guynedh, Powys, Dehenbarth, Reynuc, E syluc or Sylluc, and Morganuc or Morgan. Each of these regions or districts was governed by its own king till the year 843, when Roderic the Great became sole monarch of Cambria or Wales, which, at his death, he divided among his three sons, as we shall relate in a more ample manner in a proper place. Some of the Britons were driven into Cornwall; others, according to the learned antiquary, whom we have quoted, settled in the most southern parts of Scotland, and in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, and continued there till the year 871, when they were driven out by the Scots and English, and forced to take shelter amongst their countrymen in that part of Cambria or Wales which, by the Latin writers, is styled Venedotia, and by us North Wales. The Britons at first possessed all the countries beyond the Dee and the Severn, which two rivers, in ancient times, divided Cambria, or Wales, from England, the towns, which stand on the eastern banks of these two rivers, having been most of them built to restrain the Cambrians, or Welsh, from making incursions into England. But the English, having passed the Severn, gradually seized on the country lying between that River and the Wye; hence all Herefordshire, and that tract which was anciently called the Danish Wood, with Gloucestershire, and such parts of Worcestershire and Shropshire as lye beyond the Severn, are still inhabited by the English; in former times, even some parts of Flintshire and Denbighshire were subject to the kings of Mercia: for Uffa, the most powerful king of that country, ordered a deep ditch to be dug, with a high wall to be constructed, as a barrier between his dominions and the territories of the Cambrians, from the mouth of the Dee, a little above Flint castle, over steep mountains, through deep valleys, fens, and rivers, to the mouth of the Wye (A).

*Uffa's
ditch.*

(A) This ditch, called by the Welsh to this Day, Claudh Uffa, or the Ditch of Uffa, is still to be seen in several parts; and all the towns, situated on the east side of it, have names ending in *ton* or *ham*; evident proofs that they were inhabited by Saxons; and the inhabitants of them are by the Welsh still called *Guyr y Mers*, that is, the men of Mercia.

Gildas

Gildas tells us, that some of the Britons, committing themselves to the mercy of the waves, sought for shelter beyond the sea; and it is the general opinion, that they fled to their countrymen in Armorica. That some Britons had settled in Armorica, now Bretagne, before this time, is indisputable; though there is a great disagreement amongst authors as to the precise time of their first establishment in that country. They are said to have made a second settlement there in the reign of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great, during the usurpation of Maximus, and when the Saxons made themselves masters of the island. No ancient historian makes any mention of their settling in that country, either in the reign of Constantius or of Maximus; an omission which gives us room to question the truth of what the moderns have written on that head. All we know for certain is, that the Britons were settled in that part of Gaul which, from them, was called Brittany, before the Saxons and Angles made themselves masters of the whole country now called England.

Some of the distressed Britons take shelter in Armorica.

The Britons, who settled in Armorica, having, by degrees, got the better of the natives, treated them much in the same manner as their countrymen, whom they had left behind in the island, were treated by the Saxons; for, not to allege other testimonies, Regalis bishop of Vannes, speaking of the unhappy condition of the Armoricans, "We live (says he), in captivity under the Britons, and bear a most grievous and heavy yoke." The Armoricans, thus overpowered by the Britons, were blended with them under the common appellation of Britons, their country being called Britannia Armorica, and Britannia Cismarina, in the same manner as the Gauls, in other parts of Gaul, were indiscriminately called by the common name of Franks, and their country called Francia. The Armorican Britons defended themselves with great bravery against the Franks, first under petty kings, and afterwards under counts and dukes, as we shall relate in a more proper place. But to return to our distressed Britons at home: those who had taken refuge among the mountains beyond the Severn attempted, from time to time, to recover the countries they had lost; but their efforts proved ineffectual, as did the endeavours of the Anglo-Saxons to extend their conquests beyond the mountains. Such of the Britons as submitted to, and lived among, the Saxons, were treated by them as slaves, and employed in the most servile stations.

They make themselves masters of it.

Thus, omitting such accounts as are generally deemed fabulous, we have related the most remarkable events that happened in Britain, from the arrival of the Saxons to the

retreat of the Britons into Cambria, or Wales. The venerable Bede takes no notice of what was transacted here, from the battle of Badon-hill to the conversion of the Saxons in the time of pope Gregory the Great; a circumstance which does not a little incline us to doubt the veracity of what we read in the writers who succeeded him. These had not better records or memoirs than that venerable author, but less discernment, and more credulity; which, perhaps, may have prompted them to relate, and even believe, such things, as did not appear to that judicious author so well attested as to merit a place in his history. These, however, we have been forced to follow, for want of better guides, when abandoned by Gildas and Bede; but as we do not give entire credit to what they relate, we are far from exacting it of our readers. The unfortunate Britons being, in the manner we have related, driven into Cambria, the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, remained masters of the whole country now called England, where they had already founded seven kingdoms, known by the name of the heptarchy. These we shall leave for the present, and proceed to the history of other more ancient nations.



C H A P. LXXXV.

The Ancient State of the several Northern Nations, to their Incurfions into the Roman Empire; their several Expeditions, and mutual Expulfions, till the Settling of the Huns in Hungary; of the Vandals, Vifigoths, and Sueves, in Spain; of the Vandals in Africa; the Franks in Gaul; the Oftrogoths in Italy.

S E C T. I.

Of the Huns, till their Settling in Hungary.

The ancient seats of the Huns.

THE Huns, a fierce and savage nation, inhabited that part of Asiatic Sarmatia which bordered on the Palus Mæotis and the Tanais, the ancient boundary between Europe and Asia^b. Their country lay north of

^b Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxxi. p. 435, 441. Agath. lib. v. p. 154.

Mount Caucasus, which, extending from the Euxine to the Caspian sea, parts Asiatic Sarmatia from Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, lying on the isthmus between the two above mentioned seas. In this mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, were two narrow passes leading out of Asiatic Sarmatia into Iberia, one of which was anciently called Porta Caucasica, but, in Procopius's time, Tzur, and the other Porta Caspia; this last, however, we must distinguish from the famous Portæ Caspiæ, or the narrow passes in Mount Caspius, which, at a great distance to the south of Mount Caucasus, divided Media from Parthia. The two passes in Mount Caucasus gave admittance to the neighbouring Hunns into the territories of the Romans and Parthians; whence it is manifest, that, according to Procopius, the ancient seats of the Hunns lay north of Mount Caucasus, and at a small distance from it. In those seats called the Eulybian region, dwelt the Hunns, divided into several tribes, but all comprised under the general name of Ugri, changed afterwards into that of Hunni or Unni. In the authors, who wrote after the year of the Christian æra 376, when the Hunns first broke into Europe, mention is made of the Uturgurian, Cuturgurian, Onugurian, Vultinzurian, Burugurian, Sabirian, or Gabrian, and Nephthalitæ or Ephthalite, Hunns^c. Procopius acquaints us, that one of their kings had two sons, Uturgur, and Cuturgur, who, upon their father's death, divided his territories among them; and that such of the Hunns as were subject to Uturgur, were called Uturgurian Hunns; and those, who fell to the lot of Cuturgur, Cuturgurian. No notice is taken by historians of the other denominations. On the south side of the Palus Mæotis, where it discharges itself into the Euxine sea by a narrow channel, called Bosporus Cimmerius, dwelt the Uturgurian Hunns; and north of them, towards the Tanais, the Cuturgurian.

*Different
tribes of
Hunns.*

The Ephthalite or Nephthalite Hunns, inhabited a rich country, bordering to the North on Persia, and at a great distance from the Sarmatian or Scythian Hunns, with whom they had no intercourse, nor the least affinity either in their persons or manners. They were a powerful nation, and often served against the Romans in the Persian armies; but, in the reign of the emperor Zeno, being provoked by Perozes, king of Persia, who laid claim to part of their country, they defeated him in two pitched battles, over-ran all Persia, and held it in subjection for the space of two

The Ephthalite or Nephthalite Hunns.

^c Agath. lib. ix. p. 154. Procop. ibid. Paul. Warnefrid. Miscel. lib. xii

years, obliging Cabades, the son and successor of Perozes, to pay them an annual tribute. These Hunns, called by the writers of those times the White Hunns, did not wander, like the others, from place to place; but contented with their own country, which supplied them with all necessities, lived under a regular government, subject to one prince, and seldom made inroads, unless provoked, either into the Persian or Roman territories. They lived according to their own laws, and dealt uprightly with one another, as well as with the neighbouring people. Each of their great men used to choose twenty or more companions, to enjoy with him his wealth, and partake of all his diversions; but, upon his decease, they were all buried with him in the same grave. This custom favours of barbarity; but in every other respect the Nephthalite were a more civilized nation than the Scythian Hunns, who, making inroads into the empire, filled most of the provinces of Europe with blood and slaughter.

The Sarmatian or Scythian Hunns.

Their customs and manners.

The latter were, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, a savage people, exceeding in cruelty the most barbarous nations. They begin to practise their cruelty, says Jornandes, upon their children the first day they come into the world, cutting and mangling the cheeks of their males, to prevent the growth of hair, which they considered contrary to the sentiments of other nations, as unbecoming and unmanly. They had, perhaps, in this practice another view, which Jornandes seems to insinuate elsewhere, namely, to strike terror into the enemy with their countenances thus distorted ^d. They had no other food but roots and raw meat, and no houses, or even huts; but lived constantly exposed to the air in the woods and on the mountains, where, from their infancy, they were inured to hunger, thirst, and all manner of hardships: they had such an aversion to houses, which they called the sepulchres of the living, that when they went into other countries, they could hardly be prevailed upon to cross a threshold, not thinking themselves safe when shut up and covered. They were accustomed even to eat and sleep on horseback, scarce ever dismounting; a custom which in all likelihood induced Zosimus to aver, that the Hunns could not walk ^e. They covered their nakedness with goat skins, or the skins of a sort of mice sewed together. Day and night were indifferent to this savage people, as to buying, selling, eating, and drinking. They had no law, nor any kind of religion; but complied with their inclinations,

^d Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 24. p. 643.

^e Zos. lib. iv. p. 747.

without

without the least restraint, or distinction between good and evil ^f. In war, they began the battle with great fury, and a hideous noise; but if they met with a vigorous opposition, their fury abated after the first onset; and, when once put in disorder, they never rallied, but fled in the utmost confusion. They were quite unacquainted with the art of besieging towns; and it is observed, that they never attacked the enemy's camp. They were a faithless nation, and thought themselves no longer bound by the most solemn treaties than they found their advantage in observing them. Hence we often find them, upon the least prospect of obtaining more advantageous conditions, making incursions into the Roman empire, in defiance of the most solemn oaths and engagements. Several bodies of Hunns, after their coming into Europe, served in the Roman armies against the Goths, and other barbarous nations; they were even such mercenaries as to be willing, for hire, to fight against each other, being blind to every other consideration than lucre ^g. Of this disposition the emperor Justinian was apprised; and, by promising a large sum to the Uturgurian Hunns, prevailed upon them to fall upon the Cuturgurians, and drive them quite out of the empire ^h.

The form of government that prevailed amongst them was not, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, properly speaking, monarchical; for that author, treating of the Scythian Hunns, tell us, that they had never learnt to submit to the authority of a king; but that they were headed and conducted by some of their chiefs. As to the origin of the Hunns, Procopius seems to insinuate, that they were descended from the Albanians; and that they removed from Albania, lying on the Caspian sea, into Asiatic Sarmatia, where they settled. *Their form of government.*

As for the name of Hunns, some authors imagine them to have been thus nominated from one of their leaders named Hunnor; but of this Hunnor no mention is made by any ancient writer. They are frequently styled Ugri by Procopius, and other writers; and the word *ugre*, in the Slavonic language, signifies *aquatic*, that is, *living in or near the water*; a name well adapted to a nation living in wet or marshy places; and such were the ancient seats of the Hunns bordering on the Palus Mæotis and the Tanais ⁱ. *Their origin.*

^f Amm. lib. xxxi. p. 435—437—615—618. Isidor. car. ii. p. 297.

^g Ammian. ibid. p. 439, 440. Prisc. de Legat. p. 65. ^h Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. iv. cap. 18, 19. Agath. lib. v. p. 155. ⁱ Vide

Ludewig. in Vit. Justinian. & Theodoræ, p. 529. not. 704.

Ptolemy, in his *Sarmatia Europæa*, mentions a people, whom he calls Chuni, dwelling in his time on the banks of the Borysthenes. These the Hunns subdued, and settled in their country; whence, from their name Chuni, some derive that of Hunni: but, to dwell no longer on conjectures, we shall now give a succinct account of the several migrations and expeditions of the Hunns, from their first coming into Europe to their settling in Pannonia, called afterwards from them Hungary, following therein Ammianus Marcellinus, and other credible writers, who lived in or near those times.

Yr. of Fl.

2724-

A. D. 376.

*They pass
the Palus
Maotus;*

*and subdue
the Alans.*

*They fall
upon the
Ostrogoths;*

The Hunns, as we have already observed, dwelt on the east side of the Palus Mæotis, now the sea of Zabache, quite unacquainted with the people and countries lying on the opposite side, till a hind pursued by some hunters, or, as we find in other authors, an ox stung by a gad-fly, having passed the marsh, some Hunns followed their guide to the opposite side, where they discovered a country more agreeable than their own. Hereupon, returning to their own country, they acquainted their countrymen with what they had discovered; and at the same time informed them, that what they had till then looked upon as a deep sea, was only a marsh, and might be passed without the least danger^k. Encouraged with this account, and desiring to settle in a more fertile soil, they passed the marsh; and entering the country of the Alans, who dwelt on the banks of the Tanais, and were thence called Tanaites, they laid it waste far and near, made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, and obliged such of them as were left alive, and able to bear arms, to enlist under their standard. Thus reinforced, they fell upon the Goths, by Ammianus called Greuthongi, and by Jornandes Ostrogoths; and spread every-where such terror among them, that Ermenric their king, though a warlike prince, and conqueror of many nations, laid violent hands on himself, to avoid seeing the calamities that threatened his people^l. Jornandes acquaints us, that Ermenric, whom he calls Ermanaric, having punished with death a woman named Saniolk, of the nation of the Roxolani, for the murder of her husband, her two brothers, Sarus and Ammius, conspiring against him, gave him a dangerous wound in the side; which, with the concern he was under in seeing his country over-run by the Hunns, occasioned his death, in the hundred and tenth year of his age. He was succeeded by Vithimir, who, hav-

^k Jornand. *ibid.* cap. 24. p. 644, 645.
p. 439, 440.

^l Ammian. lib. xxxi.

ing hired a body of Hunns, made for some time a vigorous resistance; but was, in the end, after many losses, slain in battle. He left behind him a son named Vitheric or Videric, whom, as he was under age, he committed to the care of Alatheus and Saphrax; but these, though men of known valour and experience in war, foreseeing all their efforts would prove unsuccessful against the numerous and formidable forces of the enemy, thought it adviseable to *and drive them out of their country.* abandon the country they then held, and retire, with all their people, to the plains between the Borysthenes and the Danube; which country is now known by the name of Podolia.

Athanaric, king or chief of the Thervingi or Visigoths, being informed of what had happened to the Ostrogoths, resolved to be upon his guard, and prepared for a vigorous defence on the banks of the Danastus, now the Nieper, which parted the Greuthongi from the Thervingi: but the Hunns falling upon him before he had the least notice of their approach, he was put to flight, after having lost great numbers of his men, and obliged to take shelter among the neighbouring mountains. As the enemy, overloaded with booty, pursued him but slowly, he built a wall with incredible expedition for his own defence, extending from the Gerasus, or the Pruth, to the Danube, in the country now known by the name of Moldavia^m. All the Gothic nations being alarmed at this sudden and unexpected irruption of the Hunns, such of them as had the good fortune to escape the dreadful havock which those Barbarians made of their people, resolved to abandon their country to an enemy whom they were no longer able to oppose, and to shelter themselves within the Roman dominions, separated by the Danube from the countries over-run by the Hunns. Accordingly they retired from their ancient seats, and, approaching the banks of the Danube, dispatched ambassadors to the emperor Valens, begging, in a most submissive manner, to be admitted into Thrace. *Defeat the Visigoths, and oblige them to abandon their country.*

The Romans were struck with terror and amazement, in hearing that such multitudes of Barbarians were hovering about the banks of the Danube, driven out of their country by greater Barbarians than themselves. Valens, however, complied with their request, allowing them to pass the Danube, and enter Thrace in such numbers, that Ammianus compares them to the sparks which at that very time issued out of Mount Ætna, and to the sands of the Libyan shore. Those were, for the most part, Thervingi or Visigoths, the *The Goths are admitted into Thrace.*

^m Ammian. p. 440, 441.

*The Huns
masters of
the country
between
the Tanais
and the
Danube.*

*The Neph-
thalite
Huns
over ran
Mesopo-
tania.*

*The Scy-
thian
Huns in-
vade
Thrace,
and are
defeated by
Stilicho.*

subjects of king Athanaric. As for the Greuthongi, or Ostrogoths, they being likewise driven out of their country by the Huns, flocked in swarms to the banks of the Danube; and, encouraged by the reception their countrymen had met with from Valens, begged to be admitted within the Roman dominions; but the emperor not thinking it adviseable to comply with their request, after they had continued some time on the banks of the Danube, they passed it in despite of his prohibition. Athanaric, king of the Thervingi, not thinking it safe to take refuge in the territories of the Romans, on account of his having assisted the usurper Procopius, retired, with part of his people, to a place defended by inaccessible rocks, named Caucalanda, having driven from thence the Sarmatians and the Taifali, whose country lay west of the Gerasus, or the Pruth^a. Thus the Huns, in the year 376, not only settled in Europe, but made themselves masters of that vast country which extends from the Tanais to the Danube, and was, before their arrival, possessed by the Alans, the Goths, and several other barbarous nations, whom they either drove out, or forced to submit to their victorious arms.

We find no farther mention made in history of the Huns who settled in Europe, till the year 388, when great numbers of them are said to have listed under the Roman banner of Theodosius I. who was then emperor, encouraging them, with large sums, to serve in his army, as well on account of their warlike disposition, as to divert them from raising disturbances on the frontiers of the empire^c. The Nephthalite Huns, who had continued in Asia, and were neighbours to the Persians, as we have already observed, breaking into the Roman territories, over-ran Mesopotamia in 383, and even laid siege to Edeffa; but were repulsed by the Roman garrison, and obliged by a body of troops, consisting chiefly of Goths, sent to the relief of the place, to abandon the enterprize, and retire^d. The European Huns first passed the Danube in 391, and being joined by the Goths and other Barbarians, committed dreadful havock in Mœsia and Thrace: but Stilicho marching against them, totally defeated their army, and pursuing vigorously, surrounded them in a narrow valley, where they must have perished with hunger or surrendered at discretion, had not Theodosius chosen to conclude a peace with them, following therein, says the poet Claudian, the pernicious counsel of the traitor Rufinus^e.

^a Ammian. ibid. Journ. cap. 25. p. 646.

p. 214.

^c Socrat. lib. v. cap. 11. p. 270. sur 15 Novemb. p. 342.

^d Claud. de Laud. Stil. lib. i. p. 125, 126.

^e Ambros. ep. xvii.

About four years after this event, in 395, the Hunns making unexpectedly an inroad into the eastern provinces, penetrated as far as Antioch, destroying all the country with fire and sword, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties¹. St. Jerom, speaking of this irruption of the Hunns, says: "All the East trembled when the dismal news was brought that swarms of Hunns, coming from the far-distant Mæotis, and dwelling between the frozen Tanaïs and the country of the savage Massagetes, scattered themselves over it, and filled all places with blood and slaughter. While the Roman armies (continues that writer) were employed in civil wars (that is against the usurper Eugenius), the cruel enemy roved, without control, where they pleased, preventing, by their speed, the report of their coming. They had no regard either to religion or dignity; no age they spared, nor were they softened by the tears of the crying infant; but put those to death who had scarce begun to live, and who, not apprised of their danger, smiled, when in the enemy's hands, at those very weapons that were immediately to destroy them." He adds, that the general terror and consternation spread as far as Palestine, upon a report that they proposed to advance to Jerusalem, and plunder the holy city².

Yr. of Fl.
2743.
A. D. 395.

They ravage the eastern provinces.

The Hunns having over-run, and plundered several provinces, voluntarily returned home, loaded with spoils, and carrying with them an incredible number of captives.

After this irruption they seem to have continued quiet for nine years, that is, till the year 404, when passing the Danube in great multitudes, they entered Thrace, and having traversed that province, penetrated into East Illyricum, committing every-where dreadful ravages, and destroying with fire and sword what they could not carry off³.

They break into Thrace.

In the following year, 405, we find great numbers of Hunns serving in Stilicho's army, which marched against Radagaisus, who had invaded Italy. These Hunns were led by Uldin, one of their chiefs or kings; and to him was chiefly owing the signal victory gained by Stilicho in Hetruria; for having with his Hunns surrounded one of the three bodies into which Rhadagaisus had divided his army, he cut them all in pieces, to the number of a hundred thousand men⁴. Uldin was well known to the Romans before this time, from the vigorous opposition he had made in the year 400, against the famous Gainas, commander of the Goths in the Roman service.

They distinguish themselves in the Roman service.

Uldin king of the Hunns.

¹ Soz. lib. viii. cap. 1. p. 753.

² Hier Epitaph. Fabiol.

³ Soz. lib. viii. cap. 25. p. 793. Philostorg. lib. xi. cap. 8. p. 530.

⁴ Soz. p. 803. Prosp. Chron. Aug. Civ. p. 63.

Yr. of Fl.

2756.

A. D. 408.

*Uldin ra-
vages
Thrace;**but is
forced to
retire.**The Hunns
march to
the assist-
ance of the
usurper
John.*

No prince had hitherto deserved better of the empire than Uldin; but two years after the signal victory obtained chiefly by his means over Radagaisus, he became, on what provocation we know not, an irreconcilable enemy to the Romans; and passing the Danube, entered Thrace at the head of a numerous army, consisting of Hunns and Squiri, or Scyri, a northern nation, subject, in all likelihood, to the Hunns. As this irruption happened during the minority of Theodosius II. Anthemius, who had taken upon him the administration, exerted his abilities to appease Uldin; but he confiding too much in his own strength, and insisting upon conditions that could not be honourably granted, Anthemius ordered a body of Roman troops to march against him, at whose approach several of his officers, offended at his haughty and imperious behaviour, laid hold of that opportunity to abandon him, and join the Romans. This defection alarmed Uldin, who retired with great precipitation, and repassed the Danube, after having lost, on his hasty march, many of his men. As for the Squiri, the emperor's troops coming up with them before they reached the Danube, they were to a man either killed or taken prisoners: the latter were sold, and dispersed all over Asia, to prevent their ever returning to their own country^w. By this overthrow, and one they had received in 381, from Theodosius the Great, grandfather to the reigning emperor, Theodosius the younger, that nation, once very numerous, was almost utterly extirpated^x.

From this period the Hunns seem to have continued quiet till the year 423, when the emperor Honorius dying, and John, his chief secretary, assuming the purple, they were prevailed upon by the celebrated Aetius, who had joined the usurper, to espouse his cause. As Aetius had been formerly given to them, on what occasion we know not, as a hostage, and was become acquainted with their chiefs, the usurper sent him, as the most proper person, with large sums, to engage them in his cause. Accordingly, a few months after his departure, he returned at the head of sixty thousand Hunns. Upon his entering Italy he was met by Aspar, one of the generals of Theodosius, who, upon the death of his uncle Honorius, had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of the West. A bloody battle ensued, without any considerable advantage on either side; but in the mean time Aetius, being informed of the death of the usurper, who had been taken and beheaded in Ravenna

^w Socrat. lib. ix. cap. 6. p. 306, 307.^x Soz. lib. iv. p. 759.

three days before the battle, submitted to Theodosius, and persuaded the Hunns, not without distributing considerable sums among them, to return home^y.

*They re-
turn home.*

However, Thrace was this year pillaged and laid waste by some of that nation whom Theodoret styles Scythian Nomades. Their chief was Rougas or Roilas, who threatened to over-run the whole empire, and lay siege to Constantinople itself^z; but Theodosius, not in the least dismayed at the menaces of the Barbarian, committed the event, according to his custom, says Socrates, to Providence, and soon obtained what he desired; for Rougas was killed with lightning, a plague broke out in his army, and swept off the greatest part of his men, and fire from heaven consumed most of those whom the plague had spared. This complication of misfortunes struck the Barbarians with such terror, that they retired voluntarily, dreading, not the arms of the Romans, but the power of heaven, which had evidently espoused the cause of Theodosius.

*Rougas
ravages
Thrace.*

*He is killed
with light-
ning, and
his army
dispersed.*

Six years after this irruption, that is, in 423, we find the Hunns in possession of Pannonia; for Aetius, being that year disgraced by Valentinian III. or rather by his mother Placidia, who governed during the minority of her son, is said to have retired to the court of Roas, king of the Hunns, in Pannonia^a. As the Hunns were in a great measure indebted to Aetius for the lands they held in Pannonia, Roas, their king, not only received that able commander with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and friendship upon his being disgraced at the court of Placidia, but sent him back at the head of a powerful army of Hunns; which so terrified Placidia, that she restored Aetius to all his employments, and raised him to the rank of patrician^b.

In the year 435, a strong body of Hunns, marching through Germany into Gaul, joined Aetius against the Burgundians, who, having been allowed to settle in that part which bordered on the Rhine, had revolted from the Romans, and ravaged Belgic Gaul. Aetius, after gaining a complete victory over them, obliged Gondicarius their king to sue for peace; which he granted, but neither Gondicarius nor his people long enjoyed it; for, in the beginning of the following year, he was cut off, with twenty thousand of his men, by the Hunns, at the instigation of Aetius, provoked, as some authors assert^c, at their revolting again;

*They join
Aetius a-
gainst the
Burgun-
dians;*

*Yr. of Fl.
2783.
A. D. 435.*

*of whom
they cut off
twenty
thousand.*

^y Philostorg. lib. xii. cap. 14. p. 538. Prosp. Chron. Cassiodor. Chron. ^z Socrat. lib. vii. cap. 43. p. 387. Theodoret. lib. v. cap. 36. p. 749. ^a Prosp. Chron. Prisc. p. 37. ^b Prosp. Chron. Idat. p. 20. Val. Rer. Franc. lib. x. p. 140. ^c Buch. Belg. p. 486.

while

Ten thousand Hunns cut off by the Burgundians.

The Hunns oblige the Goths to raise the siege of Narbonne.

while others charge Aetius, on this occasion, with breach of faith, and the blackest treachery. Socrates tells us, that the unhappy Burgundians, harassed with the continual incursions of the Hunns, and being no longer in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy, had recourse to Heaven; and, repairing to a city in Gaul, there declared their desire of embracing the Christian religion. The bishop of the place enjoined them a seven days fast, during which time he instructed them in the mysteries of our holy religion; and, having administered to them the sacrament of baptism, he sent them home full of courage and confidence. In this condition they marched against the Hunns; and, finding them destitute of a leader, Uptar their king dying the night before, gorged with immoderate eating and drinking, they fell upon them, cut ten thousand in pieces, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitate flight. From this period the Burgundians, adds Socrates, continued steadfast in the Christian religion^d.

Notwithstanding this overthrow, the Hunns, either this year, or the following, marched with a considerable body to the assistance of the Romans against the Goths, who had been allowed to settle in Aquitain; but not satisfied with the countries allotted them, had made themselves masters of several neighbouring cities belonging to the Romans, and even laid siege to Narbonne. The Romans called the Hunns to their assistance; who, being led by count Litorius, fell upon the Goths while they were busied in the siege, put them to flight, and entered the city, each horseman carrying with him two bushels of corn; which proved a very seasonable supply, the inhabitants being reduced to the utmost extremity^e. Idatius ascribes the raising of the siege to Aetius^f, probably because Litorius acted by his orders, he being commander in chief of all the armies of the Western empire. The Hunns, who thus signalized themselves against the Goths, had, the preceding year, been employed by the Romans against the rebellious Armorici, whom they reduced. From Armorica they marched against the Goths of Aquitain; but, on their way, they plundered the province of Auvergne, though belonging to the Romans, whom they served as auxiliaries. Litorius, after having gained great advantages over the Goths, laid siege to Toulouse, their capital; but was afterwards defeated in a pitched battle by Theodoric their king, and taken prisoner. About this time two chiefs of the Hunns, Bafic

^d Socrat. lib. vii. cap. 30. p. 371, 372.

Rer. Franc. lib. iii. p. 140.

^e Prosp. Chron. Val.

^f Idat. p. 21.

and Curſic, having numerous bodies of their nation under their command, came to Rome, and entered into the ſervice of Valentinian III. emperor of the Weſt ^z.

Rougas, king of the Hunns, of whom we have already ſpoken, had been ſucceeded, in 425, by Rouas or Roas, who concluded a peace with Theodoſius II. of which one of the conditions was, that the emperor ſhould pay him a yearly penſion of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold. But Rouas reſolving, a few years after the concluſion of this peace, to ſubdue the Boiſchi, and other nations dwelling on the banks of the Danube, whom Theodoſius had taken under his protection, diſpatched one Elias to the court of Conſtantinople, threatening to wage war upon Theodoſius, if he afforded them the leaſt aſſiſtance. Hereupon Plintha and Dionyſius, two generals of no ſmall renown, were appointed to treat with the king of the Hunns, and divert him, if poſſible, from the reſolution he had taken. In the mean time Rouas died, and was ſucceeded by his two nephews Bleda and Attila. News of the death of Rouas reaching Conſtantinople before the departure of the ambaffadors, they were ordered to treat with the two princes his ſucceſſors, and impowered to conclude a laſting peace; which they did accordingly, upon diſhonourable terms. Attila and Bleda being, in virtue of this treaty, at liberty to purſue their conqueſts, reduced ſeveral northern countries; inſomuch that their authority was acknowledged by all the barbarous nations, from the Danube to the moſt diſtant coaſts of the Euxine ſea ^h. Among the reſt he ſubdued the Acatziri, who dwelt on the north coaſt of that ſea, and were divided into ſeveral nations, each having a diſtinct king. But the moſt ancient among thoſe princes had, it ſeems, ſome pre-eminence above the reſt; for Priſcus, who lived in thoſe times, tells us, that the jealouſy which Couridachus, the eldeſt of the kings, conceived of the reſt, gave Attila an opportunity of ſubduing them all. Theodoſius II. in order to unite them, and induce them to renounce the frienſhip of Attila, and enter into an alliance with the empire, ſent rich preſents to each of them; but the perſon, whom the emperor employed on this occaſion, not applying in the firſt inſtance to Couridachus, that prince, thinking himſelf highly injured, acquainted Attila with what had paſſed, inviting him at the ſame time to come and revenge the affront. Attila availed himſelf of the opportunity; and, having imme-

Theodoſius II. pays a yearly penſion to the Hunns.

Bleda and Attila ſucceed Rouas.

They ſubdue many northern nations.

Among the reſt the Acatziri.

^z Priſc. Legat. p. 64. cap. 35. p. 661.

^h Idem, p. 84. Journ. Rer. Goth.

diately sent a powerful army against the Acatziri, soon reduced the other princes, but suffered Couridachus to enjoy his dominions undisturbed. Some time after, Attila invited him to his court; but Couridachus, alleging he could not bear the presence of so great a god, prudently declined complying with his invitation. The Hunn, pleased with this apology, never offered him the least violence; but gave the countries belonging to the other Acatzirian princes to his eldest son, named Ellac, appointing him king over all the nations bordering on the Euxine sea. The young prince, in going to take possession of his new kingdom, had the misfortune to break his right arm by a fall from his horse¹.

Attila appoints his son Ellac king over all the nations bordering on the Euxine sea.

Resolves on a new war with the Romans.

Attila having, with the assistance of his brother Bleda, brought under subjection all the northern nations, began, as his ambition knew no bounds, and his arms had been hitherto attended with wonderful success, to entertain thoughts of reducing, not only the Goths settled in Thrace, but the Romans themselves, and making himself master of the whole empire. With this view, having drawn together a very numerous and formidable army, without any regard to the treaty already mentioned, he passed the Danube, and, entering Thrace, put all to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition.

Attila and Bleda break into the Eastern empire;

He and his brother Bleda took several towns and castles, which the Romans had built on the banks of the Danube, to awe the Barbarians, and restrain them from entering the empire². Among other towns, they made themselves masters of Viminacium, a place of great importance on the Danube in Upper Mœsia. The Romans, alarmed at this sudden inundation of the Huns, advised the emperor to comply with their request, and deliver up to them the bishop of Margum, who, they alleged, had plundered their treasure. The bishop no sooner understood his danger, than he repaired to the enemy's camp, and found means to put them in possession of the city. Attila, elated with this success, dispatched a messenger to Theodosius, requiring him to deliver up forthwith all the Huns who had taken refuge in the Roman territories, to pay him the arrears of his yearly pension, which had been stopt ever since he took up arms, and to send proper persons to settle what sums should be paid him for the future. He added, that there was no time to lose, since he could no longer restrain or moderate the ardour of his troops, thirsting after blood and spoil. Theodosius, though not a little terrified at these menaces, chose rather to try the chance of war, than abandon

¹ Prisc. p. 63—69.

² Procop. *Ædific. lib. iv. cap. 5. p. 79.*

those whom he had taken under his protection. He therefore only promised to send proper persons to Attila, with full powers to conclude a lasting peace¹. Attila, not satisfied with this answer, pursued his ravages with greater cruelty than before, reducing several cities and strongholds, namely, Retiarium, Singidunum, Naissus, and Sirmium, formerly the capital of Illyricum^m.

Yr. of Fl.
2789.
A D. 441.

*and make
themselves
masters of
several
cities and
strong-
holds.*

The emperor was to such a degree terrified at the progress the two brothers made in Mœsia, Thrace, and Illyricum, that, not thinking himself safe at Constantinople, he withdrew into Asia, and continued there till the return of the troops he had sent against Genseric, king of the Vandals, to whom he was forced to grant an advantageous peaceⁿ. As to the issue of this war, we are left in the dark. All we can learn is, that a peace was concluded between Attila and Theodosius; but upon what terms, we are by no author informed.

During this peace, Attila, unable any longer to bear a partner in the kingdom, caused his brother Bleda to be assassinated; and, upon his death, obliged the whole nation of the Huns to acknowledge him for their sovereign. He was obeyed by several other nations: Jornandes places among the rest the Goths, meaning, doubtless, those who chose to remain in their ancient settlements, the Gepidæ, the Suevians, the Alans, the Heruli, the Sarmatians, the Semandrians, the Squiri, the Sattagares, the Rugians, and the Acatzirians^o. He was sole master of all Scythia and Germany. Priscus observes, that no prince ever subdued such numerous countries in so short a time. His authority was acknowledged by all the states and princes from the Rhine to the most northern boundaries of the Persian empire, which he had once some thoughts of invading, and might, according to Priscus, have easily reduced, and, with that addition of strength, made himself master of the whole Roman empire^p. The Romans declined giving him the title of king, and only styled him general of their armies; disguising the annual tribute they paid him with the specious name of salary; so great was their vanity, when their power was at the lowest ebb! They treated in the same manner the kings of the Goths and Burgundians, who, as they were less powerful, thought themselves honoured with the title of general; but Attila rejected it with contempt, saying, that the emperors had slaves for their generals;

*Attila
causes his
brother
Bleda to be
assassinated.*

*His great
power.*

¹ Prisc. p. 34. ^m Theoph. p. 38. Marcell. Chron. ⁿ Prosp. Chron. Theoph. p. 37. Marcell. Chron. Chron. Alex. p. 730.
^o Jorn. p. 685—688. ^p Prisc. p. 64.

whereas his generals were upon a level with the emperors themselves. When he entered Gaul in 451, he was attended by a throng of kings and princes, who stood trembling before him, without daring to utter a word; but always ready, at the least sign, to execute his commands with the utmost attention and submission. They referred all their differences to Attila, looked upon his decisions as oracles, and in every thing submitted to him as to the king of kings. Among these kings were two, to whom Attila paid a particular regard, Valamir or Balamir, king of the Ostrogoths, who had remained among the Huns, a man of a frank and open temper, and an enemy to all art and dissimulation; and Arderic, king of the Gepidæ, a prince of great penetration, inviolably attached to Attila¹.

His personal qualities.

As to the person of Attila, Jornandes has left us the following portrait of him: he was black, low in stature, had a broad breast, a large head, a flat nose, and small eyes. He had a passion for war; but depended more upon his counsel than his sword, employing not only force and menaces, but frequently craft, and sometimes low artifices, and even falsehood, to obtain his end. He was constantly forming new projects, and vast designs, aspiring at nothing less than the monarchy of the universe. He was so elated with his great power and success, as not to hearken to reason, however clear and evident². The pride and haughtiness of his mind appeared in all his actions and motions, in his gait, eyes, and looks; insomuch that no one could behold him, without concluding that he was sent into the world to disturb its repose. His presence, joined to the reputation he had acquired, struck all who beheld him with such awe and terror, that very few ventured to approach him, or speak to him: however, we are told, that an ambassador sent to him by Valentinian III. appeared quite unconcerned before a man who made the world tremble. As the ambassador had justice on his side, he was not intimidated by his wild and menacing looks; but, in spite of the rage to which he abandoned himself, answered all his complaints without betraying the least fear, leaving him at his departure calm, and capable of reason, though he had found him quite outrageous and untractable³. In his time was found a sword, thought to be the sword of Mars, and on that account held in great veneration by the ancient kings of Scythia. It had been lost for some ages, and was said to have been found in the following manner: a cowherd, observing one of his

His pride, and haughty carriage.

The supposed sword of Mars found in his time.

¹ Jorn. cap. 38. p. 567.

² Prisc. p. 64.

³ Cassiodor. lib. 2.

epist. 4. p. 512.

cows wounded in the foot, followed the bloody traces to the place where she had received the wound. There he discovered the edge of a sword appearing above ground, which the cow had trod upon. The sword he immediately dug up, and carried it to the king, who, knowing it to be the famous sword of the god of war, received it with inexpressible joy, as an omen that he was to extend his conquests to the most distant limits of the world. Priscus, from whom Jornandes copied this account, says, that nothing gained Attila so much respect and veneration, among the superstitious vulgar, as the discovery of this sword in his time. The same author adds, that he was so blinded with pride and ambition, as to forget he was a man, and to suffer divine honours to be paid to him.

He was, however, possessed of some good qualities; for, *His good qualities.*

to those who referred their controversies to him, he administered justice according to the strictest rules of equity. He treated his subjects with great mildness, suffering them quietly to enjoy their estates, and levying only such sums as they could easily pay. In his dominions no poor were seen oppressed with tributes and taxes. He was ever ready to forgive those who submitted to him, and was never known to have abandoned those whom he had once taken under his protection. He was so far from placing his grandeur in pomp and parade, which serve only to dazzle the eyes of the senseless multitude, that, on the contrary, he affected an air of simplicity, and contempt for pageantry, and all kind of outward magnificence. His dress was neat, but plain. He could not be reconciled to any gold, precious stones, or the least ornament on his sword, or the trappings of his horse, though in great request among the princes who attended him, and those of his court. Priscus, who accompanied Maximinus, sent by the emperor Theodosius, in 449, to the court of Attila, with the character of ambassador, tells us, that they found him sitting in his tent on a wooden chair. The same writer followed him several days journey beyond the Danube, till he reached one of his most magnificent palaces, which was built entirely of wood, and stood in a large village, and in a country where no wood or stones were to be found. Attila, soon after his arrival, invited Maximinus and Priscus to a grand entertainment, at which the guests were all served in silver and gold; but before the king was set a dish of plain meat, of which he eat but very sparingly, and on a trencher. He drank very little, and out

*An enemy
to pomp
and show.*

¹ Prisc., p. 54. 60. 75.
p. 112.

² Salvian. Maffil. de Gubern. lib. v.
Jorn. cap. 35. p. 661. cap. 49. p. 684.

of a woodencup, while the guests were regaled with great variety of liquors in cups of gold, enriched with precious stones. During the banquet, something happened, which made all the company laugh; but Attila, as Priscus observed, maintained his usual gravity amidst their mirth, without the least smile, or change of countenance.

His wives. He had, according to the custom of his nation, many wives; by whom he had almost an innumerable issue. His favourite wife was Crecha or Recha, who resided in his capital, and by whom he had his eldest son Ellac, with two others. Priscus, who carried her some presents, found her sitting on a bed, while her female attendants sat working on the ground *. Among his children are mentioned Ellac, his eldest son; Dengizic, who perished in the war he waged against the Romans; and Hernac, or Hernas, the youngest of them all †. Attila had an extraordinary esteem and affection for Ellac, whom he distinguished above all his brothers, made him in his life-time king of the Acatzirians, and appointed him his successor after his death; but he did not long survive his father, being killed in a battle soon after his accession to the crown. Next to Ellac, Hernas was the father's favourite, the soothsayers having foretold, that he was to outlive all his brothers, and support the splendor and glory of his family. The first part of this supposed prediction proved true: as to the other, Hernas was so far from maintaining the glory of his family, that, declining to engage in the war which his brother Dengizic undertook against the empire, he contented himself with some lands given him by the emperor Marcian in Little Scythia.

His children.

But to resume our history: Attila being, by the death of his brother Bleda, become sole master of so many nations, all ready to follow his banners, and execute his commands, looked upon the Roman emperors with such contempt, that he is said to have sent, out of mere wantonness, two Goths, with the character of ambassadors, one to Theodosius, and the other to Valentinian, with this haughty and insulting message: "Attila, my master and your's, commands you to get ready a palace for his reception ‡." What answer they returned we are not informed: however, we do not find that Attila broke the peace he had concluded with Theodosius, till the year 447. It is true, he often threatened him with hostilities, but only with a view to obtain from him money, corn, provisions, and whatever else he stood in need

He despises and insults the Roman emperors.

* Prisc. p. 63. 68.
Alexand. p. 734.

† Jorn. cap. 50. p. 688.

‡ Chron.

of, the Romans, who trembled at the very name of Attila, complying, like so many slaves, with all his demands, that he might have no pretence for attacking them. The ambassadors he sent to Constantinople returned always loaded with presents; for which reason, when he thought any of his subjects worthy of an extraordinary reward, he used to send them, under some specious pretence, with the character of ambassadors to Theodosius ^a. Attila continued thus subjecting the majesty of the empire, and insulting the weakness of Theodosius, till the year 447, when, no longer satisfied with the annual pension paid him by the emperor, and the rich presents yearly sent him, he declared war against the empire, and over-ran several provinces; hostilities which obliged Theodosius to conclude a peace with him on terms highly opprobrious to the Roman name.

Soon after the conclusion of the peace, Attila sent one Edecon to Constantinople, with the character of ambassador, attended by his chief secretary Orestes (B). As Edecon seemed to be greatly pleased with the splendor and magnificence of the court, and desirous to continue among the Romans, the eunuch Chrysaphus, the emperor's chief chamberlain, thinking him capable of committing, without remorse, the blackest crimes, proposed to him the assassination of his prince; which he undertook, tempted by the promises of the eunuch. To this wicked attempt the emperor not only consented, but, in order to its being the more

Theodosius attempts to get Attila murdered.

^a Prisc. p. 36, 37.

(B) Orestes was by birth a Roman, that is, he was born a subject of the empire. As he lived in Pannonia, probably his native country, when that province was yielded to the Hunns in 430, he listed himself among the troops of Attila, who, discovering him to be a man of parts, made him his secretary. His father, named Tatula, had likewise some considerable employment at the court of Attila. Orestes married the daughter of count Romulus, sent by Valentinian III. on an embassy to Attila in 440, and had by her a son called Romulus Augustulus.

Orestes, leaving the Hunns, served in the Roman armies with great reputation, and was raised to the rank of a patrician, and appointed by the emperor Nepos general of the troops in Gaul; when, turning his arms against the prince who had entrusted him with them, he drove him from the throne, and caused his son Augustulus, in whom ended the Western Empire, to be proclaimed emperor in his room. Orestes was at length taken prisoner in Pavia, and brought to Odoacer, who ordered him to be put to death at Placentia (1).

(1) Evagr. lib. vii. cap. 1. p. 333. Procop. p. 308.

effectually executed, dispatched a solemn embassy to Attila, strictly enjoining those who attended the ambassadors, especially their interpreter Vigilus, a bold and enterprising man, to be assisting to Edecon. Maximinus, who, in 422, had persuaded the Persians to conclude a peace with the Romans, was at the head of this embassy; but as he was a man of an unblemished character, the emperor did not think fit to trust him with the secret.

The plot is discovered.

The ambassadors no sooner arrived at the court of Attila, than Edecon, either apprehensive of the dangers attending such a desperate enterprize, or deceiving the whole time the traitors with more refined treachery, discovered the whole to his prince; who immediately caused Vigilus to be seized, and sent back his secretary Orestes to Constantinople, with the purse in which the money had been brought, that was to have been paid to Edecon after the assassination, charging him to ask Theodosius and Chrysaphus, whether they were acquainted with it; to reproach the emperor in the severest terms with such a horrid piece of treachery; and to insist upon his instantly delivering up to him Chrysaphus, the author and projector of the plot^b: but the emperor, unwilling to sacrifice the eunuch his chief favourite, instead of complying with Attila's demand, dispatched the patrician Anatolius and Nomus to the king of the Huns, charging them to do all that lay in their power to appease him. Anatolius, at that time comes domesticorum, that is, captain of the guards, had negotiated a peace with Attila the year before: as for Nomus, he was one of Chrysaphus's particular friends, and generous to such a degree, that no one doubted that, with his rich presents, he would soften Attila. It happened accordingly; for Attila not only promised to live in peace and amity with Theodosius, but relinquished his claim to the countries on the Roman side the Danube, pardoned Chrysaphus, set Vigilus at liberty, liberated many Roman captives without ransom, and dismissed the ambassadors loaded with presents^c.

Attila spares the conspirators.

In the following year 450, Theodosius II. died, and was succeeded by Marcian; an event which Attila no sooner understood than he dispatched ambassadors to the new emperor, demanding the pension paid him by the deceased prince. Marcian, not thinking himself bound by the shameful treaty, which his predecessor had concluded with the Barbarians, dismissed the ambassadors with this answer, that Theodosius was no more; and, as for himself, he had gold for his friends, and steel for his enemies. Attila,

^b Prisc. p. 39—43.

^c Prisc. p. 73—72.

provoked

provoked at this answer, began to assemble his troops, in order to invade the empire. Hereupon Marcian, who had found the affairs of the empire in a most deplorable condition, in order to gain time, sent a solemn embassy to Attila, at the head of which was Apollonius, a general of no small renown ^d: but the king of the Hunns, understanding he had not brought with him the usual pension, would not give him an audience. He nevertheless commanded him, on pain of death, to convey to him the presents, which the emperor had sent him. To this message Apollonius answered, that the king needed not demand, with menaces, things which he might have when he pleased, either as presents, if he was determined to live in amity with the Romans, or as spoils, if, forgetful of the laws of nations, he thought proper to use violence with an ambassador. Attila, choosing rather to lose the presents than declare himself a friend to the Romans, or offer the least violence to an ambassador, ordered him to quit his dominions ^e.

However, not thinking it on the one hand adviseable, at that juncture, to engage in a war with Marcian, and, on the other, impatient of peace, he resolved to turn his arms against the Western Empire, then governed by Valentinian III. a weak and peaceable prince. Roua, uncle to Attila, had concluded a peace with Valentinian a little before his death, that is, about the year 433, as we have already related. Attila, who succeeded him, had no sooner taken possession of the crown, than he was, with repeated letters and messages, pressed by Justa Grata Honoria, Valentinian's own sister, to commence hostilities, and invade the Western Empire. Honoria had been honoured with the title of Augusta, to divert her from marrying, there being at that time, no man in the whole empire, whose rank answered her high station; and it was thought proper that she should continue in a state of celibacy, though Honoria had no inclination to lead a single life; but was compelled to it, and closely watched by Valentinian's orders, or rather by her mother Placidia's ^f. The young princess therefore, no longer able to bear this restraint, dispatched privately one of her eunuchs to Attila, pressing him to enter Italy at the head of a powerful army, and marry her; nay, she sent him, either at this time or afterwards, a ring, as a pledge of her fidelity ^g. She was then about sixteen or seventeen. Attila, who had just began to reign, not being willing to engage in this enterprize, Honoria suffered herself to be de-

Attila resolves to make war upon Valentinian III.

Yr. of Fl. 2799. A.D. 451.

He is instigated by Honoria.

Her incontinence.

^d Theodoret. ep. 73. p. 942. ^e Prisc. p. 72, 73. ^f Jorn. Reg. cap. 44. p. 673. ^g Prisc. p. 40.

baunched by one of her own domestics; named Eugenius. Placidia no sooner perceived her with child, than she caused her to be confined in a private house, and soon after sent her to Theodosius at Constantinople ^h. Honoria continued pressing Attila to make war upon her brother; but he, it seems, not giving ear to her solicitations, prayers, and entreaties, lived in peace with Valentinian till the year 451, when he entered Gaul at the head of a formidable army, declaring, that his design was to make war upon the Visigoths; that he was determined to live in friendship with the Romans; and that he only wanted to traverse Gaul, and pass the Loire at Orleans, in order to fall upon his enemies the Goths in Guyenne and Languedoc ⁱ. Being therefore looked upon as a friend by the credulous and unwary Romans, several cities opened their gates to him; but his men behaving, in the cities that had received them, more like enemies than friends, the other towns refused them admittance. Hereupon Attila, dropping the mask, besieged, took by storm, and plundered, many places in Gaul. The cities that suffered most on this occasion were, Tongres, Treves, Strasbourg, Spire, Worms, Mentz, Andernach, and most of the towns in that neighbourhood ^k. Attila, advancing into the country, and dividing his numerous army into several bodies, took, pillaged, and laid in ashes, many other cities, and among the rest Arras ^l, Besançon, Toul, and Langres. The Barbarians attacked the town of Laon; but were repulsed with great slaughter ^m. At Mentz they arrived the night preceding the solemnization of Easter. Having forced the gates, and entered the city sword in hand, they made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, massacred the priests at the altars, and set fire to the place, which soon reduced all the private and public buildings to ashes, sparing only the chapel of St. Stephen, if Gregory of Tours is to be credited, where some reliques of that saint were lodged ⁿ.

*He takes
and destroys
several
cities.*

*He lays
siege to Or-
leans.*

Attila appeared at length before Orleans, which he immediately invested, the inhabitants refusing to admit him into the city. In the mean time Aetius, arriving from Italy at Arles, took care to encourage, by frequent messengers, the inhabitants and garrison of Orleans to make a vigorous defence, assuring them, that, in a short time, he would march to their assistance. He had brought with him but a small number of troops, not doubting but the Visi-

^h Jorn. Rer. Goth. p. 653.

ⁱ Prosp. Du Chesne, tom. ii.

p. 522. ^k Buch. p. 512.

^l Alcuin. apud Bolland. p.

797. ^m Ruinert. Hist. Vand. Persecut. p. 408.

ⁿ Greg

Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. cap. 6. p. 276.

goths would join the Romans in opposing the furious attack, which threatened both nations alike; but finding the Visigoths resolved to wait for the enemy in their country, he used all kinds of arguments, to persuade them to change that resolution, sending to them for that purpose Avitus, who was raised to the imperial dignity a few years after. The epitomizer of Idatius, supposed to have lived in the time of Charlemagne, tells us, that, on this occasion, the holy bishop of Orleans, St. Agnan, was likewise sent by Aetius to Theodoric king of the Visigoths. Be that as it may, Theodoric yielded at length to the reasons alleged by the deputies of Aetius^o, promising to join the Romans with all his forces against the common enemy. This change of measures in the king was highly acceptable both to the nobility and his people, who received the news with loud acclamations of joy, occasioned by the eager desire they had to try their strength with the Hunns^p. In the mean time Aetius assembled troops in Gaul, which were reinforced by the powerful succours brought him by Theodoric, who commanded them in person, attended by his eldest and second sons, Thorismund and Theodoric. Besides the Visigoths, the following nations are mentioned among the troops that composed the army of Aetius, the Franks, under the conduct of their king Merouée, the Sarmatians, Burgundians, Saxons, Armoricans, the Lisians, dwelling on the banks of the Lis in Flanders^q, the Reverins, or Ripuarians, inhabiting the banks of the Rhine towards Cologne, the Ibrions, by Valesius called Brions and Breons, and placed by him in Vindelicia, now Suabia and Bavaria, and several other nations of Celtic Gaul and Germany, whom the Romans had formerly commanded as their subjects, but who they were now glad to reckon among their auxiliaries and allies^r. Thus Aetius assembled an army not much inferior in number to that of Attila.

Aetius is joined by the Visigoths, and several other nations.

While Aetius was thus busied in assembling his troops, Attila pursued the siege of Orleans with great vigour, battering the walls night and day with an incredible number of warlike engines, till at length he became master of the place. Valesius is of opinion, that the holy bishop Agnan ordered the gates to be opened, lest the city should be taken by assault, and plundered^s. And Gregory of Tours seems to insinuate, that it was not taken by storm; for he says, that the enemy entered the place, when the walls were shaken with the battering-rams, and ready to fall, no

Attila takes Orleans;

^o Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 26. p. 663. ^p Sid. p. 347. ^q Vales. p. 161. ^r Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. cap. 7. p. 277. ^s Vales. Rer. Franc. lib. vi. p. 160.

but is driven out with great slaughter by Aetius and Theodoric.

A bloody encounter between the Franks and Gepidae.

breach being then made, according to that writer. On the other hand, the word *irruptio*, used by Apollinaris Sidonius, and signifying a *violent breaking or rushing in*, imports, that the town was taken by storm^t. Be this as it may, the Hunns had scarcely entered, when Aetius and Theodoric, arriving with all their forces, fell unexpectedly upon them, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged them to retire with precipitation out of the town. Many of them threw themselves into the Loire, and perished. Attila, being obliged to abandon Orleans, retired, with his army, towards the Rhine; and having passed Troies he halted in the plains of Chalons, choosing that place as most advantageous for his Hunns, who were all cavalry; being well apprised, that Aetius, who closely pursued him, would come up with him before he could repass the Rhine.

The Roman general, being informed by his scouts, that Attila was waiting for him in those extensive plains, resolved, notwithstanding the enemy's advantageous situation, to advance, and risk the issue of a battle. As he arrived late at night in the plains where Attila was encamped, the Gepidæ, who served under Attila, and the Franks, who followed Aetius, meeting in the dark, engaged with such fury, that, on both sides, above fifteen thousand men were left dead upon the spot^u. We are told, that Attila, desirous of knowing beforehand the issue of the approaching battle, consulted his aruspices, who, after having narrowly examined the entrails of the beasts offered in sacrifice, and, according to their custom, scraped their bones, returned the following answer: That the event would not prove favourable to him; but on the enemy's side, their chief man would fall in the engagement. This answer greatly encouraged Attila, who did not in the least doubt, but by the chief man was meant Aetius, whose death he was glad to purchase at any rate, since he considered that great commander as the only person in the whole empire capable of defeating his vast designs. He therefore resolved to give battle; but not to engage till the day was far spent, that night coming on, might prevent the Romans from pursuing the victory^w. He placed himself in the centre, with the flower of his army around him, as if his chief care had been to preserve himself, and not to conquer. In the wings were posted the Ostrogoths, the Gepidæ, and the other nations, under his banner. On the other hand, Aetius posted the Romans, whom he himself commanded, in the left-wing; the Visigoths, under the command of Theodoric,

^t Sid. lib. viii. ep. 11. p. 246.

^u Idem ibid. cap. 37. p. 665.

^w Jorn. cap. 41. p. 671.

and his son Thorismund, in the right ; and the Alans, with their king Sangiban, and probably the Franks, and other auxiliaries, with their respective leaders, in the centre. Thus were those spacious plains covered with infinite numbers of combatants, the flower of innumerable nations, ready, says Jornandes, to destroy each other, without any private pique or quarrel, but merely in compliance with the ambition of one man, which, in them, supplied the room of the most mortal hatred, and irreconcilable enmity.

Between the two armies was an eminence of an easy ascent, which both parties strove to gain ; but Aetius and Thorismund, having possessed themselves of it first, repulsed with difficulty the Hunns, who attempted to dislodge them. This advantage, gained by the Romans in the very beginning of the engagement, excited their courage, and greatly damped the ardour of the enemy. The battle began about four in the afternoon, and is, by all writers, reckoned one of the most bloody and obstinate combats mentioned in history. A small brook, that crossed the plain, swelled, says Jornandes, to a torrent, by the great quantity of blood that was shed. Aetius pressed the Hunns on his side ; and Thorismund incessantly harassed them from the eminence he had seized. The Goths, leaving the Alans behind, charged the enemy. Theodoric, notwithstanding his great age, flew from rank to rank, encouraging his men ; but falling from his horse, was trampled to death. The Goths, though no longer animated by the presence of their king, pressed the Hunns so vigorously, that Attila, no longer able to withstand them, at length retired, with those who surrounded him, to his camp, which he barricaded with all the carts and waggons of his army. It being night before the battle ended, Thorismund, coming down from his eminence to rejoin his people, found himself entangled among the carts and waggons of the enemy, who fell upon him with great fury. On this occasion he received a wound on the head, and was thrown from his horse ; but other Goths flying to his assistance, he was rescued from the impending danger, and brought back to his camp. As for Aetius, he continued the engagement, till night coming on, the enemy withdrew to their camp, when he likewise retired, not daring to pursue them, being ignorant whether the Goths were conquerors, or conquered. The next morning discovered a dreadful sight, the plains being almost covered with the bodies of the slain. But Attila, who they expected would renew the engagement at break of day, kept close in his camp, and was resolved, as the Romans were afterwards informed, to burn himself alive, if they

Yr. of Pl.
2799.

A. D. 451.

*The battle
of Chalons.*

*Theodoric,
king of the
Visigoths,
killed.*

*He declines
a second
engage-
ment.*

had

had forced it, rather than suffer himself to be taken prisoner. He caused a great noise to be made in his camp, and the trumpets every where to sound, as if he were upon the point of sallying out, and falling upon the Romans; but, however, remained in his intrenchments: hence the Romans concluded, that he was conquered, and that his loss was great. However, not thinking it advisable to attack him in his camp, as he had but a small quantity of provisions, they resolved to keep him closely blocked up *.

In the mean time the Goths, missing their king, sought him on all sides, and at last found him among the dead. His body was carried, in the sight of the Hunns, with the greatest solemnity, and all possible marks of honour, from the field of battle to the camp, where the last obsequies were paid him, in the midst of which his son Thorismund was proclaimed king. Such is the account the ancients give us of this famous action, in which three hundred thousand men were slain, according to Idatius, on both sides, and two hundred and fifty-two thousand, according to the Amsterdam edition of Jornandes in 1655, including those who fell the night before the battle in the skirmish between the Franks and the Gepidæ. Both armies suffered extremely; and the Romans claimed the victory for no other reason than because Attila remained in his camp the next day, and withdrew afterwards to his own country, without daring to venture a second engagement †.

The number of the slain.

Aetius persuades Thorismund to return home with his Goths;

and likewise Merouée with his Franks.

Thorismund, greatly affected by the death of his father, resolved to revenge it on the Hunns, and, at the head of his Goths, attacked them in their camp; but having first consulted Aetius, whose known wisdom, and long experience, gave great weight to his counsels, that general advised him to return home without delay, and take possession of his father's dominions, lest his brothers, seizing on the deceased king's treasures, should raise disturbances in his absence, and give rise to a civil war. This advice Aetius gave with a political view, fearing, that, if the Hunns were utterly extirpated, the Goths, no longer awed by so formidable a power, might prove as troublesome an enemy to the empire as those Barbarians. However, Thorismund, not suspecting in the least the zeal and sincerity of Aetius, readily embraced his advice, and returned to his own country ‡. Thorismund had no sooner retired than Aetius, by the same artifice, persuaded Merouée, king of the Franks, whose brother aspired to the crown, to withdraw his troops,

* Jorn. cap. 41. p. 670. 672.

p. 515.

† Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 41. p. 671. Du Chesne, tom. 1. p. 377.

‡ Prosp. Chron. Buch. Belg.

and return home. Thus he obtained the spoils that were left in the field of battle.

When Attila was first told, that the Visigoths were retired, he imagined it was only a feint, in order to surprise him, and therefore kept for some time close in his camp; but being afterwards convinced of the truth, he resumed his courage, says Jornandes, and began to hope for victory. However, he made no attempt, but retired quietly to the Rhine, with a small number of troops, according to Gregory of Tours; and his army must certainly have been greatly weakened, since he did not offer to attack Aetius, even after the departure of the Goths and Franks. Such was the issue of Attila's expedition into Gaul, so much dwelt upon by the writers of those times. The ravages he committed were, doubtless, very great; but posterity has not a little exaggerated them, charging Attila and his Hunns with all the devastations that were afterwards committed by the Franks, the Alemans, and other barbarous nations^a. It was a long time before the towns he had ruined were rebuilt or inhabited; and so great was the consternation of the people, that Lupus, the famous bishop of Troies, returning to his see, after he had attended Attila to the banks of the Rhine, found the city quite abandoned, though Attila, out of regard to him, had spared it; which obliged him to retire to a mountain named Latisco, about fifteen leagues from Troies; where he endeavoured to persuade his subjects, who had taken refuge there, to return to their ancient habitations: but, not being able to remove their fears, after he had continued two years among them, he left them, and retired to Mascon^b. Aetius pursued Attila as far as the Rhine; but never offered to attack him, thinking it, as most authors conjecture, impolitic to weaken him too much, lest he should no longer be in a condition to awe the Franks and Goths, and divert them from raising disturbances in the empire.

Attila quits Gaul.

Attila, rather enraged than disheartened at the disappointment he had met with, and the loss he had sustained in Gaul, resolved to make an irruption into Italy, where he hoped to find more booty, and less opposition, there being no Goths, Franks, Alans, or Burgundians there to oppose him. In consequence of this resolution, having reinforced his army with powerful supplies sent him from Scythia, he left Pannonia, and finding the passes of the Alps unguarded, he entered Italy in the beginning of the following

Yr. of Fl.
2800.
A. D. 452.

Attila invades Italy.

^a Vide Nic. Separ. Res Mogunt. lib. i. cap. 7. p. 27.
p. 347

^b Surius,

year,

year, 452^c. The success that accompanied his arms there, has been mentioned in a former volume. When the peace was concluded between him and Valentine, he left Italy, and repassed the Danube.

*He returns
into Gaul;*

*where he
is defeated
by the Visi-
goths.*

His death.

Attila being incapable of living himself, or suffering others to live, in peace, had no sooner returned to his own country than he began to threaten the Eastern empire with an invasion, if Marcian did not send him, without delay, the tribute which his predecessor Theodosius the Younger had agreed to pay him annually^d: but this was only a finesse, cording to Jornandes, in order to conceal his real design, which was to return into Gaul, and there attack the Visigoths. With this view, having left Pannonia, and crossed Rhætia, he followed the course of the Rhone, entered the country now known by the name of Dauphiny, and there by surprize attacked the Alans, who had been permitted by Aetius to settle in the Valentinois. Thorismund, king of the Visigoths, whose dominions were parted from those of the Alans only by the Rhone, being well apprised, that Attila, in reducing the Alans, had no other view than to open himself a way into his territories, joined his neighbours with all his forces, and meeting Attila, entirely defeated him, and obliged him to return with shame and disgrace (C). We find no farther mention of Attila in the writings of the ancient historians till the time of his death, which happened, according to Idatius, immediately after his return from Italy^e. That prince, not satisfied with the many wives he had already, married a young woman of extraordinary beauty, named Ildico. On the day of the nuptials, which were celebrated with the utmost magnificence, the king, transported with joy, drank to excess, contrary to his custom; and, being overcome with sleep, retired with his bride; and sleeping with his face upwards, in that posture he was seized with a hæmorrhagia, or flux of blood, to which he was subject, and died of a suffocation^f. The following day his officers, not seeing him appear, began to apprehend that some misfortune had happened to him. Having in vain long waited for him, they called to him in a vociferous manner; and not hearing him stir, or answer,

^c Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 42. p. 672. ^d Prisc. p. 40. Jorn. cap. 45 p. 674. ^e Idat. p. 29. ^f Jorn. cap. 49. p. 683; 684.

(C) Jornandes and Sigibert Hunns into Gaul; and Val- are the only writers who men- sius, with some reason, ques- tion this second irruption of the the truth of what they write (1).

(1) Val. Rer. Franc. lib. iv. p. 172.

they

they at length forced open the doors of his apartment, when they found him dead, without any marks of violence, and his bride sitting by him bathed in tears, and covering her face with her veil. At this spectacle they cut off part of their hair, according to the custom of their nation, and tore their faces, to bewail the loss of so great a warrior, not with tears, like women, but, like men, with blood.

His body was conveyed, with great solemnity, from the place where he died, to the fields, and there laid under a silken tent; which some horsemen often rode round, and sung, in a doleful strain, the noble achievements of their king. This mournful ceremony was succeeded by a sumptuous banquet on the prince's tomb, which continued till the night was far spent, when his body was privately interred, being inclosed in three coffins, the first of gold, the second of silver, and the third of iron. The latter was to signify, that he had subdued many nations with his sword; and the two former, that he had compelled the Roman emperors to share their treasures with him. In the same grave were buried the arms, and rich spoils which he had taken in war from other princes, and celebrated commanders. These obsequies concluded with putting to death all those who had been employed about his interment, lest their avarice should, some time or other, prompt them to plunder his grave.

His funeral.

Attila had, by his last will, appointed Ellac, his eldest son, to succeed him, and to rule over his other children, and likewise over the many nations he had conquered. Ellac was, it seems, a resolute and intrepid man, experienced in war, and consequently capable of retaining, and even extending, the conquests of his father; but as he had an incredible number of brothers, and they all jointly insisted upon an equal division of their father's dominions, a bloody war was kindled, which involved in the utmost confusion not only the northern provinces, but both Pannonias, and the other countries on the Danube, where the Romans had allowed them to settle. While they all strove to be sovereigns, they all lost the sovereignty for which they contended, by the fortitude of Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ, who hearing that they proposed to divide among them by lot the nations which their father had conquered, and not able to endure the idea, that powerful kings, and warlike people should be thus treated like the meanest slaves, openly declared, that he would not obey the sons of Attila, but

*Yr. of Fl.
2801.
A.D. 453.*

He is succeeded by Ellac.

Civil wars between him and his brothers.

rescue himself and his people from the yoke they so shamefully groaned under.

Ellac and his army cut off by the Gepidæ.

His example was followed by several other nations that hastened to join him. Ellac, leaving for the present his brothers, marched against him at the head of all his forces. A battle ensued on the banks of the Netad in Pannonia, in which the Hunns were utterly routed, and thirty thousand of them killed on the spot, with their king Ellac, who is said on that occasion to have performed wonders, and to have behaved like a true son of the great Attila^a. The Hunns were so disheartened by this defeat, and the general revolt of the nations they had conquered, that, being pressed by the Gepidæ, they retired to the country which they had taken from the Goths in 376, towards the Euxine sea, and the mouths of the Danube; and the Gepidæ remained masters of all ancient Dacia, lying north of that river, which the Hunns had possessed ever since their first irruption into Europe. The Gepidæ solicited the friendship of the Romans, and requested a small annual pension to support them; which was readily granted, and continued to be paid even in the time of the emperor Justinian. Several other nations, thus delivered from the yoke of the Hunns, begged and obtained leave of Marcian, or his successor Leo, to settle in the Roman territories. Among these mention is made of the Squiri, Satagairæ, and Alans, who, under the conduct of Candax, their king, or leader, settled in Lesser Scythia and Lower Mœsia. To the Rugians, Sarmatians, and Cemandrians, lands were granted in Illyricum, near a place called the Castle of Mars. To the Ostrogoths Marcian granted all Pannonia, from Sirmium, now Sirmish in Slavonia, to Vindobona, at present Vienna in Austria. Even Ernac, Attila's youngest son, and with him several Hunns, submitted to the Romans, who granted them lands on the most distant borders of Lesser Scythia, in Dacia, and amongst the Sarmatians in Illyricum^b. The other sons of Attila, uniting their forces, attempted to drive the Goths out of Pannonia, and recover that province; but Valemir, king of the Goths, meeting the enemy with only a handful of men, put them to flight, and pursued with such ardour, that a great carnage ensued, and few of them escaped. About eight years after, while the Goths were engaged in a war with the Satagæ, Dinzio, one of Attila's sons, having assembled a body of forces, entered the territories of the Goths, and laid siege to Basiana, thought to

They are utterly routed by the Goths;

^a Jorn. cap. 35. p. 686, 687.

^b Ibid. p. 688.

be the present city of Posega, the metropolis of a country bearing the same name, and lying between the Save and the Draw ^k. This irruption the Goths no sooner learned, than leaving the Satagæ, they marched against the Huns, and drove them out with such slaughter, that they never after attempted to molest their borders.

The Huns, thus weakened by intestine wars, and the great losses they had sustained in the two irruptions just mentioned, continued quiet till the year 466, when, passing the Danube in the depth of winter on the ice, they made an incursion into Dacia, under the command of one Hormidac, and committed dreadful ravages in that province: but Anthemius, who was afterwards emperor, marching against them with another general, gained several advantages over them, and at last defeated them in a pitched battle, during which the other general went over to the enemy; but his men not following him, Anthemius, without betraying the least fear or surprize, continued the engagement, and eventually gained a complete victory. However, he suffered the Huns to retire unmolested, upon their putting to death the general who had joined them ^l. The Huns were no sooner returned to their own country, than the children of Attila sent deputies to Leo, then emperor of the East, to propose a peace, and beg he would appoint a market to be held on the Danube, to which the Huns might freely resort, and trade with the Romans. To this proposal Leo would by no means consent; which refusal Dengizic, one of the sons of Attila, resented to such a degree, that he was disposed to continue the war: but his brother Hernac, who had been allowed by the emperor Marcian to settle in Lesser Scythia, and was then engaged in other wars, declared he would by no means be concerned in this enterprize ^m.

*and by the
Romans.*

Dengizic, however, persisting in his first resolution, drew together a considerable army, and encamped on the banks of the Danube. Arnagastus, who at that time guarded the banks of that river on the side of Thrace, sent immediately an officer to the Huns, to enquire upon what provocation they had taken up arms. Dengizic answered, that he had entered the field with a design to make war upon Leo, unless he granted him and his men lands and money. To this demand Arnagastus replied, by the emperor's orders, that Leo would readily grant both to such as were willing to pay him submission, and serve him in his wars: but

Yr. of Fl.

2814.

A. D. 466.

*They enter
Dacia.*

^k Baud. p. 106.

^l Sid. p. 110. & car. ii. p. 296—298.

^m Prisc. p. 44. Jorn. p. 688.

Dengizic, one of Attila's sons, killed.

Yr. of Fl. 2847.
A. D. 526.

Boarex, queen of the Hunns, fights for the Romans.

Gordas embraces the Christian religion, and is put to death by his subjects.

Dengizic, not satisfied with this answer, began hostilities, and continued the war, of which we learn no particulars, till he was killed by Arnagastus, styled, on that occasion, general of Thrace. His head was sent to Constantinople, and carried through the chief streets of the city on the point of a spear.

The Hunns, dispirited by the losses they had sustained in this war, and the death of their leaders, continued quiet for near sixty years, without molesting either the Romans or their neighbours; for we find no mention made of them from this time to the year 526, the first of the emperor Justinian's reign, when two of their kings, Styra and Glones, instigated by Cabades, king of Persia, then at war with the Romans, penetrated the empire at the head of two powerful armies; but Boarex, the widow of Balach, king of the Sabirite Hunns, a woman of a warlike genius and manly temper, espousing the cause of the Romans against the Persians, led to the assistance of the emperor an army of one hundred thousand men; and meeting the two kings, gave them battle, put most of their men to the sword, took Styra himself prisoner, and sent him in chains to Constantinople.

The same year Gordas, king of the Hunns, who were settled near the Bosphorus Cimmerius, came in person to Constantinople, to court the friendship of Justinian, and concluded an alliance with that prince. During his stay at Constantinople, he desired to be instructed in the mysteries of the Christian religion; and, with great solemnity, received the sacrament of baptism in the presence of the emperor, who was his sponsor. Upon his departure Justinian loaded him with rich presents, committing to him the defence of the borders of the empire on that side, particularly of the city of Bosphorus. Gordas, returning home, ordered the idols to be broken, and their temples demolished, throughout his dominions; steps which enraged the superstitious populace to such a degree, that, revolting against their prince, they seized him, put him to death, and raised his brother, named Mugaris, to the throne. Mugaris was no sooner proclaimed king than he marched, with all his forces, against the city of Bosphorus, and having surprised it, put all the Romans he found there to the sword. The emperor, being acquainted with what had happened, and greatly grieved for the death of his friend and ally, dispatched one John, who had been consul, at the head of a numerous army of Scythians, to recover the place, and take ven-

• Theoph. p. 249. Auctor. Miscel. lib. xvi. p. 461.

geance of the rebels; but at his approach they abandoned the city, and fled with precipitation^o.

In the thirteenth of the emperor Justinian's reign, the Hunns, passing the Danube in great multitudes, laid waste Thrace, Greece, Illyricum, and all the provinces from the Ionian sea to the very suburbs of Constantinople; and having crossed the Hellespont, they extended their ravages to Asia, where they committed unheard-of cruelties, and returned home loaded with an immense booty. In this irruption they took thirty-two castles in Illyricum, destroyed Cassandria, and carried with them a hundred and twenty thousand captives^p. Being thus become again formidable to the empire, Justinian, in order to keep them quiet, allowed them some lands in Thrace, and agreed to pay them an annual pension; upon their promising to serve, when wanted, in the Roman armies. These were the Cuturgurian Hunns. As for the Uturgurians, who had joined them in this irruption, they retired, with their booty, to their own country bordering on the Euxine sea; but finding that too narrow for them, they drove out the Goths, by Procopius called Detraxitæ, who had settled in the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis, and possessed themselves of their country. As they were at a great distance from the empire they turned their arms against their neighbours the Sarmatians, endeavouring to enlarge their bounds on that side, without giving any farther molestation to the Romans. But the Cuturgurians, notwithstanding the pension paid them annually by the emperor, made several inroads into the neighbouring provinces. The emperor wrote to the Uturgurians, complaining to them of their countrymen, and offering to pay them the pension which he allowed the Cuturgurians, provided they put a stop to the ravages of the latter, and engaged to make war upon them whenever they broke into the empire. The Uturgurians, encouraged with this offer, passing the Tanais, beyond which many of them dwelt, hastened, by long marches, into the Roman territories, and falling unexpectedly upon the Cuturgurians, while busied in plundering the provinces lying on the Danube, defeated them with great slaughter, obliged them to quit their booty, and drove them entirely out of the empire^q.

Nevertheless, in a few years after this event, the Cuturgurian Hunns, taking advantage of the frost, passed the Danube, and, after having laid waste great part of Mysia and Thrace, divided their numerous forces into two bodies,

Yr. of Fl.
2887.
A D. 539.

*The Hunns
break into
the empire.*

*Some lands
allowed
them in
Thrace.*

*Justinian
instigates
the Utur-
gurians a-
gainst the
Cuturgu-
rian
Hunns.*

Yr. of Fl.
2906.
A. D. 552.

^o Theoph. p. 269. Miscell. ibid. p. 407. ^p Procop. Bell. Pers. cap. 4. ^q Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. iv. cap 4. Joan. Antioch. apud Aleman. p. 52. Agath. lib. v. p. 155.

The Cuturgurian Hunns break again into Thrace, but are put to flight by Belisarius,

and by Germanus.

The emperor stirs up the Uturgurian Hunns against them.

one of them taking their route towards Greece, and the other marching for the Thracian Chersonesus. The latter, under the conduct of one of their chiefs, named Zamerga, having passed the long wall, came, without meeting with the least opposition, within a hundred and fifty furlongs of Constantinople, and laid waste the whole adjacent country; but Belisarius, though weakened with old age to such a degree that he was scarce able to hold a shield, marching out with a handful of men, fell upon them unawares, put them to flight, and delivered both the emperor and city from the dangers that threatened them; but that brave commander being disgraced upon his return to Constantinople, the Barbarians, who were hastening back to their own country, no sooner heard that he was no more to be employed against them, than they returned before the royal city, committing dreadful ravages in all the countries through which they passed. In this emergency Germanus, a youth of great expectation, putting himself at the head of the imperial troops, fell upon them by surprize, put great numbers to the sword, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitate flight. The victory would have proved complete, had not young Germanus, by exposing his person more than a prudent general would have done, received a dangerous wound, which prevented him from pursuing the fugitives. Soon after that party, which had taken their route towards Greece, finding the streights of Thermopylae guarded by the natives, returned to Thrace, and there joined Zamerga, who being thus reinforced, threatened to renew his ravages, and put to death all the prisoners he had taken, unless a sufficient sum was sent for their ransom. Justinian, not caring to provoke the Barbarians, and at the same time pitying the condition of the unhappy captives, sent a considerable sum to Zamerga, who no sooner received it than he set the prisoners at liberty, and returned beyond the Danube.

In the mean time the emperor privately dispatched ambassadors to Sandilichus, king of the Uturgurian Hunns, to whom he paid an annual pension, acquainting him with the late incursions of the Cuturgurians, to whom, he said, he had paid the sum that was due to him, but was resolved not to do so for the future, unless he shewed himself, by a speedy revenge, worthy of his friendship. Upon this message Sandilichus broke into their territories, at the head of a powerful army, and falling upon Zamerga as he was returning from Thrace, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged them to quit the rich booty with which his army was loaded. This attack gave rise to a bloody war between

between the two nations, which lasted many years, according to Agathius', from whom we have borrowed this account, and ended at last in the ruin of both; "for, being greatly weakened by their civil wars, they became a prey, says that writer, to other nations, insomuch that they lost their very name, and were blended with the nations they served; but the utter destruction of that people, continues our historian, happened afterwards," as shall be related by us, according to the order of time. With these words he closes the fifth book of his history, the last of those that have reached us; so that, for a farther account of the affairs of the Hunns, we must have recourse to more modern writers. Among these, Venantius Fortunatus tells us, that in 560 a great body of Hunns, probably driven out of their own country by the neighbouring nations, took their route through Germany, with a design to pass the Rhine, as Attila had formerly done, and settle in Gaul. In that country then reigned the four sons of Clotharius, namely Cherebert at Paris, Chilperic at Soissons, Guntram at Orleans, and Sigebert at Menta. The latter was no sooner informed of the motions of the Hunns than, passing the Rhine at the head of a powerful army, he resolved to meet them in Thuringia, which then belonged to him, and there give them battle. Accordingly the two armies met, and engaged on the banks of the Elbe with incredible fury. The victory was long doubtful; but in the end Sigebert, who was a warlike prince, gained a complete victory over the Barbarians, many thousands of whom he killed, and obliged the rest to return through bye-ways into Pannonia*.

Yr. of Fl.
2908.
A. D. 560.

*They are
defeated by
Sigebert,
king of the
Franks.*

No farther mention is made of the Hunns by any credible historian, till the reign of Charles the Great, in whose time they were masters of Dacia, now Transylvania and Walachia; of Upper Mœsia, now Servia; and of the two Pannonias, namely, the Upper, containing the present provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, and the greater part of Austria; and the Lower, comprising Bosnia, Sclavonia, and that part of Hungary which lies beyond the Danube. In the year 776, while Charles was in Saxony, two princes of the Hunns, Caganus and Jugunus, sent ambassadors to him, desiring his friendship and alliance. Charles received them with extraordinary marks of honour, and readily complied with their request. However they entered, not long after, into an alliance with Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, who, revolting from Charles, raised great disturbances in Germany.

*The Hunns
masters of
Dacia,
Mœsia,
and both
Pannonias,*

* Agath. lib. v. p. 155.

* Venantius Fortunat. lib. vii.

Yr. of Fl.

3142.
A. D. 794.*They are
entirely re-
duced by
Charles
the Great.*

This injury Charles wisely dissembled, till he had utterly reduced Bavaria, when a misunderstanding arising between him and them, about the borders of their respective territories, he resolved to lay hold of that opportunity to be revenged on them for their sending succours in a clandestine manner to Tassilo. Accordingly he ordered levies to be made throughout his dominions, and having assembled a numerous army, he divided it into two bodies, one of which he committed to the care of count Theodoric, and Magnifrid his chamberlain, with orders to penetrate into Dacia, while he, with the other, entered Pannonia by the way of Bavaria. The two armies laid waste the territories of the Hunns far and near, burnt their villages, and took several of their strong-holds, to which they had fled, not being able to keep the field against so powerful an enemy. Thus he continued ravaging the country with fire and sword, for the space of eight years, till that warlike nation was entirely subdued, and almost entirely extirpated. In one of these expeditions, Henry, duke of Forum Julii, now Friuli, took the royal palace of the Hunns, called Rhing, in which he found an immense booty, great part of which was, by Charles's orders, sent to Rome, as a present to St. Peter. The entire reduction of the Hunns happened, according to the best chronologers, in the year of the Christian æra, 794.

Some authors assert, that by this long war, the whole race of the ancient Hunns was cut off; and that the country was afterwards peopled by the neighbouring nations, to whom the present Hungarians owe their origin.

S E C T. II.

The Ancient State and History of the Goths, till the Visigoths settled in Spain, and the Ostrogoths in Italy.

*Scandinavia, the
country of
the Goths.*

THE Goths came originally, according to Jornandes, from Scandinavia, a country justly styled by him Officina Gentium, and Vagina Nationum, on account of the incredible multitudes of people who, issuing from thence in swarms, over-ran, and stocked with inhabitants, other countries, as well distant as in their vicinity. Scandinavia, comprising the present Sweden, Norway, Lapland, and Finmark, was, by the ancients, thought to have been an

* Aimonius, lib. iv. cap. 86.

• Jorn. Rer. Get. p. 83.

island *, but is now well known to be a peninsula. It is by Pliny called Scandinavia, or, as Vossius, and after him Gronovius, denominates it, Scandinovia; it is named by Xenophon Lampfacenus, Baltia; by Timæus, Basilea; and by Pytheas, sometimes Basilea, and at others Abalus. The writers of the middle ages style it Scanza, Scanzia, Scantia, and Scandia; which names, as well as that of Scandinavia, some derive from the German or Gothic word *scanzen*, signifying *castles*; for the first inhabitants, they say, turned the high and steep rocks, with which the country abounds, into castles; and hence came the word Scandinavia, that is, *a country filled with castles* †. Others will have the names Scandinavia, Scanzia, &c. to be derived from the word *seekanten*, importing the *sea-coast* or *shore* ‡. As for the Greek word *baltia*, it signifies *a breaking in of the sea*. What we call the Baltic was known to Tacitus by the name of the Suevian Sea; and to Mela and Pliny by that of the Codan Gulf. The bay into which the Vistula, now the Wesel, empties itself, is called by Ptolemy the Venedic bay, doubtless from the neighbouring Venedi, the ancient inhabitants of Livonia, Lithuania, and part of Poland. In former times the Vistula was the boundary on the east between Germany and Sarmatia.

In Scandinavia Tacitus places two different nations, the Suiones, and the Sittones, of whom the former inhabited the present Sweden, and the latter Norway; for they were separated by mount Sevo, now Scagen; which mountain, or rather ridge of mountains, separates Norway from Sweden. The Suiones were divided, according to Ptolemy, into the following tribes, the Chedini, Phavoni, Phiræsi, Dauciones, Hilleviones, Scritosini or Scritobani, mentioned also by Procopius †, and the Gutæ. But these were either Gothic nations, or had settled in the country after the Goths were masters of it, it being certain, that, long before Tacitus's time, Scandinavia was inhabited by the Goths, though not yet known to the Romans by that name. Indeed, the learned Grotius, and after him Sheringham, and most of the northern writers, maintain with arguments which have not yet been confuted, that the Cimbrians, Getes, and Goths, were one and the same nation; that Scandinavia was first peopled by them; and that from thence they detached colonies into the islands in the Baltic, the Chersonesus, and the adjacent places, yet destitute of inhabitants. The islands were called by them with

Nations placed there by Tacitus and Ptolemy.

* Plin. lib. iv. cap. 13. † Grot. in Præfat. ad Script. Goth. p. 13, & seq. ‡ Prætor. in Orbe Goth. lib. i. cap. 4. p. 34. † Procop. Rer. Goth. lib. xi. cap. 15.

Scandinavia first peopled by the Goths, and likewise the islands in the Baltic, &c.

one common name *Wetallaheedb*, signifying, in the Gothic language, *land surrounded on all sides with water*; but the Romans, after they became acquainted with the Goths under the name of Cimbrians, called them the Cimbrian islands; which appellation they gave likewise to the Chersonesus, now *Jutland*^a. The time when the Goths first settled in Scandinavia, and the period at which they first peopled with their colonies the islands, the Chersonesus, and the neighbouring places, are equally uncertain. Their first settlement is said to have been conducted by King Eric, contemporary with Saruch, grandfather of Abraham. The Danes ingenuously confess, that their country was first peopled by the Goths of Scandinavia; that to them they owe their origin; and that Dan, the son of Humelus, king of the Goths, from whom their country was called *Dania*, and they *Dani*, was the founder of their kingdom^b. The peopling of the islands in the Baltic sea, of the Chersonesus, and the adjacent places on the continent, is called, by the northern writers, the first migration of the Goths or *Getes*.

They send a colony into Germany;

The second migration is related by *Jornandes*, and supposed to have happened several ages after, when the above-mentioned countries being overstocked with people, *Berig*, at that time king of the Goths, sailed with a fleet in quest of new settlements; and, landing in the country of the *Ulmerugians*, now *Pomerania*, drove out the ancient inhabitants, and divided their lands among his followers. He fell next upon the *Vandals*, whose country bordered on that of the *Ulmerugians*, overcame them, but instead of forcing them from their ancient seats, he only obliged them to share their possessions with the new colonists^c.

and into Scythia, Thrace, Mæsia, &c.

The Goths who had settled in *Pomerania*, and the adjacent parts of *Germany*, being greatly increased, the country could no longer maintain them; accordingly, they migrated in great numbers, under *Filimer*, surnamed the Great, their fifth prince after their leaving *Scandinavia*; and, taking their route eastward, entered *Scythia*, advanced to the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, and, driving out the *Cimmerians*, settled in the neighbourhood of the *Mæotic lake*. Thence, in process of time, they sent numerous colonies into *Thrace*, *Dacia*, and *Mæsia*, and lastly, into the countries bordering on the *Euxine sea*, forcing every-where the ancient inhabitants to abandon their native seats. Such is the account given by *Jornandes* and *Ablavius*, a celebrated writer among the Goths, who flourished long before him. In the neighbour-

^a Vide *Grot. Proleg. in Hist. Goth. & Sheringh. de Ang. Gent. Orig. cap. 7. p. 143.*

^b Vide *Sheringh. ibid. p. 145, 146.*

^c *Jorn. Rer. Get. lib. iv.*

hood of the Mæotic lake, they had Filimir for their king, a warlike prince; in Thrace, Mœsia, and Dacia, Xamolxis, a great philosopher; and in the countries on the Euxine sea, princes of the illustrious families of the Balthi and the Amali, the Visigoths being subject to the former, and the Ostrogoths to the latter. In all these countries they were one and the same people, though subject to different princes, and known by different names. Thus, in Cimmericia, Sarmatia, Scythia, they were called Cimmericians, Sarmatians, Scythians; in Thrace, Dacia, Mœsia, Thracians, Dacians, and Mœsians; and in the neighbourhood of the Ister and the Pontus, Isthians and Pontics.

As for the appellations of Westrogoths, softened by the Latins into that of Visigoths and Ostrogoths, they were distinguished by these names before they left Scandinavia, being called Westrogoths and Ostrogoths, or Western and Eastern Goths, from their situation to the east and west, the former inhabiting that part of Scandinavia which borders on Denmark, and the latter the more eastern parts, near the Baltic^d. What Jornandes writes of the various migrations and settlements of the Goths, is entirely agreeable to what we read in the ancient Greek and Latin authors concerning the different colonies and settlements of the Getes^e. That the Goths and Getes were one and the same people, is supposed by all the writers who flourished in or near the times in which both empires were over-run by them. These authors, doubtless well acquainted with their origin, call them sometimes Goths, sometimes Getes, and sometimes Scythians; and several authors tell us, in express terms, that the Getes and Goths were one and the same nation; and that they had been long known to the Romans, and likewise to the Greeks, by the former name, but not by the latter, till their incursions into the empire.

Ostrogoths and Visigoths.

The Goths and Getes one and the same nation.

The Goths, being in process of time greatly increased in Scythia, resolved to seek new settlements; and accordingly, taking their route eastward, and travelling through several countries, they returned at length into Germany. Their leader, in this migration, was the celebrated Woden, called also Voden, Oden, Othen, Godan, and Guodan. Of this Woden many strange and wonderful things are related in the Sæuo-Gothic chronicles. He was king of the Asgardians, whom the northern writers assure us are the same people with the Aspurgiens, mentioned by Strabo and Ptolemy. They were called Aspurgiens from the city of As-

The migration of the Goths under Woden.

^d Grot. in Proleg. &c.

^e Sheringh. cap. 8. p. 156, 157.

Aspurgia, placed by Strabo near Bosphorus Cimmerius¹; and in the same place stood, according to the northern writers, the city of Asgardia: and indeed it is highly probable that these were two different names for the same city, the word *gard*, in the Gothic language, being synonymous with *purgos*, in the Greek, namely, a *fortress* or *castle*. Aspurgia was the metropolis of a province which Strabo calls Asia; and Woden, and his followers, are styled by the ancient Gothic writers Asæ, Asiani, and Asiotæ. The kings of Aspurgia were masters of all that part of Scythia that lay west of mount Imaus, and was by the Latins called Scythia intra Imaum, or Scythia within mount Imaus. In this large tract of land Ptolemy places three different nations, the Aufones, the Syebi, and the Iotæ; but they are all blended by Strabo under the common name of Aspurians.

Woden king
of Asgar-
dia.

He reduces
Roxalania,

Saxony,

and Jut-
land.

Settles in
Sweden.

Of this Aspurgia or Asgardia, Woden was king, who, committing the government of the kingdom to his two brothers, Ve and Velir, emigrated with incredible multitudes of his people, in quest of new settlements, foreseeing by his magic, say some ancient chronicles, in which art he excelled all men, that he and his posterity should reign for many ages in the northern parts of the world. He first entered Riisland; and having, with great success and expedition, obliged the inhabitants to submit, he appointed his son Bo to reign over them. Riisland, called by the Latins Roxalania and Russia, extended from the mouth of the Vistula to the Palus Mæotis, the banks of the Tanais, and the Riphæan mountains, and comprised Prussia, Livonia, and great part of Muscovy. From Riisland he went by sea into the north parts of Germany: landing in Saxony, he reduced that country, and divided it amongst his children, appointing Vegdegg king of East Saxony, Begdegg of Westphalia, and Sigg of Franconia. Johannes Martinus, Wittekindus, Cranzius, and all the Saxon writers, agree, that time out of mind, a tradition has universally obtained among the Saxons, that their ancestors came first by sea into those countries. From Saxony, Woden passed into Reidogothland, now Jutland, which he likewise subdued, and gave to his son Skiold, from whom descended the kings of Denmark, thence called Skiolddungar, that is, *the posterity of Skiold*. Leaving Jutland, after he had settled his son there, he advanced into Suithiod, now Sweden, where he was kindly received by Gylfus or Gylvo, king of the country: being allowed to settle there with his followers,

¹ Strab. lib. xi.

He built the city of Sigtunum, where he reigned till his death, and became so famous, that his name reached all countries; and he was, by the northern nations, ranked among the gods, and worshipped with divine honours. He is supposed to have brought with him out of Asia the Runic characters, and to have taught the northern nations the art of poetry; whence he is styled the father of the scaldi or scaldri, who were their poets, and described in verse the exploits of the great men of their nation, as the bards rehearsed those of the Gauls and Britons (D).

That the Goths, under the conduct of Woden, came from Scythia into the north parts of Germany, is a received opinion among the northern writers, and confirmed by an immemorial tradition, by all the ancient chronicles of those countries, and by a great many monuments and inscriptions in Runic characters, some of which are still to be seen in Sweden, Denmark, and the neighbouring islands. That there were such migrations, can hardly be questioned, since we find the same names common to the inhabitants of Scandia and Asiatic Scythia, and likewise the same language, as Grotius, and after him Sheringham, have shewn^s. The an-

^s Sheringh. ubi supra, cap. 11. p. 198.

(D) They were called Scaldi or Scaldri, according to Loccenius (1), from the sound *skal*, often heard in their verses and poems. The dialect in which they wrote was called Asamal, that is, the Asiatic dialect, because brought by Woden out of Asia. As for the Runic letters, the Goths used them in all their spells and enchantments, to which they were greatly addicted; whence, after embracing the Christian religion, from a blind and indiscreet zeal, they destroyed several ancient monuments, and burnt a great number of books, because written with those characters. At length, in the year 1001, the Runic characters were quite laid aside in Sweden, and the Roman

letters taken in their room, the Swedes being persuaded to take this step by the pope, and by Sigfrid, a British bishop. In Spain they were forbidden in 1136, by Alphonso king of Castile and Navarre, and condemned by the council of Toledo in 1115 (2). They were called Runic letters, according to some, from the Gothic word *ryn* or *ren*, signifying a *furrow*; according to others, from *ryne*, signifying *art*, especially that of magic. One Fimbul, Fimbultyr, or Fimbultular, is supposed to have invented those characters. Wulphilas, the first bishop of the Goths, invented other characters, which he made use of in translating the Scripture into the Gothic tongue.

(1) Locen. Antiq. Sueogoth. cap. 15. cap. 28.

(2) Wormius Lit. Run.

Woden.

cient language of the Goths is spoken at the present time by the Tartars of Precop; whence, upon the whole, we may conclude, that the Scandian Goths and the Asiatic Scythians had one and the same original. As to Woden, there was, doubtless, a famous hero of this name, who became universally revered by the northern nations; but we will not take upon us to vouch the extraordinary things that are related of him in the Sueogothic and Sacogothic chronicles. Some writers suppose the migration of the Scythian Goths into the northern parts of Germany, under the conduct of Woden, happened about twenty-four years before the birth of Christ; for at that time, say they, Pompey laid waste Syria, and great part of Asia; and it is not improbable, that the Scythians, flying from him, went in search of new settlements: but Skiold, who was by his father Woden appointed king of Reidogothland, or Jutland, lived, according to the Danish chronology, about a thousand years before Pompey; so that, by this account, Woden must have been more ancient than Homer (E).

The Cimbrians descended from the Asiatic Goths;

The descendents of the Scythians, or Asiatic Goths, who, under the conduct of Woden, settled in the northern parts of Germany, were first known to the Romans by the name of Cimbrians, derived, according to the opinion which seems to us the best grounded, from the Gothic word *kimber*, signifying *valiant*. The Cimbrians were anciently in possession of the islands in the Baltic sea, the Cheronesos, and the neighbouring countries, and by degrees extended their conquests along the German ocean to both the mouths of the Rhine. The inland countries in that tract were likewise inhabited by them; but in the different countries where they dwelt, they were distinguished by different names, some of them being called Saxons, others Suevians, some Angles, Sicambrians, and Jutes; but by the Romans, they were all blended under the common name of

(E) On the other hand, how can this be reconciled with the genealogies of our Saxon kings, the founders of the heptarchy, who all derived their pedigree from Woden? Hengist, the first that came into Britain, did not arrive in this island till the year 449 of the Christian æra; and nevertheless he is said to have been the abnepos, or great-grandchild of Woden, as Cerdic, the founder of the king-

dom of the West-Saxons, the tenth by descent from him. To reconcile these seeming contradictions, some authors are of opinion, and their opinion does not at all seem to us improbable, that several persons, or great men, bore the name of Woden, and what was done by all, was ascribed to one, in the same manner as it happened among the Greeks, with respect to Hercules.

Cimbrians,

Cimbrians, till the Saxons, placed by Ptolemy in the northern part of Cherfonefus, became known to them by their conquests; and then the name of Cimbrians was quite exploded, and that of Saxons used by the Latin writers in lieu of it, which they gave likewise to the nations the Saxons had subdued, calling Saxony that part of Germany which lies between the Rhine and the Elbe. Thus far respecting the migrations of the Goths out of Scandinavia into the neighbouring islands and continent, thence into Germany, from Germany into Asia, and from Asia back again into Germany (F).

and likewise the Saxons.

With regard to the manners of the Goths, they were famous for their hospitality and kindness to strangers, even before they embraced the Christian religion; indeed, from their being eminently good, they were called by the neighbouring nations Goths, that name being, according to Grotius, and most other writers, derived from the German word *guten*, signifying *good*^b. They encouraged, says Dio, the study of philosophy, above all other barbarous or foreign nations, and often chose their kings from among their philosophers. Polygamy was not only allowed, but countenanced among them, every one being valued and respected, according to the number of his wives^c. By so many wives they had an incredible number of children, of whom they kept but one at home, sending out the rest, when come to man's estate, in quest of new settlements^d; and hence arose those swarms of people that over-ran so many countries. With them adultery was a capital crime, and invariably punished with death. This severity, and likewise polygamy, prevailed among them, when they were known to the Greeks and Romans only by the name of Getae, as appears from the poet Menander, who was himself a Gete^e, and from Horace^f, who bestows great enco-

The customs, laws, and manners of the Goths.

^b Grot. in Proleg. ad Procop.

^c Adam. Bremens. in Suegoth.

^d Walsingham. in Hypodig. Neustr.

^e Menand. apud. Strab.

lib. vii. ^f Horat. lib. iii. od. 24.

(F) These migrations the northern writers endeavour to support against Verstegan and Cluverius, who are of opinion that Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, were not inhabited, till Germany so abounded with people, that they were obliged to remove into those countries which they had not chosen to settle in at first, on account of

the greater cold, and barrenness of the soil. To confute this opinion, which derives the origin of the Goths from Germany, the above mentioned writers, especially Grotius, who surpasses all the rest, prove Scythia to have been peopled before any other of the northern countries had inhabitants.

miſums on the virtue and chaſtity of their women. As for their laws, they do not fall much ſhort of thoſe of the ancient Romans, as will appear when we come to ſpeak of the Alaric code, and the laws of the Viſigoths in Spain, and the Oſtrogoths in Italy.

*Series of
their kings.*

Their government was monarchical; for, as we have obſerved from Jornandes, in the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis, they had Fillimer for king; in Dacia, Mœſia, and Thrace, Xamolxes; and, in that part of Scythia, which bordered on the Euxine ſea, princes ſprung from the illuſtrious families of the Amali and the Balſi. To theſe princes were ſubject both the Viſigoths and Oſtrogoths. The former inhabited the country lying between the Borſthenes and the Tanais, and were afterwards allowed by the Roman emperors to ſettle in Pannonia, Thrace, and Illyricum. The latter dwelt between the Danube and the Borſthenes; and, in the reign of Honorius, after having over-run Italy, ſettled in Gaul. Upon the death of Hermanaric, the Viſigoths were driven out of their native country by the Hunns, and were admitted, by the emperor Valens, into the Roman dominions. Theodoſius allowed them lands in Thrace; whence, in the reign of Honorius, they made inroads into Italy, under the conduct of the celebrated Alaric, who took and plundered Rome. Alaric was ſucceeded by Ataulphus, who founded the kingdom of the Viſigoths in Gaul; and Ataulphus by the following princes of the family of the Balſi, namely, Sigeric, or Rigeric, Wallia, Theodoric, Thorifmund, Theodoric II. Theodoric III. Euric, Alaric, Geſaleich, Amalaric, Theudis, Theudiſelus, Athanagild, Linva, Leunigild, Ermenigild, Ricared, Linva II. Witteric, Gundemar, Siſebatus, Reccared, Suinthila, Rechimir, Siſenand, Chintila, Tulga, Chindafuinthus, Recceſuinthus, Wamba, Ernigius, Egica, Witiza, and Roderic. Moſt of theſe princes were not only maſters of Narbonne and Aquitain, but likewiſe of Spain, which they held till they were driven out of both, and their nation almoſt entirely extirpated, by the Arabs.

*Kings of
Viſigoths in
Gaul and
Spain.*

*The Oſtro-
goths ſub-
ject to the
Hunns.*

The Viſigoths, being driven out of their own country by the Hunns, the Oſtrogoths continued, after their departure, in the ſame ſituation, but ſubject to the Hunns, who nevertheless allowed them to be governed by their own kings, of the houſe of the Amali. Theſe were Winithar, Hunnimund, Thorifmund, Wandalar, nephew to Hermanaric by his brother, and the three ſons of Wandalar, Walamir, Theodomir, and Widemir, who were all ſubject to Attila; but, upon that prince's death, they were allowed, by the Romans,

Romans, to settle in Pannonia and Mœsia. Theodomir was succeeded by his son Theodoric, who, having overcome Odoacer, made himself master of Italy, and was acknowledged king of that country. His successors in that kingdom were, Athalaric, Theodotus, Vitiges, Ildebald; Eraric, Totila, and Teia, the last kings of the Ostrogoths in Italy^a. As to the religion of the Goths, it seems to have been the same with that of the ancient inhabitants of Scandinavia and Saxony, which we have mentioned already, and shall speak more at large in the history of the Northern kingdoms. Apollinaris Sidonius describes them shod with high shoes made of hair, reaching up to their ancles; their knees, thighs, and legs, without any covering; their garments of various colours, scarce reaching to the knee; their sleeves only covering the tops of their arms; their green cassocks with a red border; their belts hung over their shoulders; their ears covered with twisted locks; their arms consisting of bearded lances, and missile hatchets^b.

The religion of the Goths.

As to the ancient history of the Goths, Jornandes, supposing them to be one and the same people with the Scythians, Getes, Sarmatians, and Sauromatæ, ascribes to them all the exploits that are said by the Greek and Latin writers to have been performed by those nations, especially by the Scythians: but of that warlike nation, and their migrations into Europe, under the names of Cimmericians, Celtes, and Gauls, we have spoken elsewhere; and therefore shall confine ourselves here to the history of the Goths, from the time they became generally known by that appellation. The first Roman writer, that mentions the Goths, is Spartian, who, in the life of Caracalla, tells us, that he overcame in some encounters the Getes, who, says he, were the same people with the Goths^c. The same author writes elsewhere, that Maximin, afterwards emperor, upon the death of Caracalla, quitted the service, and retiring into Thrace, maintained a friendly correspondence with the Goths. His father, named Micea, or Micca, was by nation a Goth, and his mother Ababa, or Abala, an Alan^d. Hence Vorburgus concludes the Goths to have been master of the countries bordering on Thrace before Maximin was born, that is, before the year 177^e. Caracalla was the first Roman emperor who quarrelled with the Goths; and the advantages he gained over them were, it seems, very considerable; for, according to Spartian, he overcame

Yr. of Fl.
2563.
A. D. 215:

^a Vide Jorn. cap. 30. Agath. lib. i. & Grot. Proleg. in Hist. Goth.,
^b Apoll. Sidon. lib. i. ep. 7. p. 29.
^c Spart.
in Caracal. p. 89. ^d Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 15. p. 631. ^e Vorburg. Hist. Rom Germanic. p. 419.

them

them only in a few skirmishes. The Romans began very early to dread the power of that warlike nation; for, even in the reign of Alexander, which began in 222, considerable sums were annually sent them from Rome to keep them quiet, and prevent them from disturbing the peace of the empire.

Yr. of Fl.
2586.
A.D. 238.

*They ra-
vage Mœ-
sia.*

The Goths, notwithstanding the large sums sent them annually by the Roman emperors, hearing of the death of the emperor Maximin, who was of Gothic extraction, and had been assassinated by his own soldiers, resolved to revenge it; accordingly, entering Mœsia, they totally laid waste that province, and totally destroyed the city of Iſtria, or Iſtropolis, on the most southern mouth of the Danube. Balbinus, who, with Maximus, had succeeded Maximinus, resolved to march against them; but was, in the mean time, murdered, with his colleague, by the mutinous soldiery: so that the Goths, loaded with booty, retired beyond the Danube unmolested. Not long after, they made themselves masters of Thrace; but were driven from thence beyond the Danube by the emperor Gordian. He dying, and Philip, who succeeded him, refusing to pay them their annual pension, they passed the Danube, and, entering Thrace, committed dreadful ravages in that province, as well as in Mœsia. Philip dispatched against them the senator Decius, who was afterwards emperor; but he, not thinking it adviseable to engage them, returned to Rome, after having discharged, with disgrace, the troops that had suffered them to pass the Danube. These went over in a body to the enemy, commanded at that time by their king Ostrogotha, the grandson of Amalus, who received them kindly; and, being thus reinforced, laid siege to Marcianopolis, the capital of Mœsia: but not being able to reduce it, he abandoned the undertaking, in consideration of a large sum sent him by the inhabitants, who were glad thus to compound with him, and avoid the calamities attending long sieges. Ostrogotha was scarce returned to his own country, when Fastida, king of the Gepidæ, elated with the success that had attended his arms against the Burgundians, whom he had almost destroyed, sent him the following haughty message; that the Gepidæ being frightened for want of room, he must either allow them lands, or prepare for war. Ostrogotha answered, that he should be sorry to engage in a war with the Gepidæ his kinsmen; but was determined to part with no lands. Both nations took

Yr. of Fl.
2593.
A.D. 245.

*Ostrogotha
ravages
Thrace and
Mœsia.*

* Capitol, in Vit. Maximin. p. 171. Baudr. p. 392.
Vit. p. 162. Onuph. p. 239.

* Gord.

the field, and a bloody battle ensued, in which the Gepidæ were defeated with great slaughter; but Ostrogotha, contenting himself with the victory, suffered the Gepidæ to retire, and remain in their own country unmolested^u.

He overcomes the Gepidæ.

Ostrogotha was succeeded by Cniva, who, forcing into Mœsia, was defeated, with the loss of thirty thousand men, by Decius, the eldest son of the emperor of that name, whom at length he overcame, and, having put his whole army to the sword, obliged the young prince to save himself by flight into the neighbouring provinces. Having now no enemy to oppose, he made himself master of Philippolis on the Hebrus, put the inhabitants, to the number of one hundred thousand^w, to death, ravaged Thrace, and laid waste great part of Macedon. In consequence of these ravages, the emperor Decius, setting out from Rome, hastened into Pannonia; where, putting himself at the head of his army, he overcame the Goths in several engagements, and drove them out of the Roman dominions^x: but they returned with a numerous army, headed by their king Cniva; which obliged Decius to take the field a second time, when at first good fortune attended him; for he reduced them to such straits, that they offered to set at liberty all the prisoners they had taken, and relinquish their booty, provided he would suffer them to retire unmolested: but the emperor, who had sent Trebonianus Gallus, with a strong detachment, to cut off their retreat, thinking he had it now in his power to rid the empire of so troublesome an enemy, instead of hearkening to their proposals, marched with all his forces against them. The Goths, knowing their all was at stake, received him with great intrepidity, and, fighting like men in despair, gained a complete victory. In the battle fell first Decius, the emperor's eldest son, and then the emperor himself; upon whose death the Goths made a dreadful havock of the dispirited army^y. Decius being killed, Gallus was by the soldiery proclaimed emperor in his room; but he, instead of revenging the death of the late emperor, and the defeat of the army, concluded a peace with the Goths, suffering them to retire unmolested with all their booty, and the prisoners they had taken at Philippopolis, and elsewhere. He even engaged to pay them annually a considerable sum, provided they continued quiet in their own country^z. Three years after this pacification they entered the Roman territories in a hostile

Cniva, first defeated by the Romans, gains great advantages over them.

Defeats and kills the emperor Decius, and his son.

^u Jorn. Rer. Goth. p. 433—436.
^x Zof. lib. i. p. 644.
cap. 19. p. 638. Zof. lib. i. p. 644.

^w Ammian. lib. xxxi. p. 231.
^y Zonar. p. 231.
^z Jorn. Zonar. p. 232.

manner, probably because their pension was not paid: but *Æmilianus*, who commanded the troops in *Pannonia*, attacked, and put them to flight, driving them entirely out of the empire, though his soldiers, at first, betrayed great unwillingness to engage so formidable an enemy. In 256, the Goths, with the *Carpi*, the *Barani*, and the *Burgundians*, made a new inroad into the empire, laying waste all *Illyricum*: but the following year *Aurelianus*, afterwards emperor, being sent to succeed *Ulpian* *Cribrinus* in the command of the troops in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, drove them out of those provinces, took a great number prisoners, and pursuing them beyond the *Danube*, laid waste their country, and returned to *Thrace* loaded with booty ^a.

The Goths lay waste Thrace and Macedon.

After this check they continued quiet till the year 262, the ninth of the emperor *Gallienus*, when, entering unexpectedly into *Thrace*, they made themselves masters of that province, and from thence over-ran all *Macedon*, and laid siege to *Thessalonica*; but being unable to reduce it, they attempted to enter *Achaia*, when *Macrianus*, who had assumed the title of *Augustus*, arriving in *Greece* on his march into *Italy*, fell upon them by surprize, and obliged them to save themselves by flight into their own country ^b.

They ravage Asia, and plunder the temple of Diana at Ephesus.

At the same time, another party of the Goths, having crossed the *Hellespont* under the conduct of one *Raspa*, committed dreadful ravages in *Asia*, plundered several cities, and even the famous temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* ^c. On their return, they laid in ashes the poor remains of ancient *Troy*; and, having re-passed the *Hellespont*, made an attempt upon *Aquialum* in *Thrace*; but having fruitlessly remained some days before that place, they abandoned the enterprize, and, after having ravaged *Thrace*, returned home, carrying with them an immense booty. In the course of the following year, they made a new irruption into *Asia*; but were soon driven out by the Roman troops quartered in that country. Two years after they became possessed of all *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, extending from that river to the *Carpatian* mountains, which had been reduced by *Trajan* to a Roman province, and joined to *Moesia* by a bridge, the most magnificent and wonderful of all that emperor's works ^d.

They make themselves masters of Dacia beyond the Danube.

Yr. of Fl.
2614.
A.D. 266.

They overrun Asia Minor, Lydia, Pontus, &c.

Encouraged by this success, the following year, having built an incredible number of vessels, they embarked in the *Euxine* Sea, and, landing at *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, over-ran *Asia Minor*, *Lydia*, and *Bithynia*, made themselves masters

^a *Aurel. Vit.* p. 213.

^b *Syngell.* p. 381.

^c *Gilien.*

Vit. p. 177, 178. *Jorn. Rer. Goth.* cap. 20. p. 619.

^d *Aur.*

Vict. Eutrop. *Orôcl. lib. vii.* cap. 12. p. 214.

of Nicomedia, plundered the Greek cities in those countries, and laid waste the provinces of Phrygia and Troas. In Bithynia they met with some opposition; as we are told, that a battle was fought there; and, from the events that succeeded, it appears, that the Goths gained the victory: for, on the one hand, the Romans, dissatisfied with the conduct of Gallienus, were for setting up another emperor; and, on the other, the Goths, pursuing their ravages, advanced as far as Galatia and Cappadocia, laying waste indiscriminately the countries through which they passed.

In the mean time the brave Odenatus, lamenting the miserable condition to which Asia was reduced by the Goths, hastened to the relief of that province: but the Goths, unwilling to engage so renowned a commander, re-embarked at Heraclea, and by the Euxine sea returned home, with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives^a. Many of them, however, were drowned, in consequence of having been attacked on their return by the Roman fleet. Next year they again embarked, and landing at the mouth of the Danube, laid waste great part of Mœsia; but were defeated by the troops and generals who guarded Byzantium. However, they advanced as far as Illyricum; but being there informed, that the Heruli had received a dreadful repulse in Greece, they began to retire, when Marcian and Claudius, whom Gallienus had sent against them, pursuing them close, put great numbers to the sword^b. Claudius was for cutting off their retreat, as might have been easily done, and putting them all to death; but Marcian thought it more adviseable to suffer them to retire.

*but retire
at the ap-
proach of
Odenatus.*

*They re-
ceive several
repulses.*

To be revenged on Claudius, they no sooner heard that he was raised to the empire than, stimulating all the northern nations against him, they assembled on the banks of the Tyras, now the Niefter, and there built, says Zosimus, two thousand vessels. Having employed the whole year 268, in making the necessary preparations, they embarked, to the number of three hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, and landing in Lesser Scythia, laid siege at the same time to the city of Tomi in that province, and to Marcianopolis in Mœsia; but being, in several attacks, repulsed at both places, they re-embarked on the Euxine sea, and entered the streights of the Bosphorus, where, by the rapidity of the current, and the great number of their ships running foul of each other, they suffered a great loss both of men and vessels. Moreover, they met

Yr. of Fl.
2617.
A. D. 269.

*They in-
vade the
empire
with a
formidable
fleet and
army.*

^a Gallien. Vit. p. 180. Syncell. p. 381. ^b Gallien. Vit. p. 181. Claud. Vit. p. 208. Zos. p. 652.

with a vigorous opposition from the inhabitants of Byzantium ^a. Making therefore what haste they could out of the streights, they attacked the city of Cyzicus on the Propontis; but not being able to reduce it, they abandoned the enterprize. Then entering the Ægean sea, they refitted their shattered vessels at Mount Athos in Macedon, and afterwards laid siege to Cassandria and Thessalonica, two cities in the same province: but when they were upon the point of making themselves masters of both, news was brought them, that Claudius approached at the head of a powerful army ^b. That prince, upon the first intelligence of their irruption into the empire, had dispatched his brother Quintillus against them; but, under him, committed the chief command of the army to Aurelian, afterwards emperor, whom he had on that occasion appointed general of all the troops in Thrace, Illyricum, and the other frontier provinces; but when he was informed of the number of the enemy's forces, he resolved to head the army in person.

He could not, however, set out so soon as he intended, it being difficult, as the empire had been entirely exhausted by his predecessor Gallienus, to make the necessary preparations for an expedition of such importance. The Goths, therefore, abandoning the siege of Thessalonica, upon the first report of his approach, advanced into the country on the banks of the river Axius, plundered Pelagonia, and committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Doberus in Pæonia, where they were vigorously attacked by the Dalmatian horse, who signalized themselves on this occasion, and killed near three thousand of the enemy. The rest took their route to Upper Mœsia, and were met by Claudius in the neighbourhood of Naissus, whom they immediately engaged ^c. The victory continued long doubtful, and the Romans at first gave ground; but returning through certain narrow passes to the charge, they fell unexpectedly upon the Goths, who, after a long and obstinate resistance, were in the end put to flight, and entirely routed. Such of them as had the good luck to make their escape, returned towards Macedon, covering their rear with their waggons; but they found no fence against the famine that raged amongst them, and daily carried off great numbers of men and horses. The Roman cavalry, attacking them in front, cut off many thousands, and, by guarding the passes of Macedon, obliged them to entrench themselves on Mount

*Their army
is utterly
routed by
Claudius.*

^a Claud. Vit. p. 205. Zof. lib. i. p. 652.
lib. xxxi. p. 445.

^b Ammian. Zof. lib. i. p. 653. Claud. Vit. p. 205.

Hæmus, where they passed the winter in the greatest hardships imaginable.

As to their fleet, one part of it, separating from the rest, ravaged Thessaly and Achaia, and took a great many prisoners in the open country, not being able to reduce one single city; so says Zōsimus. However, Zonaras tells us, that they made themselves masters of Athens; and that, having piled together in one heap all the books they found there, with a design to set fire to them, they would have deprived the world of that invaluable treasure, had not one among them, more discerning than the rest, told his companions, that while the Greeks amused themselves with those books, they neglected the art of war, and were easily overcome *. The same author adds, that Cleodemus, a native of Athens, having assembled some troops and vessels, attacked them by sea, put great numbers to the sword, and obliged the rest to save themselves by flight into other countries. From Athens they sailed to the islands of Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus; but no-where performed any exploit worth mentioning. Having lost great numbers of their men by the plague, they returned therefore to winter in Macedon, where the contagious distemper completed their ruin †. Those who had taken refuge on Mount Hæmus were, before the end of winter, reduced by the plague and famine to a very small number; so that Claudius might have saved himself the trouble of attacking them.

Their fleet ravages Thessaly, Achaia, &c.

but is destroyed by the plague.

They defeat the Romans.

However, that prince, bent upon their utter destruction, marched against them early in the spring, and, having surrounded them on all sides, put several thousands to the sword in different skirmishes. Nevertheless the infantry having one day attacked them without the cavalry, which was employed elsewhere, the Romans, after having behaved some time with great gallantry, turned their backs, and fled. On this occasion, the loss on the side of the Romans was very considerable, and must have been much greater, had not the cavalry come seasonably to their relief ‡. The Romans, not in the least disheartened by this loss, continued harassing the Goths without intermission, and straitening them daily more and more. As the plague, at the same time, made a dreadful havock among them, they were at length obliged to submit, and beg quarter; which was granted them. Some of them were incorporated among the Roman troops; to others lands were given to cultivate; and a small number of them found means to make their es-

* Zonar. p. 239.
‡ i. p. 654.

† Ammian. lib. xxxi. p. 445.

‡ Zof.

cape. As the army was composed of various northern nations, and followed by a great number of women, servants, and children, all the provinces of the empire were filled with captives, among whom were several kings, and women of distinction. The emperor ordered some of their waggons to be burnt, and gave the rest, with a great number of slaves, to the public^a. On account of this victory, Claudius took the surname of Gothicus, in the second year of his reign, but soon after died at Sirmium of the plague, which had contributed so much to his victory over the Goths.

They plundered the city of Anquialum.

Yr. of Fl.
2618.
A. D. 270.

Make new inroads into the empire; but are driven out by Aurelian.

He was succeeded by his brother Quintillus; during whose short reign the Goths, who had made their escape from Mount Hæmus, plundered the city of Anquialum in Thrace, and made an attempt upon Nicopolis in Lower Mœsia; but were driven out of that province by the Roman troops. That same year the Goths, notwithstanding the losses they had sustained, again entered the empire and Pannonia, and laid waste that province; which irruption Aurelian, who had been just raised to the empire, no sooner learned, than he left Rome, and putting himself at the head of the army, marched against them. As the enemy did not retire at his approach, a battle ensued, which continued till night, when the two armies parted, without the least advantage being gained on either side. However, the Goths, not being willing to renew the combat, repassed the Danube in the dead of the night, and sent ambassadors next morning to sue for peace^o; which was granted them, the Alemans being at that time in arms, and ready to invade Italy: but this peace was not of long duration; for, two years after, Aurelian, on his march into the East against the celebrated Zenobia, found them ravaging Thrace, and drove them out of that province; he even passed the Danube, and having engaged Cannabaud, a Gothic prince, slew him, and five thousand of his men. It was, perhaps, on this occasion, that the emperor took a chariot drawn by four stags, which he afterwards made use of in his triumphal entry into Rome; for he is said to have taken it from a Gothic prince. Among the prisoners were ten women, who had fought in the habit of men, and a great many more were found among the dead. The emperor, in a letter to Gallonius Avitus, governor of Thrace, mentions some Gothic women of distinction, whom he had sent to Perinthus, to be kept there, and entertained

^a Syncell. p. 384. Zonar. p. 239.

^o Zof. lib. i. p. 654, 655.

in a manner suitable to their rank ^p. Among these was a woman of the blood royal, named Hunila, whom the emperor gave in marriage to Bonofus, one of his generals, who, in the reign of Probus, usurped the sovereignty, as we have related elsewhere.

Two years after, the Goths made a settlement in Dacia, beyond the Danube, which was abandoned by Aurelian, who well knew that he could not maintain it, without an immense charge, in the midst of so many barbarous nations^q. They afterwards entered, in separate and numerous bodies, Pontus, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Cilicia, pretending to have been invited by Aurelian, who died some months before, to serve as auxiliaries against the Persians; but Tacitus, who had succeeded that prince, not thinking it advisable to trust them, endeavoured, by fair means, and even by offering them considerable sums, to induce them to return home. His offers were accepted by some; but others refusing to retire upon any terms, the emperor, and his brother Florianus, fell upon them, put great numbers to the sword, and drove the rest entirely out of the empire^r.

In 278, the second of the reign of Probus, they entered Thrace, and advanced as far as Illyricum, laying waste the country with fire and sword; but they no sooner heard that the emperor was marching against them, and had already reached Rhætia, than they withdrew, leaving their booty behind them. From Rhætia the emperor pursued his march into Illyricum, and thence into Thrace, where he was met by deputies from the Gothic nations, suing for peace, and submitting to his power. No farther mention is made of the Goths till the year 289, the fifth of Dioclesian's reign, who is said to have gained a complete victory over the Sarmatians, or Goths. Eumenes informs us, that the whole nation of the Sarmatians was cut off, and the province of Dacia, beyond the Danube, which they had seized, reunited to the empire^s. For this victory Dioclesian assumed the surname of Sarmaticus, as appears from several ancient coins and inscriptions.

From the fifth of Dioclesian's reign to the fifteenth of Constantine's, the Goths gave no disturbance to the empire, being engaged in wars with the neighbouring nations; but all we know of these wars is, that they not only overcame the Burgundians, but likewise the Vandals, with their king Visumar, a prince of great renown, descended from the Asdingi, the most illustrious family of that nation. The Van-

Yr. of Fl.

262.

A. D. 274.

*They settle
in Dacia.*

*They conclude a
peace with
Probus.*

A. D. 289.

*They are
defeated
by Diocle-
sian.*

*They over-
come the
Burgun-
dians and
Vandals;*

^p Bonof. Vit. p. 247.

^q Aur. Vit. p. 222.

^r Zonar. p. 240.

^s Zof. lib. i. p. 662. Prob. Vit. p. 228.

^t Noris. de Diocles. cap. 4.

^u Birag. p. 426.

*but are
overcome
by Con-
stantine.*

dals were, it seems, entirely driven out; for we are told that they begged and obtained Pannonia of the emperor Constantine[†]. The Goths were no sooner disengaged from other wars, than they broke into the empire; but were overcome by Constantine in several battles fought at Campana in Pannonia, and at Marga and Bononia, in Upper Mœsia[‡]. Zosimus mentions a city besieged by Raufimodes, king of the Sarmatians, and relieved by Constantine; who, having defeated the enemy, put them to flight, pursued the fugitives cross the Danube, and forced them to a second battle, in which great numbers were slain, and, among the rest, the king himself. Such as escaped the general slaughter, submitted to Constantine, who returned from this expedition with an incredible number of captives. Notwithstanding this defeat, the Goths next year made a fresh incursion into the empire, while the emperor was busied in constructing a port at Thessalonica; and, over-running Thrace and Mœsia, ravaged both provinces, and took a great many prisoners[¶]. Constantine marched against the Goths with incredible expedition, and, falling upon them, gave them a total overthrow. He pursued the enemy with great slaughter into the dominions of Licinius; a circumstance which that prince highly resenting, a war was kindled between him and Constantine, of which we have given the particulars elsewhere.

*They assist
Constantine
against Li-
cinius.*

The Goths, thus overcome, sued for peace, which was granted them, upon their setting at liberty all the prisoners they had taken. Constantine, it seems, even entered into an alliance with them; for they assisted him against Licinius with a body of forty thousand men, who were distinguished by the name of *fœderati*, or allies^{*}. These are, doubtless, the Goths who, as we read in an anonymous writer published by Valesius, fought at the battle of Chalcedon, under the conduct of one of their princes named Aliquæa. Notwithstanding the peace and alliance they made with Constantine, they began, about eight years after, to make new inroads into the empire. Zosimus informs us, that the Taifalæ, a Gothic nation, having broken into the Roman territories with five hundred horse, Constantine, who was then in Mœsia, suffered them to lay waste the country to the very gates of his camp; and, instead of putting his troops in battle-array to oppose them, he betook himself to a precipitate flight, after having lost great part of his army[‡]. Zosimus is the only author who relates this

*They make
new in-
roads into
the empire;*

[†] Jorn. Rer. Vandal. lib. i.

cap. 23.

p. 640.

[¶] Ammian. p. 474.

[‡] Zof. lib. ii. p. 687.

^{*} Zof. lib. ii. p. 680. Optat.

[‡] Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 21.

event, which is altogether incredible. Socrates tells us, that the Goths and Sarmatians over-ran some provinces; but were overcome and driven out by Constantine^a.

The same year, a war breaking out between the Goths and Sarmatians, the latter had recourse to Constantine, who, glad of the opportunity which offered to humble that ferocious nation, fell upon them while they were employed in plundering the territories of the Sarmatians, and gained a memorable victory over them on the twentieth of April. Near a hundred thousand of the enemy were either put to the sword, or perished after the battle with hunger and cold; a defeat which obliged Araric their king to sue for peace, and deliver hostages to the emperor, among whom was his own son^b.

Yr. of FL
2680.
A. D. 332.
*but receiving
a dreadful
overthrow.*

This victory is ascribed by some to Constantine Cæsar; and the emperor Julian tells us, that one of Constantine's sons awed the Goths with his victories^b: but Eutropius^c and Eusebius^d tell us, in express terms, that the Goths were overcome by Constantine in a great battle; and Eusebius writes, that Constantine, disdaining to pay tribute to the Barbarians, as other emperors had done, marched against them, while they were engaged in a war with the Sarmatians, and, having subdued the whole nation, obliged, partly by dint of arms, partly by treaties, the innumerable tribes, into which they were divided, to obey his commands. Sozomen and Socrates say, that the victory he gained over them was so evidently miraculous, that, the Goths acknowledging the power of the God adored by Constantine, great numbers of them embraced the Christian religion, which had been first preached among them about the year 270^e. Jornandes takes no notice of the victory gained over the Goths by Constantine, but only tells us, that they supplied his army with a body of forty thousand men, which was kept always complete^f.

The Goths not only continued quiet, but served the Romans with great fidelity, during the remaining part of Constantine's reign, and in the reigns of Constans, Julian, Jovian, and Valentinian I. ^g but, in the first of Valens, they made inroads into Thrace, and laid waste that province^h. The emperor, who was scarcely seated on his throne, instead of employing his troops against them, sent a considerable sum; which they no sooner received than they

*They served
in the Ro-
man army.*

^a Socrat. lib. i. cap. 11. p. 48. ^b Anonym. Ammian. p. 376.
^c Jul. Orat. i. p. 16. ^d Eutrop. p. 538. ^e Euseb. Vit. Constant.
lib. iv. p. 529. ^f Soz. lib. i. cap. 8. p. 411. ^g Jorn. Rer. Goth.
cap. 21. p. 649. ^h Liban. Orat. xii. p. 309. ⁱ Ammian. lib.
xvi. p. 315.

*They assist
the usurper
Procopius;*

forbore all hostilities, and returned home. The following year, 365, while the emperor was in Bithynia, news was brought him, that the Goths were ready to break again into Thrace. In consequence of this advice Valens dispatched a body of troops to reinforce those under the command of count Julian, who were posted on the banks of the Danube; a precaution which prevented their crossing that river. In the mean time Procopius having revolted, and assumed the title of emperor, the Goths, espousing his cause, sent a body of three thousand men to his assistance; but Procopius being defeated, taken, and put to death, before their arrival, they continued in the territories of the empire, committing great ravages in Thrace and Mœsia. Valens sent a strong detachment against them, who having cut off their retreat, they were obliged to lay down their arms, and yield themselves prisoners¹. Hermanaric was then king of the Goths, of those at least who by Ammianus are styled Greutongi, and by Jornandes Ostrogoths; but that body of troops had been sent to the assistance of Procopius by Athanaric, whom Ammianus calls sometimes one of the most powerful men among the Goths², and sometimes the judge of the Thervingian Goths, that is, according to Jornandes, of the Visigoths³. He was a man of great courage, and yet his courage, says Themistius⁴, was inferior to his penetration, eloquence, and address. He no sooner received intelligence of the captivity of his men, than he dispatched ambassadors to Valens, requesting they might be set at liberty, as they had been sent by a friend and ally of the Romans to the assistance of a Roman emperor. At the same time the letters were produced which he had received from Procopius. On the other hand, Valens sent Victor, general of the horse, to complain of Athanaric, for assisting a rebel against his lawful sovereign. The Goths answered, that they had looked upon Procopius as the kinsman of Constantine; and that it was not their business to examine whether he was or was not a lawful prince: therefore, if they were deceived, the emperor ought to excuse them.

*which
gives rise
to a war
with Va-
lens;*

But Valens could not be prevailed upon to set the captive Goths at liberty, being resolved, as he was then engaged in no other wars, upon humbling that powerful nation. With this view great preparations were made throughout the empire; which occasioned a great consternation among the people, who, as they had a high opinion of the valour of the Goths, dreaded the issue of this war. At the

¹ Zof. lib. iv. p. 740.
Rer. Goth. cap. 23. p. 643.

² Ammian. lib. xxxi. p. 440.
³ Themist. p. 136.

⁴ Jorn.
Zof. p. 748.
same

same time, in the dismantling of Chalcedon, certain verses were found engraved on a stone, which doubled their fears, for they seemed ancient, and foretold a dreadful inundation of Barbarians into Thrace°. The emperor himself seems to have been under no small apprehension of this war; for Theodoret tells us, that before he set out on so dangerous an expedition, in order to render heaven propitious to his undertaking, he received the sacrament of baptism^p. The Goths, on the other hand, finding the emperor bent upon war, began to draw together their forces, with a design to anticipate him in the first attack. Valens no sooner understood their design, than he ordered his troops to take the field, though in the depth of winter, and soon after came in person to head them. Upon his arrival he sent strong detachments to guard the banks of the Danube, and encamped, with the rest of the army, in the neighbourhood of Marcianopolis, the metropolis of Lower Moesia^q. Ammianus^r and Zosimus^s tells us, that early in the spring he left Marcianopolis; and, having passed the Danube on a bridge of boats, ravaged the enemy's country far and near, without meeting with the least opposition, the Goths having retired at his approach to the neighbouring mountains. In the beginning of the autumn he led back his army to the Roman dominions, and passed the winter at Marcianopolis, whence, as soon as the season was fit for action, he marched to the banks of the Danube, with a design to cross that river, and pursue the ravages he had begun the year before; but the Danube continuing greatly swelled the whole summer, he was obliged to remain encamped in the same place till the latter end of autumn, when he returned to Marcianopolis, and there took up his winter quarters.

In the following year the emperor marched into Lesser Scythia, and having passed the Danube at Noviodunum, advanced far into the enemy's country, destroying all with fire and sword. The Goths, not daring to keep the field, lay concealed in the woods and morasses, whence they frequently sallied out upon the Romans. Against them the emperor employed not the soldiers, but the servants of the army, and those who attended the baggage, promising them a certain sum for each head they should bring. Animated by this encouragement, they resolutely entered the woods and marshes, and, hunting the Goths like wild beasts, put great numbers of them to the sword in their very asylums; so that they were struck with consternation, and sent am-

Yr. of Fl.
275.
A. D. 367.

who enters
their coun-
try and
lays it
waste.

° Eunap. Excerpt. p. 18, 19.

^p Theodor. lib. iv. cap. 21. p.

674.

^q Eunap. cap. 5. p. 86. Philostr. lib. ix. cap. 8. p. 125.

^r Ammian. p. 340.

^s Zos. p. 741.

bassadors

*He defeats
Athanaric.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2717.*

A. D. 369.

*The Goths
sue for
peace and
obtain it.*

bassadors to sue for peace. Such is the account given by Zosimus: but Ammianus writes that Valens, having attacked and overcome in several encounters the Greuthongi, a warlike nation of the Goths, dwelling at a considerable distance from the Danube, at length defeated Athanaric, who, at the head of a numerous army, had ventured to give him battle.

After this victory Valens returned to Marcianopolis, with a design to winter there, and renew the war early in the spring; but in the mean time the Goths earnestly suing, by repeated embassies, for peace, he was at last prevailed upon, by the senate of Constantinople, to hearken to their proposals^t. What induced the senate to become mediators in behalf of a nation by them so much dreaded, and now reduced to the utmost distress, we cannot learn. Valens, after having returned a favourable answer to the ambassadors, approached the Danube, and appointed Victor and Arintheus to treat with the Goths. After some conferences a peace was concluded, which redounded greatly to the honour of the Romans; for, in virtue of this treaty, the Goths were not for the future to pass the Danube, or set foot on the Roman territories, on any account whatsoever, excepting that of trade, which was now confined to two cities on the Danube. They were not to expect or claim the pensions which had been paid them annually by other emperors; but Valens consented to continue Athanaric's pension. This peace was ratified and signed by Valens and Athanaric, who met for that purpose in boats in the middle of the Danube, the latter absolutely refusing to pass that river, his father having obliged him, as he pretended, solemnly to swear never to tread on Roman ground^u. Valens having thus concluded a peace with the Goths, ordered the forts on the Danube to be repaired, and some new castles to be built; then leaving some strong garrisons in them, as if he distrusted the Barbarians, he returned to Marcianopolis, and from thence to Constantinople^w.

Hermanaric, a great conqueror.

Hermanaric, king of the Goths, was descended from the noble family of the Amali, and had signalized himself in several wars, insomuch that he was compared to Alexander the Great. Jornandes names the many northern nations he subdued; but he might as well have spared himself that trouble, most of them being utterly unknown^x. Among the rest he mentions the Heruli, dwelling near the Palus Mæotis; the Venedi on the German ocean; and the

^t Themist. Orat. x. p. 133.

^u Ammian. p. 341, 342.

^w Zos.

p. 742.

^x Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 23. p. 643.

Ætli on the borders of the present Prussia and Poland. Ablavius, as quoted by Jornandes, assures us, that Hermanaric was obeyed by all the nations of Scythia and Germany. However, not thinking himself in a condition to withstand the Hunns, who, passing the Palus Mæotis in 376, over-ran his country, he chose rather to lay violent hands on himself, than to behold the calamities that threatened his people¹. He was succeeded by Vithimir, who, attempting to make head against the Hunns, fell in battle. His son Vitheric, driven out by the Hunns, retired, with his people, to the present Podolia, lying between the Nieper and the Danube. Athanaric, king or chief of the Thervingi or Visigoths, alarmed at this sudden irruption of the Hunns, encamped, with all the forces he could collect, on the banks of the Danaſtus or Nieſter, in order to dispute with the enemy the passage of that river, which parted the country of the Thervingi from that of the Greuthongi or Ostrogoths; but the Hunns falling upon him unexpectedly, obliged him to abandon his country, and take refuge in the present Moldavia; where he fortified himself with a wall from the Pruth to the Danube.

The Goths driven out by the Hunns.

A general consternation being now spread among the Goths, such of them as had the good luck to escape the dreadful havock which the Hunns made of their nation, either submitted to them, or fled for refuge to the Roman dominions. Two hundred thousand of them were admitted by Valens into Thrace, upon their promising to live peaceably there, and to serve, when wanted, in the Roman armies; but being justly provoked at the cruel treatment they met with from the Roman officers, who were to supply them with provisions, they had scarce entered Thrace when they began to mutiny, and plunder the country. This violence gave rise to a long and bloody war between them and the Romans. At length they submitted to Theodosius I. and were allowed by him to settle in Thrace and Mœſia; which two provinces were almost quite depopulated by the frequent incursions of the neighbouring Barbarians, and the late destructive war². The emperor exempted them from all the tributes and taxes that were paid by the other subjects of the empire. Great numbers of them entered into the Roman service, but formed a separate body, and were commanded by officers of their own nation; a distinction which proved the source of many evils; but as they were well acquainted with the avarice, injustice, and cruelty of the Roman officers, they refused to put themselves into their power, and

Admitted by Valens into Thrace

Yr. of Fl.
2730.
A. D. 382.

Having submitted to Theodosius, they receive lands in Thrace.

Ammian. lib. xxxi. p. 439.

² Themist. Orat. xvi. p. 199.

insisted

*Athanasius
takes re-
fuge with
Theodosius,
and dies at
Constanti-
nople.*

insisted upon their continuing united, in order to secure themselves against such insults as they had reason to apprehend, when dispersed among the Roman troops. What chiefly induced the Goths to lay down their arms and submit to Theodosius, was that prince's generous behaviour to Athanasius; who being, by a faction at home, driven out of the country, which he had possessed, in spite of the Huns, beyond the Danube, came to Constantinople, notwithstanding the oath he had made never to tread on Roman ground. The emperor went out to meet the prince, received him with great marks of friendship, and attended him into the city, which he entered on the 11th of January 381^a. but died on the 25th of the same month. The emperor gave orders for his funeral after the Roman manner, with such pomp and solemnity, that the Goths, who had attended him in his flight, out of gratitude to the emperor, who had thus honoured the memory of their deceased prince, took upon them to guard the banks of the Danube, and prevented the Romans from being attacked on that side; and the Goths, who had for several years, maintained a war with the Romans in the very heart of the empire, were so captivated with the generosity and good-nature of Theodosius, that they renounced all farther thoughts of war, and submitted to the laws of the empire. Soon after the submission of the Goths, a soldier of that nation having committed some disorder at Constantinople, the populace fell upon him, and having murdered him, threw his body into the sea. The emperor fearing the Goths might, upon this provocation, have recourse to arms and renew the war, resented his death to such a degree, that he deprived the people of the bread which, by his orders, was daily distributed among them. The emperor, however, was appeased after a few hours, and the order he had given was revoked^b.

*The Ostro-
goths break
into the
empire;*

The Goths, who were allowed by Theodosius to settle in Thrace, were, for the most part, Thervingians or Visigoths. As for the Greuthungians, or Ostrogoths, they continued in their ancient seats, but subject to the Huns; who, as we have already mentioned, suffered them to be governed by their own kings. However, great numbers of them, not able to brook that subjection, broke into the empire under the command of Odotheus, whom Claudian honours with the title of king^c. Their design was to settle, as their countrymen the Visigoths had done, in some of the Roman provinces; but Theodosius, fearing the empire

^a Zos. p. 759. Ammian. p. 214. Socrat. p. 267. Themist. Orat. xv. p. 190. 9. Marcell. Idat. Chron.

^b Liban. Orat. xiv. xv. p. 394. 410.

^c Claud. Conf. Honor. iv. p. 55.

might

might be thus over-run by the Barbarians, marched against them in person, with his son Arcadius, gave them a total defeat, and returned, with an incredible number of captives, to Constantinople, which he entered in triumph on the 12th of October of the year 386^d. This, according to Zosimus, is all the part Theodosius had in that victory; but all other authors are of opinion that the emperor commanded his troops in person; and Claudian tells us, that he engaged Odotheus himself, who was killed in the battle^c. The greater part of this numerous army being either cut in pieces, taken prisoners, or drowned in the Danube, the emperor ordered Majoranus, who commanded under him, to cross that river, and lay waste the enemy's country; which he did accordingly, without meeting with the least opposition^f. Theodosius ordered all the prisoners to be set at liberty, and even made their leaders rich presents, in order to induce them to enter into his service, according to Zosimus^g, and employ them against Maximus.

Yr. of Fl.
2734.
A. D. 386.

but are defeated by Theodosius.

The Goths continued quiet from this time to the first year of Arcadius and Honorius, where they were instigated by the famous Rufinus to invade the empire. Rufinus governed with an absolute sway in the East under Arcadius; and Stilicho, with the same arbitrary sway, ruled in the West under Honorius; but as the latter pretended to have been appointed by Theodosius guardian to both his children, he was preparing to march into the East, to dispossess his rival of the authority he had usurped. Rufinus, therefore, to divert this storm, resolved to set all in a flame, and involve the whole empire in the utmost confusion. With this view, he privately stimulated the Hunns, who advanced as far as Antioch, destroying all with fire and sword. At the same time, he encouraged the celebrated Alaric to put himself at the head of his countrymen the Visigoths, and break into Greece. Alaric was descended from the family of the Balthei, the most illustrious of the Gothic nation, after that of the Amali. He passed the Danube in 376, with his countrymen driven out of their own country by the Hunns, and served with great reputation in the war between the Romans and Goths, which lasted from that time to the year 382, when they all submitted to Theodosius, and were allowed to settle in Thrace, upon condition of their serving in the Roman armies. According to this agreement, they attended Theodosius in his expedition against the usurper Eugenius; on which occasion Alaric commanded a body of

Yr. of Fl.
2743.
A. D. 395.

The Goths stirred up by Rufinus to invade the empire.

^a Idat. p. 67.
Car, v. p. 310.

^c Claud. Conf. Honor. iv. p. 55.
^d Zos. p. 764.

^f Siden.

his countrymen. As Theodosius had preferred him to no higher rank, he was dissatisfied, and even threatened to revolt. Rufinus finding him thus disposed, encouraged him by his emissaries, and even by privately conveying to him considerable sums, to assemble as many Barbarians as he could, and with them lay waste the Roman provinces, assuring him, that he might penetrate as far as Greece, without the least opposition^b.

*Dreadful
ravages
committed
by them,
under the
conduct of
Alaric.*

Alaric, thus animated, assembled a numerous army, consisting chiefly of his countrymen, among whom served a body of Hunns, who that winter had passed the Danube on the ice; and, entering Pannonia, he laid waste that province, and afterwards ravaged Macedon and Thessaly. When he drew near the famous streights of Thermopylæ, Geron-tius, one of Rufinus's creatures, who guarded them, with-drew, pursuant to the orders he had received from his pa-tron, and opened a free passage for the Barbarians into Greece, where they raged with incredible fury, rifling the temples, pillaging the cities, and committing such ravages and devastations, as were severely felt by the unhappy in-habitants for many years after, Antiochus, at that time pro-consul of Achaia, and another of Rufinus's creatures, never offering to oppose them. Thus was the whole country be-tween Dalmatia, the Adriatic gulf, and the Euxine sea, laid waste, and the city of Constantinople itself, in a manner, besieged, parties of the Barbarians advancing, with great boldness, to the very gates of that metropolis. Rufinus, at-tired after the Gothic manner, went out, as he said, to treat with them, and was received by the Barbarians with extraordinary marks of esteem; which confirmed the suspi-cion most people entertained of his treachery.

*Stilicho
marches
against
them;*

News of these ravages were no sooner brought to Stilicho, than he resolved to march to the relief of Greece; in which undertaking he embarked the more readily, as he hoped it would afford him an opportunity of ruining his rival Ru-finus, and getting the whole power of both empires into his own hands. Leaving therefore Gaul, where he then was, he set forward with all the Western troops, and those like-wise of the East, that had been left in the West after the defeat of Eugenius. He passed, with incredible expedition, the Julian Alps, crossed Dalmatia, and, entering Thessaly, was but at a small distance from the enemy's army, when an officer arrived in the camp, with a peremptory order from Arcadius to send him forthwith the Oriental troops,

^b Claud. in Ruf. lib. ii. p. 21. Jornan. Rer. Goth. cap. 29. p. 651. Socrat. lib. vii. cap. 10. p. 346. Zos. p. 783.

and return with the rest into the West. This order Rufinus had procured, concluding, that, if the Barbarians were overcome and repressed, the storm would fall upon his own head. However, Stilicho, not daring to disobey it, sent back the troops belonging to the Eastern empire, under the conduct of one Gainas, by birth a Goth, and his intimate friend, and returned with the remainder to Italy, leaving the Goths to pursue their ravages without constraint¹ (G). Thus the Goths continued in Greece, and the other Roman provinces, all the year 395, destroying all with fire and sword, and sending into their own country an incredible number of captives, with the whole wealth of the ravaged provinces.

but is ordered by Arcadius to return to the West.

As Arcadius, to whom these provinces belonged, seemed entirely to neglect them, Stilicho, pitying the condition to which they were reduced, set out again with the Western troops to relieve them. He embarked on the Adriatic sea, and, landing in Peloponnesus, cut off great numbers of the Barbarians in several encounters, and obliged the rest to take refuge on a mountain in Arcadia, named Pholoe, at a small distance from Pisa. But, after he had inclosed them on all sides, and even turned the course of a river that supplied them with water, he suffered them, by his misconduct, says Zosimus, to escape, and withdraw out of Peloponnesus unmolested, and to ravage Epirus in their retreat². He then returned to Italy, permitting his soldiers to destroy and carry off whatever had escaped the avarice and fury of the Goths. The poet Claudian tells us, that Stilicho would have put Alaric and all his men to the sword,

Stilicho returns to the relief of Greece;

but suffers Alaric to escape.

¹ Zof. p. 781. Claud. in Ruf. lib. ii. p. 24. Sof. lib. viii. p. 754.
² Zof. p. 784, 785.

(G) St. Jerom, who wrote at that very time, tells us, that the Athenians, and all the other Greeks, submitted to the Barbarians. Claudian names the Athenians among those who were carried into captivity; and Eunapius ascribes to the ravages committed by Alaric the entire suppression of the ceremonies, religion, and sacrifices of Ceres and Proserpine, which had continued at Athens till that time (1). During these ravages several philosophers, over-zealous for the worship of their gods, were either put to the sword by the Goths, or died of grief in seeing their mysteries despised, their gods trod under foot, and their altars erased. Among the former were Proteus, Hilarius, and Priscus, a celebrated magician, who had been one of the emperor Julian's chief favourites.

(1) Eunap. cap. 5. p. 74, 75.

*Alaric pre-
ferred by
Arcadius;*

*and Stilicho
declared a
public
enemy.*

*Alaric
breaks into
Italy.*

had not Arcadius taken them under his protection, and ordered Stilicho to withdraw his troops out of Greece, a province belonging to the Eastern empire¹. Arcadius had, doubtless, been induced to conclude a peace with the Barbarians by the eunuch Eutropius, who had succeeded Rufinus, not only in his power and employments, but in his cruelty, avarice, and other detestable qualities. He was no less jealous of Stilicho's great power than his predecessor had been; and therefore, to rob him of the glory of delivering the empire, and triumphing over the Barbarians, he persuaded the emperor to conclude a peace with them, and order Stilicho, to whom he must otherwise have been highly indebted, to leave the Barbarians, and return with his forces into the West. Alaric was appointed, by virtue of this treaty, commander of the troops in East Illyricum, which comprised Greece and the other provinces he had laid waste. Claudian complains, and indeed with much reason, that the Barbarian, who, in defiance of the most sacred ties, had turned his arms against the empire, should be preferred and enriched, and the person, to whom the empire owed its safety, stripped of all his honours and reduced to poverty; for Stilicho, though he immediately retired with his troops out of Greece, pursuant to the orders of Arcadius, yet that prince declared him a public enemy by the senate of Constantinople, and the lands he had in the East to be seized and confiscated². It was, doubtless, after Alaric had been raised to this dignity, and not during the war, that, coming to Athens with a small attendance, he was received by the inhabitants, as we find in Zosimus³, with all possible marks of honour.

About three years after this pacification, new disturbances were raised in the East by two Goths, subjects of the empire, and in the Roman service, called Gainas and Tribigild, of whom we have given a full account in a former volume.

During these disturbances, raised by the Goths in the East, the Western provinces were alarmed with a sudden irruption of the same Barbarians, under the conduct of Alaric. Arcadius, as we have before related, entered into a treaty with him, and appointed him commander in chief of all the Roman forces quartered in East Illyricum. The Goths, who were subject to the empire, created him, according to Jordanes⁴, about the same time, their chief and general, with the title of king of the Visigoths. He was, in this year 409,

¹ Claud. in Eutrop. lib. ii. p. 113.

² Idem, lib. ii. p. 130.

³ Zos. p. 784.

⁴ Jora. *Res. Goth.* cap. 29. p. 650. & *Reg.* cap. 43. p. 653.

when

when he first entered Italy, general of the Illyrian troops; whence some have thought he made that irruption by order of Arcadius, and as his general; for there never was a cordial understanding between Arcadius and his brother Honorius: but it is not probable, that Arcadius should choose to make war upon his brother, while most of his forces were employed against Tribigild and Gainas. What Jornandes says seems to us more probable, namely, that the Goths, despising both Arcadius and Honorius, and discontented because they had not sent them the usual presents, resolved to make war on the empire, in order to enrich themselves with the spoils of so many wealthy provinces; and with this view it was that they chose Alaric for their chief, and even gave him the title of king. However that may be, it is certain, that, in the year 400, the Goths, under the conduct of Alaric, made an incursion into Italy, and committed dreadful ravages, laying the country waste far and near, and carrying off with them an incredible number of captives. Two years after, Alaric entered Italy again, and ravaged, without controul, the provinces of Venetia and Liguria, there being then no army to oppose him. The emperor Honorius, who resided at Milan, not thinking himself safe in that city, retired to Ravenna; which, from that time, became the usual place of his residence.

Yr. of Fl.

2748
A. D. 400.

*He again
enters
Italy,*

In the mean while Stilicho, having assembled a body of forces, marched against the enemy, whom he found encamped at Pollentia, on the Tanaro, in Piedmont. There the two armies engaged; but, as to the issue of the battle, there is a great disagreement among authors. The wife of Alaric, with his children and daughters-in-law, fell into the hands of the Romans; a circumstance which he no sooner learnt, than he sent deputies to Stilicho to sue for peace; which was readily granted him, and the captives sent back, upon condition of his marching forthwith out of Italy. Pursuant to this agreement, he repassed the Po; but, having plundered the country in his retreat, Stilicho detached a strong body of Barbarians against him, by whom he was defeated, and obliged to take refuge among the mountains, where they kept him blocked up till, most of his men forsaking him, and joining the Romans, he privately withdrew in the night, and returned through by-ways into Thrace*. Three years after, Radagaisus invaded Italy with an army of two hundred thousand Goths, and other Barbarians dwelling beyond the Danube and the Rhine, who were

*but is
driven out
by Stilicho.*

* Oros. lib. vii. cap. 37. p. 221. Claud. p. 160, 161. & Consul. Honor. vi. p. 178—183. Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 30. p. 653.

then all blended under the common name of Goths; but this numerous army was defeated and cut in pieces, and Radagaisus himself taken prisoner, by Stilicho, assisted by a body of Hunns and Goths, who served the Romans as auxiliaries, under the command of Uldin and Sarus¹.

This storm was scarce blown over, when another was raised by Stilicho, who, in order to kindle a war between Arcadius and Honorius, persuaded the latter, that not only West Illyricum, but the whole province, belonged to the Western empire; he even prevailed so far upon the weak prince as to induce him to appoint Alaric general of all the Roman troops in West Illyricum, in order to recover, with them and his own Goths, that part of the province which he pretended to be unjustly with-held from him by his brother Arcadius. Stilicho, in thus setting the two brothers at variance, had nothing less in view than his own elevation to the empire; for, while the Goths invaded the Eastern empire, his countrymen the Vandals, and their allies, were to make an irruption into the Western provinces, and there second his design¹. At the same time that he acquainted Alaric with his promotion, he ordered a considerable sum to be transmitted to him, to defray the charges of the war; which he no sooner received than, leaving Pannonia and Dalmatia, where lands had been granted to him and his Goths, he entered Epirus, then belonging to the Eastern empire, and there waited for orders from Stilicho to commence hostilities. But while that general was upon the point of setting out from Ravenna to join him with the Roman forces, he was stopped by letters from Arcadius, acquainting him with the revolt of Constantine in Britain, and, by a false report, with the death of Alaric. Alaric, after having long continued inactive in Epirus, left that country, and, directing his march towards Italy, arrived at Amona, now Lanbach, between Upper Pannonia and Noricum. He continued his route, and passing the river Aquila, and the streights of the mountains that bound Pannonia on that side, where an handful of men might have stopped his whole army, he entered Noricum². From thence he dispatched a messenger to Arcadius, demanding a sum of money for the time he had lost in Epirus, and the trouble of marching his troops into Noricum. Upon this demand, the senate being assembled (for Honorius was then at Rome), Stilicho pleaded so warmly in his favour, that it was agreed four thousand pounds weight of gold should be

Alaric advances into Noricum.

¹ Zof. p. 803.
cap. 80. p. 180.
lib. ii. p. 141.

² Idem, lib. v. p. 802. Sof. p. 792, 793. Phot.
Philostorg. lib. xii, cap. 2. p. 532. Rutil.

sent him : but, the emperor deferring from time to time the payment of this sum, Alaric entered Italy, and, marching strait to Rome, laid siege to that metropolis. In a short time, he reduced it to such straits, that the unhappy inhabitants, afflicted both with the plague and famine, were obliged to redeem themselves with an immense sum; which Alaric no sooner received, than he raised the siege, and retired with his army into Hetruria.

He besieges Rome;

which is redeemed with an immense sum.

But soon after this retreat, he returned to Rome, the emperor having failed to execute the articles of the treaty between Alaric and the Romans; which he himself had ratified. On this occasion, the Romans, after a few days siege, opened their gates to Alaric, who entered the city attended by a small guard, obliged the Romans to renounce their allegiance to Honorius, and acknowledge Attalus, then prefect of Rome, for emperor. Honorius having, in the mean time, declared, that he was ready to comply with the terms proposed by the Goths, Alaric deposed Attalus, and leaving Rome, approached Ravenna, where the emperor then was, in order to put the last hand to the treaty of accommodation; the emperor again refusing to comply with the terms proposed to him, Alaric departed in great rage from the neighbourhood of Ravenna, and marching back to Rome, took and plundered that wealthy metropolis. From Rome Alaric advanced into Campania, and having ravaged that and the neighbouring provinces of Lucania, Samnium, Apulia, and Calabria, he approached the streights of Sicily, with a design to pass over into that island, and thence into Africa; but he was seized in the neighbourhood of Rhegium with a fit of illness, of which he died in a few days.

Yr. of Fl.
2756.
A. D. 408.

Yr. of Fl.
2758.
A. D. 410.

Alaric takes and plunders Rome.

Ataulphus, his successor, invades Gaul.

The Goths chose Ataulphus king in his room; for to Alaric, as we have observed above, the Goths had given the title of king of the Visigoths. Ataulphus, leaving Italy after he had quite drained it of its wealth, marched into Gaul, and there reduced the cities of Narbonne and Thoulouse¹. He afterwards married with great solemnity Placidia, the sister of Honorius, who had been taken, with many other captives, at Rome, and treated, both by Alaric and him, with all the respect due to her rank and sex. After this marriage, Ataulphus seemed very desirous of concluding a peace with Honorius, and turning his arms against the Alans, Vandals, Suevians, Burgundians, Franks, and other barbarous nations, that had broken into Gaul;

¹ Oros. lib. ii. cap. 19. p. 164. Socr. lib. vii. cap. 10. p. 347. Philostorg. lib. xii. cap. 3. p. 534.

Yr. of Fl.
2763.
A. D. 415.

*Being
driven out
of Gaul, he
retires to
Spain,
where he is
murdered.*

*Sigeric, his
successor,
murdered.*

but all the measures that were taken by him, and his wife Placidia, to bring about an accommodation, being defeated by Constantius and his party, who bore a great sway at court, the war was renewed, and Ataulphus eventually obliged to retire with the Goths into Spain, where he was soon after assassinated. Before his death, he intreated his brother to send back Placidia to the Romans, and live in friendship with them; but the Goths, instead of his brother, chose for their king Sigeric, or Sergeric, brother to Sarus, whom Ataulphus had put to death. Sigeric was no sooner proclaimed king of the Visigoths than, to revenge the death of his brother, he caused the six children Ataulphus had by a former wife to be inhumanly put to death^a. He seemed inclined to live in peace and amity with the Romans, and desirous of being employed by them in driving out the Vandals, Alans, and Suevians, who had entered Spain in 409, and in the space of two years reduced almost the whole country; but he was assassinated by his own people the seventh day after his election, perhaps on account of his cruelty to the children of his predecessor Ataulphus.

*Vallia con-
cludes a
peace with
the Ro-
mans.*

In his room was chosen Vallia, after he had caused all those to be slain who stood in competition with him for the crown. As the chief provinces of Spain were already possessed by the Vandals, Alans, and Suevians, he resolved to pass over into Africa, and attempt the reduction of that country, which still continued subject to the Romans; but his fleet being shipwrecked, and a great number of Goths on board of it drowned, he not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with the Romans, upon the following conditions; that Placidia, whom the emperor had promised to Constantius, should be sent back; that the Goths should make war upon the Barbarians, who had settled in Spain, restoring the Romans to the places and territories they should recover out of their hands; that, on the other hand, the Romans should reward the Goths with lands within the empire, and send them forthwith six hundred thousand measures of corn. Pursuant to this agreement, the promised corn was immediately sent to the Goths, who were then in the utmost distress; and they no sooner received it, than Vallia sent back Placidia to her brother, and began to make the necessary preparations for the intended war with the Barbarians in Spain.

^a Jorn. p. 655. Phot. p. 182. Oros. p. 224. Soz. lib. ix. cap. 7. p. 811. ^w Oros. p. 224. Philostorg. lib. xii. cap. 4. p. 534

An alliance being thus concluded between the Romans and the Goths in Catalonia, Vallia, without loss of time, fell first on the Vandals called Silingians, who had settled in Bætica, or Andalusia; and having, in several successful encounters, cut off great numbers of them, obliged the rest to abandon their country, and take refuge among the Alans in Celtiberia, now the kingdom of Arragon. Against these he marched next, and made such a dreadful havock amongst that nation, that, their king Ata being killed, the few who remained, instead of choosing a successor, fled for protection to Gonderic king of the Vandals, who had settled in Galicia*. To reward these eminent services of Vallia and his Goths, Honorius bestowed on them Aquitania Secunda, comprising the present archbishoprick of Bourdeaux, and some neighbouring cities; to which was added, soon after, Novempopulania, or Aquitania Tertia, including the provinces of Auch and Gascony†. Vallia, on the other hand, yielded to the Romans, not only the country he had taken from the Vandals and Alans, but likewise Catalonia, which the Goths had possessed ever since their entering Spain, under the conduct of Ataulphus their second king. Vallia fixed his residence at Thoulouse, which became, and continued to be, for the space of eighty-eight years, the metropolis of the kingdom of the Visigoths. Vallia died soon after he had brought his Goths back into Gaul, in the year 418, according to the Chronicle of Idatius‡, having reigned only three years§. He left behind him one daughter, married to Suevian, by whom she had the famous Ricimer, who has been frequently mentioned in a former volume.

His successful war with the Silingians and Alans in Spain.

Yr. of Fl.
2766.
A.D. 418.

He is allowed to settle in Aquitain.

Vallia was succeeded by Theodoric, who, breaking the alliance which his predecessor had concluded with the Romans, made himself master of several places in Gaul belonging to them, and even laid siege to Arles; but at the approach of Actius, he abandoned the enterprize, and returned to Thoulouse¶. He made peace soon after with the Romans; for Sidonius tells us, that after the siege of Arles, which the Goths had attempted in vain to reduce, several Gauls were delivered up to them as hostages, and among the rest one Theodorus, who was nearly related to Avitus, afterwards emperor. He adds, that Avitus went to visit his kinsman at the court of Theodoric; on which occasion he rejected the great offers with which Theodoric endeavoured to engage him in his service*. After this transac-

Theodoric makes war, and concludes a peace with the Romans.

* Idat. Chron. Sid. car. ii. p. 300.

† Valef. lib. iii. p. 115.

‡ Idat. Chron. p. 15.

§ Idor. Chron.

¶ Prosp. Chron.

* Sid. Car. vii. p. 337.

*He breaks
again with
the Ro-
mans.*

tion, the Goths continued quiet in the countries that had been allotted them in Gaul, for the space of ten years, that is, to the year 436, when the Romans being engaged in a war with the Burgundians, Theodoric availed himself of that opportunity to enlarge his dominions. Having, therefore, gained possession of several cities, he at length laid siege to Narbonne; but the Romans having, in the mean time, concluded a peace with the Burgundians, count Litorius hastened to the relief of the place, at the head of a body of auxiliary Hunns, and falling upon the Goths, put them to flight, and entered the city, each horseman carrying with him two bushels of corn; which proved a seasonable relief to the inhabitants, who were reduced, by the long siege, to the utmost extremity⁴.

*The Ro-
mans de-
feated, and
the siege
raised by
Theodoric.*

The Romans pursued the war against the Goths with equal vigour and success. In 438, a battle was fought, in which Actius, who commanded the Roman forces, cut eight thousand of them in pieces. In the following year, Litorius, who commanded the auxiliary Hunns, gained great advantages over them, and even laid siege to Thoulouse, their capital. Theodoric, who was in the place, sent several bishops to Litorius, hoping, by their mediation, to prevail upon the Roman general to accept the advantageous terms which he offered; but Litorius, who thought the Goths were reduced to the last extremity, openly declaring that he would hearken to no proposals, Theodoric marched out at the head of his men, and offered him battle; which he not declining, both armies engaged with the utmost fury. Victory continued a long time doubtful, the loss being equal on both sides; but Litorius having at length advanced too far at the head of the Hunns, in whose valour he chiefly confided, the Goths, making a desperate effort, cut most of them in pieces, put the rest to flight, and having surrounded Litorius, who had received a dangerous wound, took him alive, and carried him, with his hands tied behind him, into the city, which he hoped to enter that very day in triumph. Theodoric exposed him for some time to the insults and outrages of the populace and children, and then ordered him to be thrown into the public prison, where, after he had undergone inexpressible hardships, he was, by the king's mandate, put to death⁵. After this victory, the Goths might have extended their conquests to the Rhone; and this resolution they had taken, according to Sidonius,

⁴ Prosp. Chron. Vales. Rer. Franc. lib. iii. p. 136. ⁵ Greg. Tpr. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. cap. 47. p. 81. Salvian, Gub. lib. vii. p. 164. Idat. p. 18. Sid. p. 341.

Actius, who at that time had neither men nor money, being unable to oppose them. However, **Theodoric**, at the request of **Avitus**, then prefect of Gaul, readily hearkened to the proposals that were made to him, and concluded a peace with the Romans on the same terms he had offered them before the battle.

In the year 453, **Theodoric** engaging in an alliance with the Romans, assisted them powerfully against the **Hunns** who had entered Gaul, and heading his own troops in person, distinguished himself in the famous battle of **Chalons**; but falling unluckily from his horse, he was, according to some authors, trod to death by his own people, who did not know him. If we credit others, he was killed by a Goth, named **Andagus**, who served under **Attila**, and was descended from the royal family of the **Amali**. He was succeeded by his son **Thorismund**, who had fought under his father, and had been wounded in the same battle. The young prince was inclined to revenge the death of his father on the **Hunns**, and to attack **Attila** in his camp; but **Actius**, fearing the **Hunns**, whom he considered as a check upon the **Goths** and **Franks**, might be thus entirely cut off, artfully advised him to return home, lest his brothers should raise disturbances during his absence, and, seizing on the royal treasures, give rise to a civil war. **Thorismund** followed his advice, and returning with his troops to **Thoulouse**, was there received as king with the greatest demonstrations of joy^f. Being soon after apprised of the deceitful advice given him by **Actius**, he broke the alliance he had made with the Romans, and laid siege to **Arles**; but was prevailed upon by **Ferreolus**, prefect of Gaul, to drop that enterprize, and retire^g.

In the course of the same year **Thorismund** had a favourable opportunity of revenging, on the **Hunns**, the death of his father; for **Attila** having again invaded Gaul, with a design to make war upon the **Alans**, neighbours of the **Visigoths**, and, by reducing them, get footing in Gaul, **Thorismund** joined the **Alans** with all his forces, engaged **Attila**, and having gained a complete victory, obliged him to return with shame and disgrace into his own country. **Gregory of Tours** tells us, that he overcame and subdued the **Alemans** and the **Alans**^h. It appears from **Sidonius**, that his dominions extended to the **Rhone**ⁱ; that writer styles him the haughty and untractable king of **Go-**

Yr. of Fl.
2801:
A. D. 453.

He is killed
in the battle
of
Chalons.

Thorif-
mund, his
successor,
breaks
with the
Romans.

Defeats
Attila.

Extends his
dominions.

^f Jorn. Rer. Gotb. cap. 41. p. 671.

^g Isidor. Chron. p. 718.

Prop. p. 54.

^h Greg. Tur. Rer. Franc. lib. ii. cap. 7. p. 277.

ⁱ Sid. lib. vii. epist. 23. p. 192.

this; for in his whole conduct he betrayed great pride and arrogance, was incapable of living himself, or suffering others to live, in peace, and seemed to delight in nothing but wars and slaughter. On the other hand, his brothers Theodoric, Frederic, Turic or rather Euric, Rotemer, and Himnarit, were inclined to a state of tranquility; and this difference of disposition occasioned daily quarrels between them and the king. At length his brothers, Theodoric and Frederic, finding they could by no other means divert him from engaging in new wars, resolved to dispatch him. Being therefore one day let blood on account of some slight indisposition, while his vein was still open, one of his officers, named Ascaleru, having first removed privately his arms, cried aloud, that assassins were coming in to murder the king, and at the same time threw himself upon him with several others. Thorismund, missing his weapons, with the only arm he had free laid hold of a footstool, and with it dispatched some of the conspirators; but was in the end overpowered and slain ^k.

Theodoric
II.

a friend to
the Romans.

Thorismund was succeeded by his brother Theodoric, a prince, according to Sidonius ^l, whom he honoured with his intimacy, of uncommon parts, and great accomplishments, but in point of religion a mere hypocrite. The same writer calls him elsewhere a martial prince, who even surpassed his illustrious parent, the glory of the Gothic nation, and the support of the Roman empire, now unable to maintain itself without the assistance of the Barbarians, whom the Romans had so often overcome. He was a man of some learning, and well versed in the Latin poets. In the beginning of his reign he not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance with the Romans, sending his brother Frederic, with a chosen body of troops into Spain, to make war upon the Bagaudæ, who had expelled the Romans, and seized on great part of Hispania Tarraconensis. Frederic recovered several places out of their hands, which he restored to the Romans ^m. However, in the year 455, the emperor Maximus, apprehending that Theodoric designed to break with the empire, sent Avitus, who was greatly esteemed and respected by the Goths, to the court of Thoulouse, to divert his design. Avitus was received by the king with the greatest marks of friendship and esteem, and the peace between the two nations confirmed: but in the mean time Maximus dying, Theodoric pressed Avitus to assume the sovereignty, promising to assist him to the ut-

^k Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 36. p. 664, 665.
^m Idem. p. 30.

^l Sid. ep. vii. p. 1-6.

most of his power. Avitus, encouraged with this promise, suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor by the Goths at Thoulouse, on the tenth of July; and was, on the eighth of August, acknowledged and proclaimed again at Arles by the Roman soldiery, and all the persons of distinction in Gaul. Theodoric repaired immediately to Arles, to congratulate the new prince on his accession to the empire, and was received by him as an ally to whom he was chiefly indebted for the dignity he enjoyed *.

*Causes A-
vitus to be
proclaimed
emperor at
Thouloufe.*

In the following year the Suevians, taking advantage of the confusion which the assassination of Valentinian III. and Maximus had produced in the empire, over-ran and pillaged the province of Carthagena, with a design to drive the Romans quite out of Spain. Avitus dispatched count Fronto to Requiarius, their king, reminding him of the treaties concluded between him and the Romans: Theodoric likewise interposed his good offices, conjuring Requiarius, who had married his sister, not to disturb the public tranquillity; and at the same time acquainting him with the engagements which he had entered into with Avitus *. What answer Requiarius returned to the ambassadors our historian does not inform us; but he had no sooner dismissed them than, assembling his forces, he entered the province of Tarraco, which then belonged to the Romans, and there committed unheard-of ravages, without any regard to the faith of treaties, or the dictates of justice. Theodoric sent him a second embassy, to which he answered, with great haughtiness, that he did not understand why the king of the Goths should concern himself with his affairs; that if he was displeased with his conduct, he would soon give him an account of it at Thouloufe. Theodoric, piqued at this answer, began to prepare for war; but in the mean time Requiarius, entering again the province of Tarraco, laid it waste far and near, carrying with him into Galicia a great number of captives.

*The Sue-
vians pil-
lage the
province of
Cartha-
gena.*

Theodoric, having concluded a peace with all his neighbours, left his own dominions, and with the consent and approbation of Avitus, entered Spain at the head of a numerous army, consisting of Goths and Burgundians; the latter, whom he had called to his assistance, being commanded by their king Hilperic or Chilperic. Requiarius met him about twelve miles from Astorga on the Urbicus, now the Orbegua; a battle ensued, in which the Suevians were completely defeated, and their king, who was dan-

*Makes war
upon the
Suevians
in Spain.*

* Sid. p. 349. Idat. Chron. Buch. Belg. p. 523.
cap. 44. p. 675.

* Jorn.

*Takes their
king pri-
soner, and
puts him
to death.*

*Recovers
several
provinces
from the
Suevians;*

*which he
retains.*

gerously wounded, obliged to fly for shelter to the most distant corner of Galicia ^p. This battle was fought on the fifth of October. Theodoric, pursuing the fugitives, entered Braga on a Sunday, the twenty-eighth of the same month, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, who abstained from slaughter, and spared the sacred virgins, but committed all other outrages ^q. Requiarius had retired to a place called Portugal, thought to be the present city of Porto, on the Dauno; and from thence attempted to make his escape by sea; but being driven back by a storm, he was taken and delivered up to Theodoric, who kept him under close confinement till December, and then ordered him to be put to death. The Suevians, disheartened by the captivity of their king, and destitute of a leader, were most of them either taken prisoners, or put to the sword; though Theodoric had strictly enjoined his men to spare all who laid down their arms, and submitted. Thus was the power of the Suevians reduced by the Goths to the lowest ebb. The king of the Visigoths, appropriating to himself the countries he had taken from the Suevians, appointed Aquilphus to govern them. Aquilphus, or, as others call him, Aclulphus, was not a Goth, but born in the country of the Warni, who are thought to have passed about this time from Lower Saxony into Frisia and Holland. He, therefore, without any regard to the most sacred ties, abandoned the Goths, and retiring into Galicia, endeavoured to persuade the Suevians to acknowledge him for their king; but a powerful army being sent against him by Theodoric, he was defeated in battle, taken, and beheaded. The Suevians, who had retired to Galicia, were no sooner certified of their king's death, than they chose one of their own nation, named Maldra, in his room.

*Yr. of Fl.
2805.
A. D. 457.*

*Enters L.u-
stania, and
reduces se-
veral pla-
ces there.*

Theodoric, having almost entirely reduced the Suevians in Galicia, passed from thence into Lusitania, and there, after having laid in ashes several cities and villages, besieged and took Merida the metropolis of that province; but was, as we are told ^r, deterred from plundering it by some prodigies that happened. He continued at Merida till Easter, which this year, 457, fell on the thirty-first of March; when, receiving some disagreeable tidings from Gaul, he returned in great haste to Toulouse. However, he left in Spain a body of troops, composed of different nations, with orders to reduce the Suevians in Galicia, who had not yet submitted to the Goths. These forces, on their march being admitted as friends into the city of Astorga, possessed

^p Jorn. cap. 44. p. 676.

^q Idat. p. 33.

^r Ibid. p. 35.

by the Romans, fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants, put great numbers of them to the sword, set fire to the city after they had plundered it; and, having ravaged the neighbouring country, pursued their march, carrying with them an immense booty, and a great many captives, among whom were several ecclesiastics, and two bishops. We are told, that they had express orders from Theodoric to act in this manner. The city of Palentia met with the same fate; but the castle of Coviac, about thirty miles from Astorga, making a vigorous resistance, the Goths, after several unsuccessful attempts, in which they lost great numbers of their men, abandoned the enterprize, and returned to Gaul.

Theodoric, though thus engaged in the war with the Suevians, broke at the same time, upon what provocation we know not, with the Romans, and, taking unexpectedly the field, made himself master of several cities in Gaul belonging to them: but Majorianus, who was then at Arles, marching against him with what troops he could assemble, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to sue for peace; which was readily granted him, upon his promising to assist the Romans against the Suevians and Vandals: but Majorianus dying soon after, Theodoric thought himself no longer obliged to maintain the peace that had been concluded with him; and therefore reduced several places in Gaul belonging to the Romans, among the rest Narbonne, which was betrayed to him by one Agrippina. From Narbonne he marched to Arles, which he invested, but was obliged to raise the siege by Ægidius, a native of Gaul, whom Severus, the successor of Majorianus, had appointed commander in chief of the Roman forces in that country. Next year Ægidius gained a signal victory over the Goths in the neighbourhood of Orleans. In this battle great numbers of the Goths were slain, and, among the rest, Frederic, the king's brother, who commanded in chief. The Goths being overcome and dispersed, Ægidius laid siege to Chinon in Touraine; but the vigorous resistance he met with obliged him to drop the enterprize, and retire. The Goths met with better success in Spain than in Gaul; for Idatius speaks of them at this time as masters of the whole country, except part of Galicia, which was still possessed by the Suevians; and the provinces of Tarraco and Carthagena, which belonged to the Romans, and were governed by a duke; for in 465 a Roman, named Vincenius, resided at Tarraco with that title. The provinces sub-

Is defeated by Majorianus.

He takes Narbonne;

but is defeated by Ægidius.

The Goths masters of the greater part of Spain.

* Cuspinian. p. 451. † Idat. p. 38. Cusp. p. 451. ‡ Prisc. p. 42. § Greg. Tur. cap. 22. p. 387, 388.

ject to the Goths were governed by the generals Sunieric and Nepotianus, the former a Goth, and the latter a native of Languedoc, which was subject to the Goths.

In the year 464 died Ægidius, and upon his death the Goths, says Idatius, made themselves masters of the far greater part of Gaul: but he is in this respect certainly mistaken; for Berri, Sens, and Auvergne, still belonged to the Romans in 472. Syagrius the son of Ægidius was master of Soissons, and its territory¹; Childeric king of the Burgundians reduced the city of Paris, after a siege of many years². The Franks were masters of the countries bordering on the Rhine; the Saxons, of Nantes and Bayeux; and the Britons, who had been expelled by the Angles, possessed of Vennes and Trequier³. Next year Theodoric, more anxious of making acquisitions in Gaul than in Spain, came to an agreement with Remismund king of the Suevians; but before he could put his ambitious designs in execution, he was taken off by the same crime that had raised him to the throne, being assassinated by his brother Euric, after he had reigned thirteen years⁴. Jornandes, ever favourable to the Goths, only writes, that the joy Euric betrayed on this occasion, induced some to imagine, that he had been accessary to the death of his brother⁵.

*Theodoric
murdered.*

Yr. of Fl.
2814.
A.D. 466.

Euric.

As soon as Euric, called also Eoric, Evarix, and Euthoric, had ascended the throne, he dispatched ambassadors to Leo emperor of the East, to Remismund king of the Suevians, and to Genserich king of the Vandals. Immediately after Remismund heard the ambassadors, he sent others to Euric, to the emperor, and to the king of the Vandals; but what was the subject of so many embassies, our historian has not thought fit to explain. All we know is, that the ambassadors sent by Euric to the king of the Vandals, hearing that the Romans were making uncommon preparations to attack that people, returned in great haste to Toulouse; and that Remismund, upon the departure of Euric's ambassadors, recalled, and incorporated into one body, the troops he had sent out in small parties to ravage the country. These people were, perhaps, negotiating an alliance among themselves against the common enemy the Romans. Be that as it may, Euric, in the course of this year, committed great ravages in Lusitania; and, having reduced the cities of Pampelona and Saragosa, made himself master of Upper Spain. In the following year Remismund, having entered Lusitania, took Coimbra, made himself master of several other

*Takes
Pampelona
and Saragosa.*

¹ Sid. epist. viii. p. 260.

² Val. Rer. Franc. p. 236, 237. Sid. ep. vii. p. 16.

Isidor. Marc. Chron.

³ Bolland. 3. Januar. p. 140.

⁴ Idat.

⁵ Joza. cap. 44. p. 677.

places,

places, and ravaged the country, committing every where horrid cruelties. The natives thus harassed, had recourse to the Visigoths. They sent a solemn embassy, at the head of which was one Opilio, to implore the protection of Euric, who readily interposed his good offices; but, it seems, to no effect; for Remismund, upon the departure of the ambassadors sent to him by Euric, plundered the city of Coimbra, destroyed several houses, with part of the walls, and carried such inhabitants, as had not the good fortune to make their escape, into captivity^d. Euric having made himself master of Pampelona and Cæsar-Augusta, or Saragosa, as we have before related, Tarraco with its territory was the only place held now in Spain by the Romans. That city Euric besieged in 468, the second of the emperor Anthemius's reign, and having, after a long siege, reduced it, levelled it with the ground. Thus were the Romans driven quite out of Spain, and a period put to their empire there, after they had been at least seven hundred years masters of that country. All those provinces, except Galicia, and part of Lusitania, which were subject to the Suevians, acknowledged Euric for their king, who, residing at Toulouse, governed them by his lieutenants.

Yr. of Fl.
4816.
A. D. 468.

*Drives the
Romans
quite out of
Spain.*

Euric, not satisfied with the conquests he had made in Spain, resolved to extend his dominions likewise in Gaul. With this view he began to collect his forces, and make other military preparations; which the emperor Anthemius no sooner learnt, than he wrote to Riotham king of the Britons, who had settled on the Loire, pressing him to join the Romans against the common enemy; for the Britons were greatly attached to the Roman interest. Riotham readily complied with the emperor's request, and, having assembled a body of twelve thousand men, marched at the head of them to Bourges, and from thence to Bourgeols on the Indre, in the province of Berri; but being there met by Euric, he was defeated by the Goths with great loss, and obliged to abandon that province, and take refuge among the Burgundians, the friends and allies of the Romans^e. The war between the Romans and Goths continued all this and the following year: but the authors, who speak of that war, without descending to particulars, only tell us, that the Goths gained great advantages over the Romans, and in the end made themselves masters of the provinces of Berri and Gevaudan^f, the inhabitants, who were greatly oppressed by the Roman officers, especially by

*Defeats
the Bri-
tons.*

*Makes
himself
master of
Berri and
Gevaudan.*

^d Idat. p. 45.

^e Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 45. p. 678. Greg.

Tur. lib. ii. cap. 28. p. 282.

^f Sid. lib. iii. ep. 1, 4. p. 63,

63. & lib. vii. ep. 5. p. 180.

Seronatus, governor of Gaul, preferring to live under the Goths rather than the Romans ^s, or, as Salvianus expresses it, choosing rather to be free under the appearance of slavery, than be treated like slaves under the appearance of liberty ^h.

*Besieges
Clermont
in vain.*

In 473 a peace was concluded; but Anthemius being assassinated by Ricimer, and Olybrius proclaimed emperor in his room, Euric, taking advantage of the weak and distracted state of the empire, renewed the war, hoping to drive the Romans quite out of Gaul, as he had expelled them before out of Spain. Auvergne was the only province they still held in Aquitania Prima, lying between the ocean, the Rhone, and the Loire; and into this province Euric entered, at the head of a powerful army, in the beginning of the year 474, but met with a vigorous resistance from the inhabitants, who, without the assistance of any regular troops, gained some considerable advantages over the enemy. In the end he laid siege to Clermont, and continued before that place, without being able to reduce it, till the rigour of the season obliged him to retire. As he seemed resolved to renew the siege early in the spring, Nepos, who had succeeded Olybrius in the empire, thinking he could better secure by treaty than by arms, what he still possessed in Gaul, dispatched the quæstor, Licinianus, with the character of ambassador, to Euric, in order to enter into a negotiation with that prince. Euric received him in a very obliging manner, and several conferences were held, at which some bishops of Provence were allowed to assist; such as Leontius bishop of Arles, Faustus of Riez, Grecus of Marseilles, and Basilus of Aix. To Basilus, Sidonius, then bishop of Clermont, wrote a letter, recommending to him the interest of the catholic religion, and begging he would take care, that by the treaty the catholics should be allowed to ordain bishops for the vacant churches in the countries subject to the Goths. For the Goths held the doctrine of Arius, and Euric, a professed enemy to the catholics, would not allow them to appoint new bishops in the room of those who died; hence it arose that nine episcopal sees were at that time vacant ⁱ. A report being spread, which proved afterwards true, that a treaty was upon the point of being concluded between the Romans and Goths, in virtue of which Auvergne was to be delivered up to the Goths, Sidonius, who was bishop of Clermont in that province, and a zealous defender of the orthodox faith, wrote

^s Oros. lib. vii. cap. 28. Isidor. Chron.

Guber. Dei.

ⁱ Sid. lib. iv. ep. 15. p. 109.

^h Salvian. lib. v. de

a letter to Grecus, bishop of Marseilles, conjuring him not to agree to so shameful an article; and assuring him, that the inhabitants were ready to undergo the greatest hardships rather than submit to the Goths, who, mindful of the vigorous resistance they had often met with from them, would treat them more like criminals than slaves. He concludes by earnestly begging, that if the country was to be yielded to the Goths, the inhabitants might be allowed to retire, and some place allotted to them within the limits of the empire. However, the treaty was concluded, and Auvergne delivered up to Euric, though he would not consent to the ordaining of catholic bishops for the vacant churches within his dominions ^k.

Auvergne yielded to him by treaty.

Yr. of Fl.
2828.
A. D. 480.

Five years after, the few places in Gaul that were still held by the Romans, having submitted to Odoacer, who, after having put to death Orestes, and deposed his son Augustulus, the last emperor of the West, had assumed the title of king of Italy, that prince yielded them to the Goths, whose dominions, by this addition, extended from the Loire to the Alps ^l. However, the cities of Arles and Marseilles held out, it seems, some time against the Goths. Euric, having thus made himself master of the best part of Gaul, comprising the whole tract between the Rhone and the Loire, and of all Spain, except a small corner of Galicia, and part of Lusitania possessed by the Suevians, was still desirous of making new conquests, and reducing the remaining part both of Spain and Gaul, when death put an end to his great designs. He died at Arles in the nineteenth year of his reign ^m. He had made his way to the throne by the assassination of his brother, and governed his subjects with a rod of iron. He passed great part of his life in the field, was constantly engaged in disputes with his neighbours, and never pleased, but when he had an opportunity of staining his hands with the blood of his enemies. He was a prince of great peneration, formidable in war, and attended with success in most of his undertakings ⁿ; whence he was dreaded by all nations.

Yr. of Fl.
2832.
A. D. 484.

Euric dies. His character.

Euric was the first who gave written laws to the Goths; for they had been governed, till his reign, by customs only ^o (H). The person Euric chiefly employed in compiling

The first who gave written laws to the Goths.

^k Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 45. p. 675.

^l Procop. Bell. Goth. lib.

ii. cap. 12. p. 341.

^m Isid. Chron. Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 47. p.

680. Labb. Chron.

ⁿ Sid. lib. vii. ep. 5. 283. & lib. viii. ep. 3.

P. 215.

^o Isidor. Chron.

(H) The laws he published laws; which appellation has were called the Theodorian occasioned great disputes among Vol. XVII, P authors

ing his laws was Leo, his prime minister, and one of the most learned men, and best civilians, of that period^p. Euric married one Ragnahild or Ragnachild, the daughter of a king, for whose use in bathing Evodius caused a silver vessel to be made, on which were engraved some verses composed by Sidonius^q. By her he had a son named Alaric, who succeeded him, and a daughter, who was married to a Barbarian prince named Sigismer. From the description which Sidonius, who saw that prince, gives of him, Valens concludes him to have been by birth a Frank, and that Euric gave him his daughter in marriage, hoping by that match to gain the friendship of the Franks, which began to be very powerful in Gaul; but by that people the son he had by her was killed in battle, and a period put to the kingdom of the Visigoths in Gaul, who being driven from thence, fixed their royal seat at Toledo in Spain. As in Euric's reign they firmly established their dominion in the latter of these countries, we shall, in compliance with our plan, leave them for the present, and, reserving for the modern history an account of their affairs from the time they settled in Spain, to the loss of that country when the Arabs became masters of it, return to the Ostrogoths, who, as we have already observed, upon the departure of their countrymen the Visigoths, admitted by Valens in 376 into the empire, continued in their ancient situation, but subject to the Huns, who nevertheless allowed them to be governed by their own kings, of the illustrious family of the Amali.

*The history
of the Ostrogoths.
Their
kings.*

The Ostrogoths, upon the death of Ermenric, or Hermanaric, their king, chose Vithimer, by some called Winithar, in his room. The new king gained at first some small advantages over the Huns, but was in the end defeated and killed by Balamir, or Balamber, king of the Huns^r. His son Vitheric withdrew, attended by great numbers of his subjects, into the plains between the Borysthenes and the Danube, the present Podolia. Of him no farther mention is made in history. He was succeeded by Hunimund, the son of Ermenric, who submitted to the Huns, and is said to have made war against, and gained a signal victory over the Suevians. His son Thorismund

^p Sid. lib. iii. ep. 13. p. 215.
^r Jorn. Rer. Goth. p. 624, & seq.

^q Sid. lib. iv. ep. 8. p. 97, 98.

authors. These laws were, by Euric, obtruded upon the people of Gaul and Spain, who had been long accustomed to the Roman laws; but Alaric, his son and successor, restored the Roman laws to their former splendor, causing them to be observed throughout his dominions.

reigned

reigned next, who defeated with great slaughter the Gepidæ; but was soon after killed, in the flower of his age, by a fall from his horse. The Goths so greatly lamented the loss of this prince, that, for the space of forty years, they chose no new king in his room. After so long an interregnum Wandalar, son to the brother of Ermenric, was raised to the throne; but of him no farther mention is made in history. He was succeeded by his three sons Valemir, Theodomir, and Vidimir, who reigned jointly, and accompanied Attila in most of his expeditions. Upon that prince's death several nations, by him formerly subdued, revolting from his children, begged and obtained leave from Marcian, then emperor, to settle in the Roman territories, which was almost quite depopulated by the frequent incursions of the Hunns and other Barbarians. Among these mention is made of the Squiri, Satagairæ, and Alans, who settled in Lesser Scythia and Lower Mœsia. To the Rugians, Sarmatians, and Cemandrians, lands were granted in Illyricum, near a place called the Castle of Mars. To the Ostrogoths Marcian granted all Pannonia, from Sirmium, now Sirmish, in Sclavonia, to Vindobona, now Vienna in Austria¹. The Goths, as well as the other Barbarians, acknowledged the authority of the Constantinopolitan emperors, and were subjects of the empire; but at the same time governed by their own princes, to whom the emperor agreed to pay an annual pension, upon their promising to guard the frontiers of the empire, and serve, when wanted, in the Roman armies. Pannonia being granted to the Ostrogoths, the three brothers divided that country among them, Valemir settling in the eastern part of it, Theodomir in the western, and Vidimir between the other two. They were scarce established in their new territories when the sons of Attila, pursuing them even into Pannonia, fell upon Valemir in the neighbourhood of Sirmium; but that prince, with a handful of men, defeated them with great slaughter, and obliged them to take refuge in that part of Scythia which bordered on the Danube. About eight years after, the Goths being engaged in a war with the Satagæ, Dintzio, one of Attila's sons, availing himself of that opportunity, entered Pannonia at the head of a considerable army; and having ravaged the country, laid siege to Bassiana, thought to be the present city of Posega, which gives name to a county in Hungary between the Save and the Draw; but the Goths leaving the Satagæ, marched with all their forces against the Hunns, who readily en-

Yr. of Fl.
2801.
A. D. 453.

*They are
allowed to
settle in
Pannonia.*

*They gain
two vic-
tories over
the Hunns.*

¹ Phot. lib. i. cap. 242. p. 1041. Theoph. p. 112.

They ravage Illyricum.

They conclude a peace with Leo, and send him Theodoric as a hostage.

gaged them; but received such a repulse, that they ever after stood in awe of the Goths, and never offered to molest them. In the year 455, the emperor Leo refusing, under various pretences, to pay the Ostrogoths their usual pension, they entered Illyricum, and there committed dreadful ravages; but Anthemius, son-in-law to the emperor Marcian, having assembled the troops quartered in that province, obliged them to retire with considerable loss^u. Soon after Leo sent deputies to Valemir to upbraid him with his late conduct, and renew the ancient treaties. The treaties were accordingly renewed, and peace re-established, upon the emperor's promising to pay the Goths their arrears, and for the future three hundred pounds weight of gold annually. On the other hand Valemir sent to Constantinople, by way of hostage, the famous Theodoric, afterwards king of Italy, then only eight years old. Leo received him with the greatest marks of esteem and affection, maintained him for the space of ten years at his court, in a manner suitable to his rank, and took care to have him instructed by the best masters in every branch of polite literature^w.

They defeat the Squiri.

Valemir slain.

In the tenth year of Leo's reign, a war breaking out between the Goths in Pannonia and the Squiri, whom the emperor Marcian had permitted to settle in Lesser Scythia and Lower Mœsia, both nations had recourse to Leo, whose subjects they were, imploring his assistance. Aspar, Leo's chief favourite, was for aiding neither, but suffering them to destroy each other: however, the emperor wrote to the governor of Illyricum, injoining him to march with all the troops under his command to the assistance of the Squiri, who nevertheless were utterly defeated, and most of them put to the sword, either in the battle or the pursuit. The Goths lost on this occasion Valimir their king, who, falling from his horse as he was riding full speed through the ranks to animate his men, was surrounded, and, with many wounds, dispatched by the enemy^x. Such of the Squiri as escaped the general carnage, had recourse to the Sarmatians, the Rugians, and the Gepidæ, who, readily joining them, renewed the war, and, entering the territories of the Goths, laid them waste to a great extent. The Goths, in this emergency, putting themselves under the command of the two remaining brothers, Theodomir and Vidimir, took the field; and engaging the enemy on the banks of the Danube, cut ten thousand of them in pieces, obliging

^u Sid. Car. ii. p. 296. Prisc. p. 74.

^v 55. p. 693, 694. Theoph. p. 612.

^w p. 687. & cap. 63. p. 691, 692.

^x Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap.

^y Prisc. p. 44. Jorn. cap. 50.

the rest to retire with great precipitation beyond that river, which Theodomir passed soon after on the ice, and having laid waste the enemy's country, returned loaded with booty into Pannonia. In this war Theodomir not only defeated the Sarmatians, Rugians, and Gepidæ, but gained a signal victory over the Suevians and Alemans, who had joined those nations. Upon his return, he received with great joy his son Theodoric, whom Leo had sent back loaded with rich presents, after having kept him at his court, as a hostage, for the space of ten years. He was scarce returned, when news arrived, that Babai, king of the Sarmatians, having defeated a Roman general named Camundus, had made himself master of Singidunum, in Upper Mœsia. In consequence of this intelligence, Theodoric, having assembled, without his father's knowledge, a small body of troops, passed the Danube, and, entering the Sarmatian territories, fell upon Babai, put him and most of his men to the sword, and, on his return home, retook Singidunum; but did not restore it to the Romans.

Theodomir and Videmir defeat the Squiri, Suevians, Alemans, &c.

Theodoric overcomes and kills the king of the Sarmatians.

During the short reign of Glycerius, the Goths in Pannonia, without the least provocation, says Jornandes, and only because they were incapable of living in peace, resolved to make war on the empire. Agreeable to this resolution, the two brothers, Theodomir and Videmir, met, when it was agreed that the latter should invade Italy, where Glycerius then acted as emperor, and that Theodomir should attack the eastern empire, governed at that time by Leo I. Videmir immediately set out on his march; but had scarce entered Italy when he died, leaving the command of his troops to his son, who bore the same name. Jornandes adds, that the young prince being prevailed upon by the rich presents which Glycerius sent him to retire out of Italy, marched into Gaul: joining the Visigoths, settled there, he assisted them in the conquest of that country, and in the reduction of Spain, becoming one people with them. As for Theodomir, he entered Illyricum; and having made himself master of Naissus, divided his army into several small bodies, under the command of his son Theodoric, and other generals, who reduced, without any considerable opposition, the cities of Ulpiana, Hetraclea, and Larissa. Having afterwards reunited their forces, and left a strong garrison in Naissus, they laid siege to Thessalonica; but Clarianus, governor of the place, prevailed upon Theodomir, by means of rich presents, to abandon the enterprize, and retire.

Part of the Ostrogoths join the Visigoths in Gaul.

⁷ Jornand. Rer. Goth. cap. 56. p. 694, 695, & Reg. cap. 47. p. 654, 655.

Yr. of Fl.

824

A.D. 476.

*Theodoric
dies, and is
succeeded
by his son
Theodoric.*

*Theodoric
declares for
the empe-
ror Zeno
against Ba-
siliscus.*

*He is aban-
doned by
Zeno.*

Soon after this event, a peace was concluded between the Romans and the Goths. Whilst this treaty was negotiating Theodoric died, and was succeeded by his son Theodoric, called Amalus, descended from the Amali, the most illustrious family among the Goths. The emperor Zeno, overjoyed at the news of the young prince's accession to the crown, immediately invited him to court, received him with the greatest marks of friendship and esteem, raised him to the rank of a patrician, and even adopted him for his son. Theodoric was scarce returned to Pannonia, when news were brought him, that Basiliscus, revolting from Zeno, had been proclaimed and acknowledged emperor by the senate of Constantinople. The usurper was chiefly supported by a Goth in the Roman service, named likewise Theodoric, who had been raised to the first posts in the army, and the command of his countrymen, who, following the example of their leader, had all declared for Basiliscus. However, king Theodoric, espousing the cause of Zeno, marched against them; but as his troops were far inferior in number to those of the enemy, Zeno assured him, that he should be joined at the streights of Mount Hæmus by the general of Thrace, with ten thousand foot and two thousand horse; and that, after passing the mountains, he should find twenty thousand horse on the banks of the Hebrus ready to join him: but at neither place did he find any troops; and the guides, who had been sent him by the Romans, leaving the known roads and beaten ways, led him through deserts, where his men suffered greatly for want of provisions, and over steep mountains, till they brought his army, quite exhausted with such long and fatiguing marches, in sight of the enemy, who were encamped in a most advantageous post. But though they might with great ease have cut the king and his whole army in pieces, yet Theodoric their leader sent only some persons to upbraid the king with making war on his countrymen in favour of the Romans, who had thus betrayed him with fair promises, and only endeavoured to set Goths against Goths, that they might have the cruel satisfaction of seeing them destroy each other. These remonstrances occasioned a mutiny in the king's army, who, finding himself reduced to the alternative of being abandoned by his own men, or coming to an agreement with Theodoric, chose the latter.

The two generals conferred together, having a river betwixt them, and agreed to a pacification. They both dispatched ambassadors to Constantinople, Theodoric to demand the arrears which were due to him and his army, and the king to acquaint the emperor with the treaty he

had

had made, and at the same time to let him know, that, unless provisions were sent to the army, it was not in his power to restrain his men from plundering Thrace^a. What answer Zeno returned to the former, we are not informed; to the latter, however, he made a long apology for not sending, as he had promised, the Roman troops to join him. But the author of Zeno's life, though not a little biassed in favour of that prince, cannot help owning that he was, upon this occasion, greatly to blame^a. The emperor exerted all his efforts to persuade the king to break the treaty he had lately concluded with Theodoric, sending to him for that purpose two solemn embassies, and promising not only to reward him with large sums, and great revenues, if he should defeat the rebels, but to give him in marriage Juliana, the daughter of Olybrius, and grand-daughter of Valentinian III. But the king could not, by any offers, be prevailed upon to make the least breach in the treaty with Theodoric; so that the emperor was fain to conclude a peace with him upon the following dishonourable terms: that Theodoric should have the command of the emperor's guards; that he should retain all the honours conferred upon him by the usurper Basiliscus; that his estate, which had been confiscated, should be restored to him; and lastly, that he should be appointed commander in chief of the Roman cavalry, which post was then held by king Theodoric, but, in virtue of this treaty, taken from him, and bestowed on the other^b.

He enters into a treaty with Theodoric, a Goth, in the Roman service.

In the mean time king Theodoric, who was still with his army among the mountains of Thrace, not receiving from the Romans either money or provisions to support them, marched down into the province of Rhodope on the Ægean sea, and laid waste the most fertile places of Thrace, destroying with fire and sword what he could not carry off. The emperor sent several generals to oppose him; but though he lost a great many men in skirmishes, yet the loss on the side of the Romans must have been more considerable, since, in the end, all the emperor's generals declined the command of the army in Thrace. From Thrace Theodoric marched into Macedon, and having pillaged the open country, made himself master of Stopi on the river Axios. From thence he advanced towards the neighbourhood of Thessalonica; a motion which threw the inhabitants into such consternation, that, thinking themselves abandoned by the emperor, they pulled down and destroyed all his statues, and were ready to fall upon their governor,

He breaks with Zeno, and ravages Thrace and Macedon.

^a Males, p. 83—96.

^a Idem, p. 83, 84.

^b Idem, p. 78, 79, 95.

*Proposals
for an ac-
commoda-
tion.*

*Which are
rejected by
Zeno.*

named John; but contented themselves with taking from him the keys of the city, and delivering them to the bishop,

Theodoric, without making the least attempt on Thessalonica, led his army from thence to Heraclea, where he was met by ambassadors from Zeno, with proposals for an accommodation; which he being willing to accept, sent others to Constantinople, and, in the mean time, ordered his men to forbear all farther hostilities. The person employed by Zeno to treat with Theodoric was the patrician Adamancus, who had been governor of Constantinople, and was, on this occasion, honoured with the consular ornaments, but not with the consulship. During the negotiations, Theodoric found means to make himself master of Duras on the Adriatic sea, that he might have some place of strength to retire to, in case the negotiations should not have the desired effect. The conferences were in consequence broken off, Adamancus declaring, that he could not treat with the Goths, till he had restored the city of Duras to the empire. Theodoric could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to part with that important place during the winter; but promised to abandon it early in the spring, to march against the other Theodoric, who had raised new disturbances in the empire; and, that the emperor might not question the sincerity of his intentions, to deliver up to him his mother and sisters as hostages. He likewise offered to march into Italy, and restore Nepos, who was nearly related to the empress Verina, Zeno's mother-in-law, and had been lately driven from the throne by Glycerius. To these proposals Adamancus answered, that he had no power to grant him any terms till Duras was restored; but that he would write to the emperor, and acquaint him with his answer.

The Romans, in the mean time, became more unreasonable, in consequence of some advantages they gained at that very crisis over the Goths. Theodoric had marched before with a strong detachment to surprise Duras, while the main body, with the baggage, followed by slow marches, under the command of his brother Theudimund. Sabinianus, general of Illyricum, immediately ordered all the troops quartered in that province to assemble at Lychnidus in Macedonia; and marching from thence with incredible expedition, overtook the Goths, as they were descending from the mountains of Candavia, between Lychnidus and Duras. Theudimund, and his mother, who followed the army, had just time to pass a torrent, and cause the

bridge to be broken down: by which means they saved themselves, but stopped the march of the army; so that the Romans, falling upon them, cut most of them to pieces, took five thousand prisoners, two thousand waggons, and an immense booty. Zeno, elated with this victory, and not doubting but he should either take Theodoric himself prisoner, or oblige him to submit, wrote to Sabinianus, and to Gento, a Goth of great reputation in the Roman service, to pursue the war, and not suffer Theodoric to retire, but to keep him shut up on all sides, ordering at the same time Adamancus to break off the conferences, and return to Constantinople. But of this war all we can learn is, that the following year, Theodoric ravaged Greece; and that Sabinianus put a stop to his ravages, more by address than by dint of arms^d.

Yr. of Fl.
2827.
A. D. 479.

*Most of
Theodoric's
army cut in
pieces.*

No farther mention is made of Theodoric till the year 482, when, Sabinianus being dead, he ravaged without controul both Macedons and Thessaly, and even took and plundered Larissa, the metropolis of the latter province^e; insomuch that the emperor, to appease him, was at length obliged to yield him part of Lower Mœsia and Lower Dacia, to give him the command of the troops of the household, and name him consul for the ensuing year. In consequence of this accommodation, Theodoric, disbanding his troops, set out for Constantinople with a small retinue, and, being received by the emperor with the greatest marks of kindness and esteem, discharged the following year the office of consul^f. During his consulship, Leontius, a native of Chalcis in Syria, and commander of the troops in that province, revolting, found his power sufficient to be proclaimed emperor. Against him Zeno dispatched Illus, captain of his guards; but he, instead of opposing Leontius, joined him, and, being united, defeated and took prisoner Longinus, the emperor's brother, who, at the head of a considerable army, had ventured to engage them in the neighbourhood of Antioch; which city, after his defeat, submitted to the usurper. Zeno, upon the news of the defeat and captivity of his brother, dispatched one John, an officer of great valour, and experience in war, into Syria, and prevailed upon Theodoric to join him with a numerous army of Goths. These two commanders, meeting Leontius and Illus in the neighbourhood of Seleucia, totally defeated, and compelled them to fly for refuge to the strong castle of Papyra in Cilicia^g.

*Theodoric
grows
powerful,
and ra-
vages Ma-
cedon and
Thessaly;
but is ap-
peased by
the empe-
ror.*

*He defeats
the usurper
Leontius.*

^d Marcell. Chron. ^e Idem, ad ann. 482, ^f Theoph.
p. 222. Journ. Rer. Goth. cap. 57. p. 686. ^g Evagr. lib. iii.
cap. 35. p. 366.

He quarrels with Zeno, and retires from Constantinople.

He defeats the Bulgarians.

Yr. of Fl.
2835.
A.D. 487.

He ravages Thrace.

Is advised by Zeno to turn his arms against Odoacer.

As the rebels were no longer in a condition to give the least apprehension or uneasiness, Theodoric, leaving part of his forces with the other commander to prosecute the war, returned with the rest to Constantinople; but, finding that Zeno began to mistrust him, and even to seek by intrigues his destruction, he withdrew from court, and retired into Thrace, the emperor having, some time before, appointed him general of the troops quartered in that country. Soon after his leaving Constantinople, he fell upon the Bulgarians, who, under the conduct of their king or leader named Libertem, had entered Thrace, and gained a complete victory over them, Libertem himself being dangerously wounded, and most of his men put to the sword¹.

The following year Theodoric spent in raising forces, and in 487, made an irruption into Thrace at the head of a powerful army. Upon what provocation he thus turned his arms against the empire, we remain ignorant; but, doubtless, the same motives that, some time before, had induced him to withdraw from court, prompted him now to act as an enemy. Having ravaged Thrace, he approached Constantinople, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Melantiades, a city placed by Sanfon about fifteen miles west of Constantinople, with a design, as was believed, of laying siege to that imperial city. But, while the inhabitants were under the utmost consternation, Theodoric, decamping suddenly, marched back to Novæ in Mœsia, whence he had come¹. Some writers ascribe his sudden retreat to the regard he had for that metropolis; others to a private treaty between him and Zeno, who, putting him in mind of the kindness he had ever shewn him, and of the many honours he had heaped upon him, and representing to him at the same time the danger to which he exposed himself in making war on the empire, persuaded him to conclude a peace with the Romans, and turn his arms against Odoacer, who, having put Orestes to death, and deposed his son Augustulus, had taken upon himself the title of king of Italy². Theodoric received with joy the proposal made him by the emperor of driving Odoacer out of Italy, and returned to Novæ, in order to make the necessary preparations for that expedition.

In the following year, Theodoric having assembled¹ an infinite number of people, carrying with them their wives, children, and all their effects, set out from Novæ, direct-

¹ Ennod. p. 292, 296.
p. 461. Marcell. Theoph. p. 113.
lib. ii. cap. 27. p. 356,
& seq.

¹ Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. ii. cap. 6.
² Jorn. p. 697. Evagr.
¹ Ennod. Vit. Theodor. p. 298, 299.

ing his march towards Italy. His mother, and sister named Amasrides, attended him in this expedition. Many Romans of great distinction flocked to him from all parts, to serve as volunteers in this war; among the rest Artemidorus, who was nearly related to, and in great favour with the emperor, but joyfully abandoned his country, and the grandeur he lived in at Constantinople, to share with Theodoric in his good or bad fortune, who afterwards created him a patrician, and made him governor of Rome^m. On the other hand, a great many Goths declined following Theodoric into Italy, and, settling on the sea-coast in Thrace, formed a separate nation, which lived in amity with the Romans, and is highly commended by Procopiusⁿ. From Novæ in Mœsia Theodoric marched strait to the Adriatic sea; but, for want of ships was obliged to go round, and traverse the several nations inhabiting the coast. This march he performed in the depth of winter, a violent plague and famine raging the whole time in his army, and carrying off great numbers of his people. He found the Gepidæ encamped on the banks of a certain river, with a design to oppose his passage; but Theodoric, passing it at the head of a choice body of men, charged them so briskly, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitate flight. At another place he was met by the Sarmatians, whom he likewise defeated, and put to flight.

Yr. of Fl.
2836.
A.D. 482.

*He sets out
for Italy.*

*He defeats
the Gepidæ
and Sar-
matians on
his march.*

Thus, after a long and fatiguing march, he entered Italy; and, advancing to the river Sontius, now Zonzo, in the neighbourhood of Aquileia, halted there, in order to afford his men rest, being informed, that Odoacer was in full march to meet him with a very numerous army, consisting of various nations, commanded by their respective kings or chiefs^o. Soon after this intelligence, Odoacer appeared, and was met by Theodoric with his men in battle-array. An engagement ensued, in which Odoacer was, after a faint resistance, put to flight, and great numbers of his men cut in pieces. Theodoric pursued the fugitives, and, on the 28th of August 489, entered their camp, though defended by a river, and a great many works^p. Odoacer retired to the plains of Verona, and encamped at a small distance from the city; but Theodoric, closely pursuing him, forced him to a second engagement, when he met with a more vigorous opposition than in the former; for great numbers were killed on both sides: at length, however, Odoacer was again put to flight, and obliged to shut him-

*He enters
Italy.*

*puts Odo-
acer to
flight.*

^m Cassiodor. lib. i. epist. 43.
^p Jorn. p. 697. Ennod. p. 391.

ⁿ Procop. Ædif. cap. 7. p. 63
^p Theoph. p. 361.

*and makes
himself
master of
Milan and
Pavia.*

self up in Ravenna; so that Theodoric, having now no enemy in the field to oppose him, made himself master of several important places, and, among the rest, of Milan and Pavia¹. At the same time Tufa, commander in chief of Odoacer's forces, came over to Theodoric, with most of the troops under his command, and was immediately by him dispatched, with one of his own officers, in pursuit of Odoacer, to Ravenna. Odoacer had left that city, and was advanced as far as Faenza, in which place he was closely besieged by Tufa; but that treacherous commander, declaring for his former master, joined him again with all his troops, delivering up at the same time several officers, who had been appointed by Theodoric to command under him, and were, by Odoacer's orders, sent in irons, to Ravenna². About the same time Frideric, the son of Fava king of the Rugians, who had joined Theodoric with a considerable body of his countrymen, went over to Odoacer; who, being thus reinforced, left Faenza, and advanced as far as Milan; which city he is supposed to have taken, since he is said to have recovered all Liguria³.

*Is obliged
to shut
himself up
in Pavia.*

Theodoric, in the mean time, finding himself abandoned both by Tufa and Frideric, kept himself shut up in Pavia, a place in those days of great strength, while Odoacer, without controul, ravaged the country, and besieged him at last in Pavia, where the Goths, who had brought along with them their families, and all their effects, were greatly straitened for want of room. Theodoric, fearing he should, after all his efforts, be overpowered with numbers, had recourse to Alaric, king of the Visigoths, who had settled in Gaul. As the Visigoths and Ostrogoths were originally the same nation, and the Visigoths had received among them, about sixteen years before, a great number of Ostrogoths, under the conduct of their king Videmir, cousin-german to

*He receives
a powerful
supply from
the Visi-
goths.*

Theodoric, they readily granted him the desired supplies; which he no sooner received than, leaving Pavia, he marched towards the river Addua, where the enemy lay encamped, engaged them the third time, and obtained a complete victory. Odoacer again took refuge in Ravenna, but left numerous garrisons in all the strong places⁴. In this battle, which was fought on the eleventh of August, Odoacer lost several officers of distinction, and among the rest Pierius, his comes domesticorum, or captain of the guards. Theodoric, after the battle, marched in pursuit of Odoacer, and,

¹ Ammian. Anonym. p. 479.

p. 38.

² Ennod. de Lurent. p. 465.

³ Ammian. Anonym. p. 470. Cassiodor. p. 68. Procop. Bell. Goth. p. 309.

⁴ Cassiodor. lib. ii. ep. 16.

approaching Ravenna, encamped at a place called Pinaia, about three miles from the city.

On the other hand Odoacer, with many new works, fortified himself in the town, and, with frequent sallies, especially in the night, greatly harassed the Goths. The siege lasted three years, during which time great numbers were killed on both sides in the frequent sallies and attacks. Authors speak in particular of a sally, in which Odoacer commanded in person, and, at the head of the Heruli, entered the camp of Theodoric at Pinaia, and made a dreadful havoc of his men; but he was, after a long and sharp dispute, obliged to retire. The Goths pursued him to the very gates of the city, putting many of his men to the sword, and among others Libila, or Levila, who commanded the Heruli under the king, and had eminently distinguished himself on that occasion *. Theodoric, leaving part of his army before Ravenna, marched with the rest against the strongholds, in which Odoacer had left garrisons, and was every where received with great marks of joy, except at Cesena in Romagna, where he met with some opposition. Thus he made himself master of Italy, not at once, but by degrees. No one place in Italy now remained to Odoacer, except Ravenna; in which he had been shut up three years with his foreign and some Roman troops, and these were reduced to great straits by the enemy without, and the famine within †, wheat being sold at six pieces of gold a bushel. On the other hand, the Goths were quite exhausted with the fatigues of a three years siege; so that both parties being willing to put an end to the war, Odoacer sent John, bishop of Ravenna, to Theodoric, with proposals for an accommodation. The agreement was concluded on the twenty-seventh of February, Odoacer delivering up his son, named Thelan, to Theodoric as an hostage, who in consequence entered Ravenna in triumph on the fifth of March ‡. Theodoric did not long adhere to the agreement he had made; for, having a few days after invited Odoacer to a banquet, unmindful of his oath, or the laws of hospitality, he dispatched him with his own hand, either in the palace, or in a grove of laurels adjoining to the palace §.

Theodoric had sent, some months before, Faustus Niger, a leading man in the senate of Rome, to obtain of the emperor Zeno the ensigns of royalty; but Odoacer having submitted before the return of the ambassador, Theodoric, without waiting for the emperor's permission, caused him-

Yr. of Fl.
2838.
A. D. 490.

*He besieges
Odoacer in
Ravenna.*

*He reduces
all Italy.*

*The be-
sieged re-
duced to
great
straits.*

*Odoacer
submits,
and is put
to death
by Theo-
doric.*

Yr. of Fl.
2841.
A. D. 493.

* Jorn. cap. 57. p. 697. Onuph. p. 17. Ennod. Pan. Theodor. p. 306. † Procop. p. 309. ‡ Onuph. p. 57. § Anonym. p. 408.

*Theodoric
proclaimed
by the
Goths, and
acknow-
ledged by the
emperor,
king of
Italy.*

self to be proclaimed by his Goths king of Italy : however, he dispatched Festus, or Faustus, his magister officiorum, and Irenæus, both distinguished with the title of Illustrious, to Constantinople, to excuse the liberty he had taken ^a. The ambassadors were received in a very obliging manner by Anastasius, the successor of Zeno, who readily ratified the peace which his predecessor had made with Theodoric, approved of what he had done, and sent him the ensigns of royalty ^a. Hence it is manifest, that Theodoric himself owned he held the kingdom of Italy of the emperors of the East, by whom he suffered even the Roman consuls to be named.

*Sicily sub-
mits to
him.*

Theodoric, now master of all Italy, began to make the necessary preparations for reducing the island of Sicily, which refused to acknowledge him ; but the inhabitants were persuaded by Cassiodore to submit to their new lord, without coming to extremities. After this submission Theodoric, sheathing his sword, endeavoured, in the first place, to establish himself in his new kingdom, by alliances with the neighbouring princes. With this view he sent Festus to Constantinople, to confirm the peace he had made with Anastasius, at the same time giving his hand in marriage to Andesleda, the daughter of Clodoneus, king of the Franks, and bestowing his own two daughters, whom he had by a concubine, on Alaric, king of the Visigoths in Gaul, and Sigismund, the son of Gundobald, king of the Burgundians. Having thus secured his new kingdom, he made it his chief study to govern it with salutary laws, chiefly following the advice of Cassiodore, a man of great learning and integrity, whom he had created a patrician, and raised to the dignities of count, of consul, and even to that of præfectus prætorio. He first quartered all his Goths in the castles and strong-holds, with their officers who were to command them in time of war, and govern them in time of peace. The Roman laws he retained, and commanded them to be inviolably observed, and to have the same force which they had had under the emperors of the West ^b.

*He retains
the Roman
laws,*

*and the
same ma-
gistrates.*

Theodoric not only retained the same laws, but the same form of government, the same distribution of provinces, the same magistrates and dignities. As the emperors had, before his time, translated the imperial seat from Rome to Ravenna, to be near at hand, and ready to put a stop to the irruptions of the Barbarians, who, on that side, made inroads into Italy, he likewise chose that city for the usual

^a Concil. tom. iv. p. 1181.

^a Procop. lib. ii. cap. 6. p. 402.

^b Cassiodor. lib. iii. cap. 43. & lib. i. cap. 27.

place of his residence, governing from thence the provinces by the same magistrates who had presided over them in the times of the emperors, such as consulares, correctores, and præsidēs. Besides, according to the custom of the Goths, he appointed for each city inferior judges, distinguished with the title of counts, who were to administer justice, and decide all controversies and disputes: and herein the polity of the Goths far excelled, as Grotius observes, that of the Romans; for, in the Roman times, a whole province was governed by a consularis, a corrector, or a præses, who resided in the chief city, and to whom recourse was to be had at a great expence from the most remote parts; but Theodoric, besides the consularis, the corrector, or the præses, appointed, not only in the principal cities, but in each small town and village, inferior magistrates of known integrity, who were to administer justice, and save those who had law-suits the trouble and expence of recurring to the governor of the whole province^c, no appeals to distant tribunals being allowed, but in matters of the greatest importance, or in cases of manifest injustice^d. Thus Italy, from the dominion of the Romans, fell under that of the Goths, almost without perceiving the change.

S E C T. III.

The ancient State of the Vandals, till they settled in Spain and Africa.

THE Vandals were originally a Gothic nation; for Procopius, who could not be a stranger to their descent, being well acquainted with Gelomir their king, and the other Vandals, who were brought prisoners to Constantinople in the reign of Justinian, tells us, in express terms, that the Goths and Vandals were the same people, distinguished in names, but agreeing in their origin and manners^e. He adds, that they spoke the Gothic language, as did likewise the Gepidæ, Lombards, Burgundians, and Alans. They were called Vandals, from the Gothic word *vandelen*, which signifies *to wander*, because they often changed their situations, wandering from one country to another^f. They are supposed to have come originally out of Scandinavia with the other Goths, under the command of king Eric, of whom we have spoken in the foregoing

The origin of the Vandals.

Their name.

^c Grot. in Proleg. Hist. Goth. Cassiodor. lib. vi. cap. 7. ^d Grot. ibid. ^e Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. i. cap. 2. ^f Vide Matth. Primor. in Orbe Goth.

señion, and to have settled in the countries now known by the names of Mecklenburgh and Brandenburg. Several ages after, another colony of the Goths, leaving Scandinavia under the conduct of king Berig, settled in Pomerania, after having driven out the Rugians, by Jornandes called Ulmerugians. At the same time Berig subdued the Vandals inhabiting those countries; but, instead of driving them from their ancient habitations, he only obliged them, as they were a Gothic nation, to share their territories with the new-comers ^s. In the reign of Augustus, part of the Vandals, straitened in their own country for want of room, settled on the banks of the Rhine; but were driven from thence by Tiberius and Drusus, and obliged to return home.

*Their dis-
ferent
seats.*

As their country was overstocked with people, great numbers of them soon left it again, and taking their route eastward, entered the country lying between the Bosporus Cimmerius and the Tanais, inhabited at that time by the Sclavi, whom they drove out, and seizing on their country, took the name of the ancient inhabitants, calling themselves Sclavi. Some of these, several ages after, in the reign of Mauritius, which began in 586, settled in Dalmatia and Illyricum, which from them were called Slavonia ^h. Others settled themselves in the eastern parts of Dacia beyond the Danube, which province comprehended the present countries of Transylvania, Moldavia, Wallachia, and the eastern parts of Upper Hungary. From those who remained in Germany, the present Poles and Bohemians are said by most writers to derive their origin: but the Vandals, who, under Godegisilus their king entered Gaul, and afterwards settled in Spain and Africa, came, according to Procopius ⁱ, from Dacia, and the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis. As the Vandals were a Gothic nation, the same customs, manners, religion, and form of government prevailed among them as among the Goths.

*Their
kings.*

They had, without doubt, their own kings long before they were known to the Romans; but Godegisilus, under whose command they entered Gaul in 406, is the first of their princes, whom we find mentioned in history. He was succeeded by Gunderic, who, in 409, from Gaul passed into Spain, and settled in Galicia. Genserik reigned next, who abandoning Spain in 428, passed with his Vandals into Africa, which the Vandals held under the following kings, Hunneric, Gundamund, Thrasamund, Genserik II. and Gelimer, till the year 533, when an end was put to their

^s Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 4. ^h Vide Olaus Rudbeck. Atlant. par. i. cap. 24. & Joan Marian. lib. v. cap. 1. ⁱ Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. i. cap. 3.

dominion

dominion by Belisarius, and Africa reunited to the empire. Salvianus, speaking of the Vandals, says, that they were excelled by all the other barbarous nations both in power and courage; but nevertheless made themselves masters of the best and most fertile provinces of the empire^k. They embraced the Christian religion at the same time that the Goths were converted; but held, like the other Gothic nations, the tenets of Arius, and were irreconcilable enemies to the catholic church. Salvian, however, extols their continence and chastity.

They first began to be troublesome to the Romans in the reign of M. Aurelius and Lucius Verus, about the year 166, when entering into an alliance with other barbarous nations, namely, the Marcomans, the Narischiens, the Hermundurians, Quadians, Suevians, Sarmatians, Victovallians, Roxolanians, Bastarnians, Costobochians, Alans, and Iazygians, they made an irruption into the empire, took and plundered several cities, and having put to flight the Roman armies sent against them, every-where committed unparalleled ravages. Of this war, which is compared by the ancients to the Punic and Cimbrian wars, we have spoken in our Roman history.

On this occasion the Marcomans and Vandals made themselves masters of Pannonia, after having defeated and killed Furius Victorinus, the prefectus prætorio, who, with a numerous army, attempted to put a stop to their incursions^l. They continued in Pannonia till the year 170, when they were driven out by M. Aurelius, who pursued them to the Danube, and cut off great numbers as they were passing that river. They entered afterwards into an alliance with the Romans; for one of the articles of the peace concluded in 180, between the emperor Commodus and the Alemans was, that they should not make war upon the Vandals^m. In the year 215, a war was kindled between them and the Marcomans; for Caracalla used to glory in his having set at variance these two nations, which till then had lived in peace and amity with each other.

In the second year of Aurelian's reign, while the emperor was engaged in a war with several German nations, who had entered Italy, the Vandals, having passed the Danube under the command of two of their kings, and several other princes, laid waste the neighbouring provinces. In consequence of this irruption, Aurelian, having gained a complete victory over the Germans, led his army against the

The Vandals make themselves masters of Pannonia.

Are driven out by M. Aurelius.

*Yr. of Fl. 2619.
A. D. 271.*

They break into the empire; but are driven out by Aurelian.

^k Salvian. lib. ii. vii. p. 161, & seq.
^l Dio, lib. lxxii. p. 817.

^m M. Aur. Vit. p. 29. 31.

Vandals, who, upon the news of his approach, retired with great precipitation. The emperor, however, pursued and overtook them before they reached the Danube, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to sue for peace; which he readily granted, upon their delivering to him, as hostages, the sons of their two kings, and several other persons of great distinction. He incorporated two thousand of their best men amongst his own troops, and ordered the rest to be supplied with provisions at the public expence, till they reached the Danube ^a.

*After his
death they
enter Gaul;*

They continued quiet during the remainder of Aurelian's reign; but they no sooner received the news of his death than, entering into an alliance with the Lygians, Franks, and Burgundians, they advanced as far as the Rhine; and having without opposition crossed that river, entered Gaul, and made themselves masters of almost the whole country, which they held for the space of two years, when Probus, who had succeeded Tacitus, marching against them, defeated them in several battles. Most of the Lygians were cut off, and their king Semno taken prisoner; but he was soon after set at liberty, in virtue of a treaty, by which the Lygians, after having restored the booty, and dismissed the prisoners they had taken, solemnly promised not only to live in amity with the Romans, but to guard the confines of the empire against the other Barbarians who should attempt to invade it ^{*}. The Vandals and Burgundians retired at the approach of the Roman army, and having crossed the Rhine before Probus could overtake them, encamped on the banks of that river. However, being provoked by the insults and raillery of the Roman soldiers encamped on the opposite bank, they attempted to repass the river, with a design to give them battle; but the Romans, falling upon the first that landed, slew a considerable number, took many prisoners, and drove the rest, who were hastening to the assistance of their companions, back into the river, where most of them perished. The emperor was preparing to pass the Rhine, in order to pursue the shattered remains of their army; but, upon their suing for peace, and promising to send back all the prisoners and booty they had taken, he agreed to let them retire unmolested. This promise they did not perform with due fidelity; a breach of faith which so provoked the emperor, that crossing the Rhine, he fell upon them as they were retiring, put many of them to the sword, and took a great number of prisoners, among whom

*Yr. of Fl.
2625.
A. D. 277-
but receive
a great de-
feat from
Probus.*

^a Aur. Vit. p. 215. Dexip. Legat. p. 12.
^{*} 338, 239. Zof. lib. i. p. 664, & seq.

† Prob. Vit. p.

was Igillus, their king, with other persons of great distinction. These were afterwards sent by Probus into Britain, and are supposed to have settled in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, where, according to Bucherius, they gave name to the village of Vandelsburg ^p.

Probus finding, on his return from Persia, the province of Thrace almost depopulated, allowed a great number of Bastarnæ, a Scythian nation, to settle there. He likewise granted lands in the same province to the Gepidæ, the Juthungians, and the Vandals. The Bastarnæ continued faithful to the empire, and by degrees brought themselves to live after the Roman manner; but the other nations revolting, while the emperor's troops were employed against Saturninus and Proculus, the former of whom had assumed the purple in Egypt, and the latter in Gaul, over-ran the whole empire, committing every-where dreadful ravages, to the great dishonour of the Roman name: but Probus, having overcome the two usurpers, marched all his forces against the Barbarians; and in several battles, the particulars of which are unknown to us, made such a dreadful havock amongst them, that few of those who had entered the Roman dominions had the good fortune to escape the general carnage ^q.

Some of them allowed to settle in Thrace.

No farther mention is made of the Vandals till the eighth of Dioclesian's reign, when we find them engaged in a war with the Goths. The Taifalæ assisted the Goths, and the Gepidæ joined the Vandals; but as the Romans were concerned in this war, authors only tell us, in general terms, that it was carried on with great vigour; and that the Barbarians were so weakened by it, that, for a considerable time, they suffered the Romans to live in peace. As for the Vandals, they seem to have continued in a state of tranquillity till the twelfth of Honorius's reign, when, instigated by Stilicho, who hoped, by their means, to raise his son Eucherius to the empire, they broke into Gaul with the Alans and Suevians. The Vandals, in attempting to cross the Rhine, were attacked by the Franks, who cut twenty thousand of them in pieces, with their king Godigisles, and would have put them all to the sword, had not the Alans and Suevians come seasonably to their relief. These joining the Vandals, obliged the Franks to retire, and crossing without opposition the Rhine, entered Gaul ^r. They first ravaged Germania Prima, took by storm and razed the city of Mentz, the metropolis of that province.

Yr. of Fl.
2754
A. D. 406.

They break into Gaul.

^p Buch. Belg. lib. vii. cap. 218.

^q Prob. Vit. p. 240—245.

^r Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. cap. 9. p. 62. Oros. cap. 40. p. 223. Vales. p. 98.

From Germania Prima they passed into Gallia Belgica, and from thence into Aquitain, the most fertile and opulent province of all Gaul. Having advanced to the Pyrenean mountains, which they did not at first venture to pass, they over-ran all the neighbouring provinces, committing everywhere unparalleled ravages. The Vandals, Alans, and Suevians were soon joined by the Burgundians, and other barbarous nations, excited partly by Stilicho, partly by a desire of booty, and hopes of enriching themselves with the spoils of so many wealthy provinces^a.

Constantine obliges them to sue for peace.

In the mean time Constantine being proclaimed emperor by the British legions, from Britain passed over into Gaul, taking with him all the Roman forces quartered in the island, and the flower of the British youth, who were joined, soon after his landing at Bologne, by the Roman troops quartered in Gaul: with these he defeated the Vandals and other Barbarians, in several battles; and at length reduced them to such distress, that they were forced to sue for peace; which he granted, without obliging them to quit Gaul, probably because he hoped to maintain himself, by their means, in the power he had usurped. Soon after Gericus, to whom Constans, the son of Constantine, had committed the government of Spain, revolting upon some disgust, and setting up one Maximus for emperor, the Vandals, Alans, and Suevians, flew to arms, probably at the instigation of the usurper, and made themselves masters of several cities in Gaul. The natives, expecting no relief either from Honorius or Constantine, resolved to defend themselves; and accordingly uniting their forces, they fell upon the Barbarians, and defeated them in several skirmishes. The Barbarians, meeting with greater opposition than they expected, and at the same time being made acquainted with the distracted state of Spain, which was represented to them as wealthy and fruitful, resolved to try whether they could make a settlement in that country. With this design they directed their march towards the Pyrenees, which they passed without opposition, the guards who had been placed there, either abandoning their posts at the approach of such multitudes, or joining them, in order to avoid the punishment due to the ravages they had committed in those provinces before their arrival^b.

Thus the Vandals, Suevians, and Alans first entered Spain in 409, according to some on the 28th of September, according to others on the 13th of October^c. They soon

^a Salvian. lib. vii. cap. 167.

^b Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 42. Oros. ibid. Sozom. lib. ix. cap. 12. p. 814.

^c Idat. Fast. & Chron.

made themselves masters of several cities and strong-holds, defeated the troops which Constantine had detached under the command of his son Constans, to suppress the rebellion of Geroncius; and before the end of the year 410, obliged Constans himself to abandon the country, and retire to his father at Arles *. As for Geroncius, he entered into a kind of alliance with them against their common enemy Constantine †. And now the Barbarians, having no enemy to oppose them, over-ran the whole country ‡.

Yr. of Fl.
277.
A.D. 409.

They allowed such of the natives as desired to abandon the country, to retire unmolested; and, for a small sum, they conducted them to such places of safety as they thought proper to choose. Idatius, who was about this time bishop of a city in Spain, describes at large the calamities suffered on this occasion by that unhappy people. He says, that the country was ravaged on one side by the Barbarians, and on the other by a dreadful plague, which swept off great numbers †; that besides these two evils, so great a famine raged, that many were reduced to the necessity of feeding upon human flesh; that parents, pressed by hunger, devoured their own children; and that the wild-beasts, accustomed to live upon the dead bodies of those who were killed by the Barbarians or died of the plague, being deprived of that food, fell upon the living, and made a dreadful havock of the country people in the fields and villages. To these calamities was added, says our author, the cruelty of the soldiers and officers, who being employed by Constantine to levy the taxes, seized and carried off the effects and wealth of the inhabitants, who had conveyed them into towns as places of safety. Such was the deplorable condition to which the provinces of Spain were reduced by the Vandals, Suevians, and Alans, upon their first entering that country; and in this state they continued from the year 406 to 411, when heaven, says Idatius, inspiring the Barbarians with thoughts of peace, they began to prefer agriculture to war. Having therefore divided by lot the provinces of Spain, they applied themselves to works of agriculture.

The unhappy condition of those provinces.

The Vandals, Alans, and Suevians, divide the provinces of Spain among them.

In that division Galicia was given to the Vandals and Suevians, the former having Gonderic, who had succeeded Godigisles, for their king, and the latter Ermeric; Lusitania, and the province of Carthagera, fell to the Alans; Bætica to the Vandals called Silingians, who are supposed to have given to their portion the name of Vandalusia, changed afterwards into that of Andalusia †. The natives

* Salv. lib. vii. p. 108.
lib. vii. cap. 40. p. 223.
41. p. 23.

* Phot. cap. 80. p. 184.
‡ Idat. Chron. p. 10.

† Oros. cap.

who had escaped the general slaughter, and taken refuge in the fortified places, submitted to the Barbarians, who touching the holy book of the gospels, swore that they would treat them for the future as their friends and allies; which oath they observed so religiously, that many Romans chose to live in poverty under the Barbarians, rather than to return into the dominions of the empire. However, the inhabitants of Galicia maintained their liberty, and formed a separate state in a corner of that province, where they were often attacked by Ermeric king of the Suevians, who at length suffered them to live in peace, being seized with a distemper of which he languished the seven last years of the fourteen he reigned^b. Pope Leo observes, that the catholic church suffered greatly by this irruption of the Barbarians, who would not suffer the civil and ecclesiastical laws enacted against heretics, especially the Priscillianists, to be put in execution. On the other hand, the bishops not meeting and holding councils, as usual, the followers of Priscillian, who till that time had been obliged to keep themselves concealed, began publicly to own their tenets, and gained over a great many proselytes^c.

In the year 416 Vallia, king of the Goths in Gaul, having concluded a peace with the Romans, undertook to drive the Barbarians out of Spain; an enterprize which gave rise to a war of which we know but very few particulars. In 422 the emperor Honorius, informed of the low condition to which the Vandals had been reduced by the Goths under the conduct of Vallia, resolved to attempt the recovery of the provinces retained by them in Spain. With this view he ordered Castinus, general of the foot, and captain of the guards, to march against them, at the head of a considerable army. Castinus defeated them in several encounters, and reduced them to such difficulties, that they began to think of abandoning the country which they had seized; but the Roman general having, in the mean time, unseasonably risked an engagement, twenty thousand of his troops were cut in pieces; and he was obliged, with the poor remains of his shattered army, to take refuge in the city of Tarraco^d. After this victory the Vandals made themselves masters of Seville. Having firmly established their dominion in Andalusia, they ravaged the neighbouring provinces, almost destroyed the city of Carthage, and passing over into the Balearic islands, committed horrid ravages, carrying back with them into Spain an immense booty, and

*They gain
a signal
victory
over the
Romans.*

^b Isidor. Chron.

^c Leo, ep. xv. p. 449.

lib. ii. cap. 9. p. 63, 64. Salv. lib. vii. p. 165—168.

^d Greg. Turr.

an incredible number of captives. Not long after this expedition the Vandals and Suevians quarrelling, Gonderic, king of the Vandals, gained great advantages over Ermeric, king of the Suevians, whom he obliged to fly for refuge to the mountains of Biscay, and there kept him and his people blocked up: but in the mean time Asterius, count of Spain, and the vicar Maurocelus, falling unexpectedly upon Gonderic, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest to abandon Biscay and Galicia, and retire into Andalusia. Gonderic, on his return to Seville, took the church from the catholics, and gave it to the Arians; in consequence of which sacrilege, being immediately possessed, says Idatius, and tormented with an evil spirit, he perished in a miserable manner ^c.

Gonderic dies.

Genferic.

Gonderic left several sons; but was nevertheless succeeded by his brother, called by the ancients Gaiferic, Geiferic, and Gizeric, but now commonly known by the name of Genferic. Procopius maintains, that he was the natural son of Godigiscles, killed by the Franks in 406; and Sidonius says he was the son of a king, but that his mother was a slave ^f. He renounced the Catholic faith, which he first professed, to embrace the doctrine of Arius, maintained by the Vandals his countrymen ^e. He was remarkably brave and courageous, skilled in the art of war, being, from his infancy, inured to the hardships and toils attending a military life ^h. Before his accession to the crown, he was well known to the Romans by the many advantages he had gained over them in Spain; the victory over Castinus in 422, was no less owing to his bravery than to the rash conduct of the Roman general; and chiefly by his means the Suevians in Spain were reduced to the lowest ebb of fortune. Upon his arrival in Africa, he caused the wife of the deceased king to be drowned in the river Amfachus, and soon after put all her children to death, to prevent the disturbances they might have raised by their pretensions to the crown ⁱ. Genferic had scarce taken possession of the throne, when he was invited over into Africa by count Bonifacius, who commanded the Roman troops in that province. Bonifacius had served the empire with the utmost fidelity, and, on that account, had been raised by the empress Placidia to the highest honours, and sent with an unlimited power into Africa; which province he had defended with great bravery against the repeated attempts of the usurper John,

He is invited by Bonifacius into Africa.

^e Idat. Chron. p. 27. ^f Sid. Car. ii. & v. p. 300. 310. ^g Idat. p. 17. ^h Procop. p. 184. ⁱ Vict. Vitenf. de Persecut. Vandal lib. ii. p. 21. Malch. Leg. p. 959.

His rise caused great jealousy in his rival Aetius, who found means to persuade Placidia, that Bonifacius had preserved Africa for himself, and only waited an opportunity of pulling off the mask, and establishing an independent sovereignty. Placidia, giving entire credit to the insinuations of Aetius, whom she did not in the least mistrust, declared Bonifacius a public enemy, and dispatched a strong body of troops against him. Bonifacius, finding the enterprise determined upon his ruin, and himself not in a condition to contend with the whole strength of the empire, had recourse to Genseric king of the Vandals, who, at this time, peaceably possessed the province of Andalusia.

The treaty being agreed to, Genseric made the necessary preparations for so important an expedition. The Barbarians had no vessels, neither did they know how to make use of them; but those who employed them took care to supply them with every thing they wanted. When the necessary vessels were prepared, and the Vandals upon the point of embarking, Genseric was informed, that Hermigarius, a celebrated commander of the Suevians, was ravaging the neighbouring provinces. Genseric, putting himself at the head of a chosen body of troops, went in quest of the enemy; and, engaging them in Lusitania, gave them a total overthrow. Hermigarius their leader attempted to make his escape; but was drowned in crossing the river Guadiana near Merida^k. Idatius considers his death as a punishment inflicted upon him for speaking contemptuously of St. Eulalia, and pillaging the city of Merida, where the body of that saint was kept and revered.

From this expedition Genseric returned to the place where the vessels were kept in readiness for his embarkation. There he had ordered, before his departure, all the Vandals to assemble, with their wives, children, and effects. Having, upon his return, commanded them to go on board, he put to sea in the month of May in the year 428; and, abandoning Spain, crossed the Straights of Gibraltar, and landed in Africa^l. The Romans again took possession of the provinces which the Vandals had abandoned, and possessed them till they were driven out by the Suevians, as the Suevians were in their turn by the Goths. Genseric pretended, that his army amounted to eighty thousand strong; but in that number he must have comprised the old men, the children, and even the slaves^m. In the mean time Placidia, having discovered the true cause of the re-

*He defeats
the Suevi-
ans.*

Yr. of Fl.
2776.
A. D. 428.

*The Van-
dals aban-
don Spain.*

^k Idat. p. 27, 28.
^l p. 3.

^l Viñt. Vicens. de Persecut. Vandal. lib.
^m Viñt. Vicens. lib. i. p. 3.

volt of Bonifacius, wrote an obliging letter, assuring him of her favour and protection for the future, exhorting him to return to his duty, and exert his usual zeal for the welfare of the empire, by driving out the Barbarians, whom the malice of his enemies had obliged him to call in, for his own safety and preservation. This task Bonifacius readily undertook, offering them considerable sums, provided they quitted Africa, and returned to Spain.

But the Vandals, already masters of the greater part of Africa, first returned him a contemptuous answer; and then, falling unexpectedly upon him, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged Bonifacius himself to take refuge in Hippo; which place they invested in the month of May 430, about three months before the death of St. Austin bishop of that city. The siege lasted about fourteen months, at the expiration of which the Vandals were forced, by a famine that began to rage in their camp, to relinquish the enterprize, and retireⁿ. Soon after their retreat, Bonifacius having received two reinforcements, one from Rome, and the other from Constantinople, under the conduct of the celebrated Aspar, a resolution was taken by the Roman generals to offer the enemy battle. The Vandals readily accepting the challenge, a bloody engagement ensued, in which the Romans were totally defeated by the Barbarians, who made an incredible number of captives, and obliged the rest to take shelter among the rocks and mountains. Among the prisoners was Marcian, then assessor to Aspar, and afterwards emperor. Aspar, who commanded the eastern troops, escaped with difficulty out of Africa, and returned to Constantinople. Bonifacius repaired with all speed to Italy, being called thither by the empress Placidia. Upon their departure, the Barbarians over-ran all Africa, committing every where most dreadful ravages. These struck the inhabitants of Hippo with such terror, that they abandoned their city, which was first plundered, and then set on fire by the victorious enemy; so that Cirtha and Carthage were the only two strong places in Africa still possessed by the Romans^o.

They gain several victories over the Romans.

About the same time Genseric made several attempts upon Sicily; but was constantly repulsed by Cassiodore, great-grandfather to the celebrated senator of the same name^p. At length a peace was concluded between Valentinian and Genseric^q: whose moderation is greatly extolled by Procopius^r: but other writers ascribe his making

Yr. of Fl. 2783. A. D. 435.

Genseric concludes a peace with the Romans.

ⁿ Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. i. cap. 3. p. 185. Vit. S. Aug.
^o Salv. Gub. lib. vii. p. 141, 142. ^p Cassiod. lib. i. ep. 4. p. 4.
^q Prosp. Chron. ^r Procop. cap. 1. p. 386.

Yr. of Fl.
2787.
A. D. 439.

*He takes
Carthage.*

*Which oc-
casions a
great
alarm in
Italy.*

peace with the Romans, not to his moderation, but to the apprehension he was under of being attacked by the united forces of both empires. Be that as it may, the Romans ceded to him part of Numidia, the province Proconsularis, and likewise Byzacene. Prosper writes, that, for these provinces, Genseric was to pay a yearly tribute to the emperor of the East. He delivered to the Romans his son Hunneric by way of hostage; but so great was the confidence they placed in Genseric, that, some time after, they sent him back his son; of which generosity they had soon occasion to repent: for four years after, the Romans being engaged in a war with the Goths in Gaul, Genseric seizing that opportunity, surpris'd the city of Carthage on the twenty-third of October; by the taking of which place, the Vandals remained masters of the Proconsularis, of Byzacene, Gætulia, and part of Numidia*. However, Valentinian maintained, as long as he lived, the other provinces of Africa, though reduced to a most deplorable condition. These were the two Mauritaniæ, called Cæsariensis and Sitifensis, with Tripolitana, Tingitana, and that part of Numidia in which Cirtha stood. Thus Carthage fell under the power of the Vandals, after it had belonged to the Romans for the space of five hundred and eighty-five years†.

When intelligence of the taking of Carthage by the Vandals was brought to Rome, Valentinian, apprehensive that they would soon make some attempt upon Italy itself, ordered the walls, towers, and gates of all the cities on the coast to be repaired. The governor of Rome was strictly enjoined to put that city in a state of defence against any sudden attack, and empowered to oblige all the inhabitants, without distinction, to assist in the work. Levies were made, and guards placed on the walls, and at the gates. In the year 440 the Roman people received intelligence of Genseric's having sailed from Carthage with a powerful fleet; but were still unacquainted with his design. In consequence of this information, Valentinian published a law, granting to all ranks of people the liberty of taking arms, to defend themselves against the common enemy. By the same law he grants whatever they shall take from the Vandals, and exhorts them to act on this occasion with the courage of true Romans, and with that moderation and justice that become men of honour. He adds, that an army, destined by Theodosius for the defence of Italy, was in full march; and that Aetius would soon arrive from Gaul, at the head of

* Chron. Alex. p. 739. Vict. Vitenf. lib. v. p. 5.
Chron.

† Prosper.

another army. Several bodies of troops were placed, at proper distances, along the coast, under the conduct of Sigisvult, a Goth; and the people ordered to be in readiness to take arms upon the first alarm. Notwithstanding all these precautions, Genferic, in the month of June, made a descent upon Sicily: meeting with little resistance, he ravaged the open country, and even besieged Palermo: but not being able to reduce the place, returned to Africa with an immense booty.

He ravages Sicily.

Genferic being now become formidable to both empires, Theodosius resolved to assist Valentinian, his cousin and son-in-law, against so powerful an enemy. Accordingly, he fitted out a fleet consisting of eleven hundred large ships; and, embarking the flower of his army under the conduct of Arcovindas, Ansilus, and Germanus, he ordered them to land in Africa, that they might join the Western forces, and drive Genferic out of the countries he had usurped: but Genferic pretending, in the mean time, to be desirous of concluding a peace with both empires, the Roman generals waited on the coast of Sicily the result of the negotiations, till the season proper for action was elapsed. In the following year, the Huns breaking into Thrace and Illyricum, Theodosius was obliged to recall his forces, and Valentinian to conclude a peace with Genferic, which he could not obtain, but by surrendering all the countries in Africa which he had seized^u. Some years after Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian III. being forced, by the usurper Maximus, who had murdered her husband, to marry him, in order to revenge this affront, dispatched a faithful messenger to Genferic, conjuring him to revenge the death of his friend and ally Valentinian, and rescue her out of the arms of a tyrant, who had embued his hands in the blood of her husband^v. As the empress assured him, that he would meet with little resistance in Italy, and at the same time promised to assist him to the utmost of her power, he embraced, with great joy, so favourable an opportunity of enriching himself with the spoils of such a wealthy country; and, putting to sea without delay, steered his course immediately to Rome, which he took and plundered, as we have related at large in a former volume. Amongst other persons of great distinction, Genferic carried with him over into Africa the empress Eudoxia, her two daughters Placidia and Eudocia, and Gaudentius the son of Aetius. Marcian, who succeeded Maximus, dispatched ambassadors

Valentinian yields to Genferic all the countries he had seized.

Yr. of Fl. 2803. A. D. 455.

Genferic takes and plunders Rome.

^u Chron. Alex. p. 730. Prosp. Chron. cap. 7. p. 298.

^v Evagr. lib. ii.

to Genferic; earnestly entreating him to suffer the empress, and the two princesses her daughters, to return to Rome; but he lending a deaf ear to his entreaties, kept them till the year 462, when he sent back Eudoxia, with her second daughter Placidia, to Leo, the successor of Marcian; but detained Eudocia, and married her to Hunneric, his eldest son, who had by her Hilderic, afterwards king of the Vandals in Africa *.

Genferic, upon his return to Africa, subdued the countries that were still in the hands of the Romans. Avitus, who had succeeded Valentinian III. dispatched ambassadors to him, reminding him of the treaty he had concluded with the empire, and threatening, if he did not observe the articles of that convention, to make war upon him, not only with his own forces, but with those likewise of his allies, meaning the Visigoths, that were ready to embark, and pass over into Africa. Accordingly, he sent a numerous fleet to Sicily, under the conduct of Ricimer, with orders to keep themselves in readiness for sea upon the first notice: but Genferic, without the least regard to the emperor's remonstrances or threats, sailed from Carthage with a fleet of sixty ships, having on board a great number of land-forces, and shaped his course towards Corsica, it being yet a secret, whether he designed to make a descent upon Italy or Gaul. But Ricimer no sooner heard he had put to sea, than he too weighed anchor; and surprising him near Corsica, defeated him entirely †.

*He is de-
feated at
sea by Ri-
cimer.
Makes a
descent on
the coast of
Italy.*

However, he returned soon after with a more numerous fleet; and making a descent on the coast of Italy, carried off unmolested an immense booty, and a great number of captives. Marcian, emperor of the East, pitying the condition to which Eudoxia and her two daughters were reduced, dispatched ambassadors to him, earnestly entreating him to send back the three princesses, and to forbear ravaging the lands of the empire, pursuant to the treaties he had concluded with the emperor of the West. Genferic heard the ambassadors, but dismissed them without any answer. Upon their return Marcian, imagining that an Arian might speak with more liberty to a prince of that persuasion, wrote a letter to him with his own hand, and charged Bleda, a bishop of that sect, to deliver it. Bleda, finding he could obtain nothing by prayers and entreaties, boldly declared, that he ought not to suffer himself to be so blinded by the success that had hitherto attended him, as not to re-

* Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. ii. cap. 9. p. 255. Theoph. p. 93.
† Prisc. Legat. p. 63. * Idat. p. 34. Vict. Vitenf. p. 34.

flect on the danger to which he exposed himself, by provoking such a warlike prince as Marcian. Genferic listened with patience; but refused to comply with either of the emperor's requests ^a.

Avitus, emperor of the West, who had succeeded Valentinian III. being deposed after a short reign, Majorianus was chosen in his room. In the beginning of that prince's reign, the Vandals made a descent on the coast of Campania; but the Romans attacking them while they were plundering the country, put great numbers to the sword, among whom was the brother-in-law of Genferic, and obliged the rest to abandon their booty, and take refuge on board their fleet ^b. Majorianus, not satisfied with this trifling advantage, resolved to pass over into Africa, and attempt the recovery of those wealthy provinces. With this view he assembled a fleet, consisting of three hundred vessels, hired a great number of troops of the Barbarians, who lived in amity with the empire, and made other necessary preparations for so arduous an undertaking; the Gauls, though greatly exhausted by heavy imposts, contributing with joy towards the expence of the expedition. Four years were employed in making the necessary preparations for driving the Vandals out of Africa. At length, in the year 460, Majorianus leaving Arles, where he then resided, began his march towards Spain, which he entered in the month of May, with a design to cross over from thence into Africa ^c. The Romans did not in the least doubt of success, having Majorianus for their leader; and the Vandals, dreading the issue of a war under the conduct of so renowned a commander, did every thing in their power to avoid it. Genferic sent ambassadors with proposals for concluding a peace with the empire, which he promised to observe with the utmost fidelity; but these being rejected by the emperor, he ravaged all Mauritania, and even poisoned the waters, being informed, that Majorianus designed to land there, and thence march to Carthage.

The Vandals defeated by the Romans. Majorianus resolves to pass over into Africa.

Yr. of Fl.
2808.
A. D. 460.

In the mean time, the Roman fleet being assembled in the bay of Alicant, and Majorianus ready to embark, a squadron of Genferic's best ships suddenly appeared, and falling upon the Roman vessels at anchor, sunk a great number of them, disabled others, and returned with some in triumph to Africa. This misfortune, which, we are told, was owing to the treachery of some officers on board the Roman fleet, disconcerted all the emperor's measures,

His fleet surprised by the Vandals.

^a Evagr. lib. ii. cap. 7. p. 298.

^b Sid. Car. v. p. 233, 324.

^c Marc. Idat. Chron. Prisc. p. 42.

*Concludes a
peace with
Genseric.*

and put a stop to the enterprize. However, Majorianus persisting in his resolution of invading Africa, ordered the ships to be repaired, and in the mean time returned to Arles, to pass the winter. Genseric, finding the late misfortune had not diverted Majorianus from his former resolution, and dreading the arms and valour of so great a general, offered new proposals, which he at length accepted^d. Thus a peace was concluded between Majorianus and Genseric; but the articles of the treaty have not been transmitted to us. Whatever they were, Genseric did not long observe them; for he was no sooner informed of the death of Majorianus, which happened the following year 461, than he sent a powerful fleet to pillage the coasts of Sicily and Italy, and even made himself master of Sardinia^e.

*Genseric
ravages
the coasts
of Italy and
Sicily;*

The inhabitants of Italy, being informed that Genseric was making great preparations to renew his ravages on their coasts, had recourse to Leo, emperor of the East, Severus, whom Ricimer had raised to the empire of the West, being entirely unqualified for that high station, and altogether incapable of protecting them against so powerful an enemy as Genseric. They earnestly entreated Leo either to supply them with ships of war, or to mediate for them some kind of accommodation with the king of the Vandals. Leo declined sending them any supplies, which, he said, would be an open breach of the treaties subsisting between Genseric and the emperors of the East; but sent ambassadors into Africa, with proposals for a peace with the Western empire, earnestly pressing Genseric at the same time to deliver Eudoxia, and her daughter Placidia. Genseric answered, that he would hearken to no terms till the effects of Valentinian were restored, which he claimed as the portion of Eudocia, that prince's eldest daughter, whom his son Hunneri had married. However, he sent back to Leo the two princesses, declaring, that he was willing to live in peace with the emperor of the East; but under the above mentioned pretences he never failed, for some years, to make descents early in the spring on the coasts of Sicily and Italy, pillaging the country; but always avoiding to engage the Romans, and retiring as soon as their forces appeared^f. Olybrius having soon after married Placidia, Genseric took from thence a new pretence to ravage Italy with more cruelty than ever, declaring, that he would wage an eternal war with the Western empire, unless Olybrius, brother-in-law to his son, was raised to the imperial dignity.

^d Idat. p. 39. 40 Sid. lib. i. ep. 11. p. 28. Cusp. p. 551.

^e Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. i. cap. 6. p. 192.

^f Idat. p. 41. Prif. p. 42. Sid. Car. ii. ver. 349.]

The inhabitants of Italy had recourse once more to the emperor Leo, who dispatched the patrician Tatian to Genferic, injoining him to conclude a peace with that prince upon any terms; but Genferic would listen to none. In the mean time the emperor Severus dying, the Romans sent deputies to Constantinople, entreating Leo to send Anthemius into Italy, whom they designed to choose emperor. Anthemius was a native of Constantinople, descended of an ancient and illustrious family, had married the daughter of the late emperor Marcian, and was at that time count of the East. Leo immediately complied with the request of the Romans; so that Anthemius, arriving in Italy, was with one voice chosen emperor, notwithstanding the great interest made by Genferic in favour of Olybrius. Genferic, highly provoked against Leo for contributing to the promotion of Anthemius, sent a powerful fleet, which ravaged Peloponnesus and the Greek islands; from whence they carried off a great number of captives². Leo was no sooner informed of these devastations than he dispatched Philarchus to acquaint Genferic, that, if he did not forbear such acts of hostility, he should be obliged to declare war against him, and repel force with force. But Genferic, despising his menaces, answered, that, if Leo thought proper to make war upon him, he should not find him unprepared; and soon after, to bid him, in a manner, defiance, he sent his fleet to ravage the coasts of Greece and the other maritime provinces of the Eastern empire. A report was spread in Constantinople, that his fleet had appeared before the city of Alexandria, which greatly alarmed the emperor and the whole court. But we are told, that the famous anchorit Daniel Stylita, to whom the emperor had recourse, removed their fears, by assuring them, that the design of the Barbarians would prove abortive; and that they would soon return to Africa, without being able to make themselves masters of Alexandria, or any other place. It happened as he had foretold; for the Barbarians, after several unsuccessful attempts on Alexandria, and some other places, returned home, without either captives or booty¹.

and likewise Peloponnesus, and the Greek islands.

Leo resolving, at all events, to revenge the affront offered by Genferic to the eastern empire, made great preparations for carrying the war into Africa. Procopius writes, that on this occasion he expended a hundred and thirty thousand pounds weight of gold. Candidus, as quoted by Suidas, relates, that the prefects contributed forty-seven thousand

Yr. of Fl.
2816.
A. D. 468.

Leo makes great preparations to invade Africa.

Chron. Alex. p. 478. Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. i. cap. 6. p. 191.
¹ Theoph. p. 99.

pounds weight of gold towards defraying the charges of this war; and the prince, seventeen thousand of gold, and seventy thousand of silver, out of his privy purse; that the money arising from the sale of confiscated estates, was employed in buying up provisions, purchasing ships, and hiring troops; and that Anthemius, emperor of the West, assisted Leo to the utmost of his power both with men and money^l. In this enterprize were employed the choicest troops of both empires; for not only Anthemius sent very considerable supplies both of men and ships^k, but likewise Marcellinus, who had established a new sovereignty in Dalmatia: that prince commanded in person, not only his own troops, but those likewise that were sent by Anthemius emperor of the West.

The command of all the forces given to Basiliscus. His character.

The fame of these warlike preparations struck the whole world, says Constantine Manasses^l, with terror and amazement: nothing, continues he, seemed capable of resisting so numerous an army, and so powerful a fleet, except gold, which no power can oppose: but as the time appointed by Providence for punishing the Vandals was not yet arrived, heaven suffered Leo to commit the whole management of this war to Basiliscus, brother to his wife Verina. Basiliscus had gained great advantages over the Barbarians in Thrace, where he had commanded as general of that province; so that, with respect to his military capacity, he seemed sufficiently qualified for so great a command, the more as he had under him John, a person of extraordinary courage and experience^m: but, on the other hand, Basiliscus was actuated by two very dangerous passions, namely, avarice and ambition. The latter urged him even to aspire to the sovereignty, which he hoped to attain by means of Aspar, who governed under Leo with almost absolute power; but as he professed the doctrine of Arius, he was himself, on account of his religion, excluded from the imperial dignity. He had lately quarreled with Leo, and therefore fearing lest that prince, if he subdued the Vandals, should by this victory be enabled to reduce his power, and punish him, as he deserved, for his arrogance, he is supposed to have entered into a private treaty with Basiliscus, promising to raise him to the throne, provided he spared Genferic, for whom he might likewise have some regard, as he possessed the same tenets with himselfⁿ.

^l Suid. p. 1126.
in Breviar. p. 39, 60.

^k Sid. Car. ii. ver. 540.

^l Const. Manass.

^m Procop. lib. i. p. 191, & 193. Theoph.

p. 99. ⁿ Theoph. p. 100. Theodor. Lect p. 555.

The island of Sicily was appointed the place of general rendezvous°. From thence Marcellinus was to sail for Sardinia, which the Vandals had lately seized; Heraclius of Edeffa, a brave and experienced officer, was destined for Libya; and Basiliscus, with the greatest part of the fleet, and the flower of the troops, to steer his course to Carthage. Pursuant to this plan Marcellinus landed in Sardinia, and reduced that island; while Heraclius, with the troops quartered in Egypt, in Thebais, and Cyrenaica, landing suddenly in the province of Tripolitana, reduced Tripolis, and the other cities in that country. From thence he began his march by land, with a design to join Basiliscus at Carthage°. That commander, sailing from Sicily, arrived with his fleet at cape Mercury, only fourteen leagues from Carthage, soon after Genferic had received the disagreeable news of the loss of Sardinia and Libya. The arrival of so formidable a fleet, and the losses he had already sustained, struck him, though a man of great intrepidity, with such terror, that, believing himself irretrievably lost, he is said to have had some thoughts of evacuating Africa, and retiring to some other country; and indeed, if Basiliscus had marched directly to Carthage, during the panic which had seized the Barbarians, he might, in all likelihood, have made himself master of that city, and put an end to the war, by an entire reduction of the country. Some authors write, that he had already gained considerable advantages over the fleet of Genferic°. Jornandes says, he attacked Carthage several times by sea; but either for want of skill, or because he was willing to favour Genferic, his attacks were not so vigorous as the Barbarians expected°. Genferic, recovering from his consternation, sent deputies to the Roman admiral, requesting a truce for five days, to settle the conditions on which he was to submit to Leo°. Genferic solicited this truce, hoping a favourable wind might spring up during that time for engaging the Roman fleet; for his men were all on board the ships of war, which were to tow other light and empty vessels.

Sardinia and Tripolis recovered from the Vandals.

The wind proving as favourable as the Vandals could wish, before the truce was expired, they weighed anchor, and drawing near to the Roman fleet, set fire to the empty ships, which, being driven among the rest, threw their whole navy into the utmost confusion. While the Romans were in the utmost disorder, and employed either in keeping off the fire-ships, or extinguishing the flames on board their

The Roman fleet in Africa entirely defeated.

° Phot. cap. 242. p. 1041.
Isaur. p. 18.

° Journ. p. 654.

° Procop. p. 192.

° Procop. p. 192.

° Candid.

own, the Vandals, falling upon them, overwhelmed them with showers of darts, took several of their ships, sunk others, and dispersed the whole fleet. Several Romans distinguished themselves on this occasion in a most eminent manner; but above all John, who finding himself surrounded by the enemy, attacked one ship after another, and killed a great number of men; but not being able to prevent their boarding him, when he found he was overpowered, he threw himself, armed as he was, on a plank, into the sea. Gensfon, the son of Genseric, admiring his courage and gallant behaviour, begged he would not abandon himself to despair, offering him at the same time life and liberty; but the brave commander answering, "John shall never fall into the hands of such dogs," quitted his plank and was drowned. Heraclius, who was in full march from Lybia to Carthage, upon the news of the ill success of Basiliscus, thought it adviseable to retreat into the territories of the empire. Marcellinus returned to Sicily, where he was assassinated by an officer who commanded under him, not without the privy, as was supposed, of Anthemius, to whom his power gave great umbrage¹. Basiliscus returned to Sicily with the few ships that had escaped, and from thence to Constantinople, where, upon his arrival, he took refuge in the church of St. Sophia; but though his treachery was publicly known, his life was spared, and himself allowed to retire to Heraclea in Thrace, the empress Verina, his sister, having employed the great interest she had with the emperor in his behalf; but Aspar, who had promised him the sovereignty as the reward of his treachery, was so far from being able to perform his promise, that he could not save his own life, being, by Leo's orders, put to death soon after. Such was the issue of this unhappy expedition, which is said to have drained both empires of their wealth, and to have cost them the lives of above fifty thousand men².

*Genseric
reduces
Sicily, Sar-
dinia, &c.*

Genseric, finding the Romans quite dispirited by the losses they had sustained, resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of extending his conquests. Accordingly, without loss of time, he put to sea, and landing in Sardinia, recovered that island. Thence he sailed to Sicily, which he likewise reduced, as he did, the three following years all the islands, between Italy and Africa, the Romans not being in a condition to restrain his conquests, and trembling at the very name of Genseric³. From these

¹ Marc. Chron. Procop. lib. 2. cap. 6. p. 193.
² Vict. Vit. lib. 1. p. 5.

³ Theoph. p.

islands he yearly sent fleets to ravage the coasts of Italy, of Peloponnesus, and the Greek islands, equally despising both emperors, and bidding defiance to their power.

At length he concluded a peace with Odoacer, king of Italy, to whom he ceded the island of Sicily, but upon condition he should pay him a yearly tribute, as a security for which he kept the strong castle of Lilybæum. In the preceding year he had concluded a peace with the emperor Zeno, the successor of Leo, who, renouncing all claim to the provinces of Africa, yielded them for ever to Genferic and his descendents. The person employed by Zeno on this occasion was Severus, a senator of an unblemished character, and greatly esteemed on account of his disinterestedness, candour, and integrity. He was received by Genferic with all possible marks of honour and esteem; that prince, who was advanced in years, being desirous to terminate the war by a lasting peace, that his son Hunneric might quietly enjoy the kingdom he had founded. After the conclusion of the peace Genferic, admiring the frugal life and modesty of the Roman, sent him a considerable sum of money, and very rich presents: which he refused, saying, that the only present worthy the acceptance of a Roman ambassador would be the delivery of his countrymen who were held in captivity. Genferic was so pleased with this answer, that he immediately sent for Severus, and told him, that all the Roman captives who had fallen to his share, and to the share of his children, were free, and at his disposal. He gave him, at the same time, liberty to ransom such as had been divided among the soldiers and officers of his army. Severus, having obtained without ransom the liberty of all the Roman captives belonging to the king and the royal family, publicly sold by auction all his plate and furniture, and, with the money accruing from the sale, redeemed many others*. Severus prevailed likewise on Genferic to suffer the church of the catholics at Carthage to be opened, and recall the ecclesiastics belonging to it, whom he had banished some time before†. Genferic died soon after; but the peace was religiously observed by his successors till the reign of Justinian, who, espousing the cause of Hilderic against his brother Gilimer, who had usurped the crown, drove the Vandals out of Africa, and reunited those provinces to the empire.

Yr. of Fl.

2823.

A. D. 475.

*Concludes a
peace with
Zeno.*

* Malc. p. 87. Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. i. cap. 7. p. 195. † Viñt. Vit. p. 16.

S E C T. IV.

The Ancient State of the Sueves, till their Settlement in Spain.

*The name,
seat, ori-
gin, &c. of
the Sueves.*

THE Sueves were, in Cæsar's time, the greatest and most warlike nation of all Germany^a. Tacitus divides them into several tribes or nations, known by different names, comprehending, under the common appellation of Sueves, the Longobardi, the Semnones, the Rheudingi, the Aviores, the Angli^a. Ptolemy mentions only three nations of the Sueves; namely, the Suevi Longobardi, the Suevi Samnones, and the Suevi Angili, whom Tacitus and other writers call Angli. Some writers maintain, that the Vandals and Sueves were the same people, called Vandals from the word *wandrende*, and Sueves from the word *schwachende*, both which signify *wanderers*. In the time of the emperor Nero they dwelt between the Rhine and the Elbe. In the time of Tacitus the historian they were seated between the Elbe and the Vistula or Weisser; for there they are placed by that writer. From them the Suevus, now the Oder, took its name; and the Baltic was called the Suevian Sea. Solinus is of opinion, that they were called Suevi from Mount Suevio, parting Germany from Sarmatia. As to their origin, nothing has been alleged by authors but what is very uncertain, and not to be depended upon; some deriving their origin from Scandinavia, some from Sarmatia, some from Hungary, and others endeavouring, with arguments, drawn from monuments of antiquity, to convince us that they were originally a German nation^b. Some writers assert that they came from Scandinavia, and settled on the banks of the Albis or Elbe; that they were subdued by the Saxons, and blended under their name, as were all the other nations conquered by that people. However, the Sueves retained at the same time their own name; and hence the Angli, who were a Suevian nation, are sometimes called Saxones Angli, and sometimes Suevi Angli. The Sueves were a warlike nation, and as such are commended both by Cæsar and Tacitus. The Sueves had kings of their own, and seem to have agreed in customs and manners with the other German nations. But we know very little of their affairs till the Romans became

^a Cæsar. Bell. Gall. lib. i.

^a Tacit. de Mor. Ger. cap. 38.

^b Vide Rudbeck. Atlant. part. i. cap. 24. Grot. in Proleg. Prætor. in Orb. Goth. lib. iii. cap. 1. Pastorius in Hist. Polon. cap. 7.

acquainted with them, which happened in the year of Rome 742, the twenty-second of Augustus's reign, and about eight years before the birth of our Saviour, when Drusus, the son of Livia, and brother to Tiberius, passing the Rhine, entered Germany, and in three campaigns reduced all the nations between that river and the Elbe^d.

But that young prince dying on his return to Rome, the nations he had subdued threw off the yoke; a revolt which obliged Augustus to send Tiberius against them, who overran great part of Germany, and forced the Barbarians to sue for peace; but the emperor would not even hear the ambassadors, because the Sicambrians, one of the most warlike nations among them, had not sent their deputies with those of the other Barbarians. The war was therefore continued, till the Sicambrians submitted to such conditions as Augustus thought fit to impose; as did likewise the Sueves, the allies and confederates of the Sicambrians. The Sicambrians and Sueves having thus submitted, Tiberius, pursuant to the instructions he had received from Augustus, obliged forty thousand of them to pass the Rhine, and settle in Gaul. Suetonius tells us, that lands were allotted them on the banks of that river; but Suetonius, says Bocherius, was in that particular perhaps mistaken, it being probable, that they were placed at a considerable distance from the Rhine, to prevent their passing that river, and joining the other German nations; that author even endeavours to prove from several ancient monuments, which are still extant, that the country about Courtray was anciently inhabited by the Sueves^e.

The Sicambrians and Sueves submit to Tiberius.

Part of them transplanted into Gaul.

In the reign of Tiberius, the Sueves deposed Marobodes their king, and chose Catualdes in his room; who, at the instigation of Tiberius, had excited the Sueves against him. Marobodes took refuge in the Roman dominions, and was allowed by Tiberius to settle at Ravenna, where he passed the last eighteen years of his life. Catualdes himself was soon after driven from the throne, and obliged to take refuge in the city of Frejus. As both princes came attended by great numbers of Sueves, their friends and adherents, Tiberius, apprehending they might disturb the peace of the empire, allotted them lands beyond the Danube, and appointed a Quadian, named Vannius, to reign over them. Vannius governed them for the space of thirty years, that is, to the year 50, of the Christian æra, the tenth of the emperor Claudius, when, having

Yr. of [Fl. 2367. A.D. 19.

They drive out their king Marobodes.

Some Sueves allowed to settle beyond the Danube.

^d Tacit. Annal. ii. cap. 41. p. 53. Suet. lib. iii. cap. 50. p. 386.
^e Buch. lib. i. cap. 20. p. 49. 50.

become obnoxious to the nation, on account of his haughty and imperious conduct, he was by them, with the assistance of their neighbours the Hermundurians and Lygians, deposed and banished^f. Claudius refused to assist him; but nevertheless allowed him to retire into Pannonia, and even gave him and his followers lands in that province. Vangio and Sido, nephews to Vannius by his sister, but his declared enemies, divided his dominions between them, and continued ever faithful to the Romans. Sido and Italicus, who had succeeded Vangio, joined Vespasian with all their forces against Vitellius, and on that occasion commanded their troops in person. In the year 83, a colony of Sueves was settled in Frisia; for Tacitus, in the life of Agricola, says, that some Germans in the Roman service, quartered in Britain, having killed their officers, and made their escape, were driven ashore on the coast of Germany, and taken and sold for slaves by the Sueves and Frisians, who believed them pirates^g. How, or on what occasion, the Sueves came to

Yr. of Fl.

2433.

A. D. 85.

settle there, we are not informed. In the year 85, the Sueves, and their allies the Lygians, being greatly harassed by the neighbouring nations, sent deputies to Domitian, earnestly intreating him to assist them in their distress. Domitian dismissed the ambassadors with a favourable answer, but sent them only one hundred horsemen; an affront which so provoked the Sueves, that, joining the lazyges, a Sarmatic nation, they resolved to pass the Danube, and, by pillaging the Roman territories, revenge the insult offered to them by the emperor. What happened after this junction our historian has not thought fit to tell us: but Tacitus, in one place, writes, that the Sarmatians and Suevians rose in arms against the empire; and in another, that, soon after Agricola returned to Rome, the Roman armies were defeated in Pannonia. We find no farther mention of the Sueves till the year 168, when, joining the Marcomans, and other German nations, they desolated several provinces, defeated great armies, and threatened the empire with total destruction. But of this war, which is compared by the ancients to the Punic and Cimbrian wars, we have spoken at large in the Roman history.

*They defeat
the Romans
in Pan-
nonia.*

*Their se-
veral ir-
ruptions
into the
empire.*

The first year of Claudius's reign, the Sueves, entering into an alliance with other German nations, broke into Italy, and advanced as far as the lake Benacus, now Lago di Garda, in the neighbourhood of Verona; but were utterly defeated by the emperor, and most of them cut in pieces^h.

^f Tacit. Ann. ii. cap. 62, 63. p. 61, 62.

cap. 28. p. 147. cap. 41. p. 151.

^g Idem, Vit. Agric. p. 213. & Goltz. p. 118.

^h Aur. Vit. p. 213. & Goltz.

In the twenty-first year of Constantius's reign, the Sueves broke into Rhætia, the Quadians into Valeria, and the Sarmatians into Lower Pannonia and Upper Mœsia; invasions which obliged the emperor, who was then at Rome, to quit that metropolis, and march against them. But as he returned soon after to Italy, and no mention is made of any engagement, we may conclude, that at his approach the Barbarians withdrew, and retired to their respective countries¹.

In the year 406, they entered Gaul with the Alans and Vandals, and from thence passed into Spain, as we have already related. They continued ravaging that country till the year 411, when, the Romans being entirely expelled, they made peace with the natives, and divided the Spanish provinces, by lot, among them. In this division, Galicia fell to the Vandals and Sueves; but the inhabitants of that province, refusing to submit to the Barbarians, united in defence of their liberties, and formed a separate state in a corner of their ancient country, where they were often attacked by the Sueves, under the conduct of Emeric or Ermeric, their king. But that prince, being seized with a lingering distemper, suffered them to live in peace during the seven last years of his reign².

Yr. of FL.
2759.
A.D. 411.

*They enter
Gaul, and
thence pass
into Spain;
which they
divide
with the
Vandals
and Alans.*

About three years after the Sueves, Vandals, and Alans, had divided the Spanish provinces among them, Ataulphus king of the Visigoths, quitting Gaul, settled in Catalonia, where he was murdered, as was likewise his successor Sigeric, after a short reign of seven days: but Vallia, who succeeded Sigeric, having concluded a peace with the Romans, attacked the Sueves, Vandals, and Alans in Spain, gained several advantages over them, and cut off such numbers of the Alans, that the few who escaped the general slaughter, were obliged to submit to Gonderic king of the Vandals. The Sueves likewise sustained great losses this war; but nevertheless maintained, against the utmost efforts of the Goths, that part of Galicia which, in the division of the provinces, had fallen to their share. The Goths returning soon after to Gaul, where Constans had bestowed on them Aquitania Secunda, disputes arose among the Vandals and Sueves; for, the very year after the departure of the Goths, we find the Sueves, with their king Emeric, shut up by Gonderic, king of the Vandals, among the mountains of Biscay; but Asterius, count of Spain, and

¹ Ammian. lib. xvi. p. 72.

² Oros. lib. iii. cap. 23. p. 163.

³ lib. vii. cap. 41. p. 223. Idat. Chron.

*The Sueves
in Germa-
ny defeated
by Aetius.*

Maurocelus, vicar to the præfectus prætorio, falling unexpectedly upon the Vandals, obliged them to leave the Sueves, and retire out of Galicia into Bætica¹. Upon their retreat, the Sueves reduced that part of Galicia which had been possessed by them. In the year 430, a body of Sueves attempted to cross the Rhine, with a design to enter Gaul, and from thence pass into Spain, and join their countrymen settled in Galicia; but Aetius, who was then in Gaul, attacking them, cut great numbers in pieces, and obliged the rest to return to their own country, between the Elbe and Weissel. Of this victory Jornandes speaks without all doubt, where he tells us, that Aetius overcame the Sueves, made a dreadful havock of that nation, and made them subject to the empire^m. At the same time he defeated, with great slaughter, the Juthongians, whose country bordered on Rhætia, and the Norici, who were subjects of the empire, but had revolted, and joined the Sueves and Juthongians.

*The Sueves
in Spain
make war
upon the
natives of
Galicia.*

In Spain the Sueves made their utmost efforts to reduce the inhabitants of Galicia; but that brave people still maintained themselves free, defending their fortresses, against the repeated attacks of the Barbarians, with such resolution, that Emeric concluded a peace with them, that his people, who began to be greatly distressed for want of corn, might apply themselves to agriculture. This peace, however, was of short duration; for, in the following year, the Sueves, began hostilities again, and breaking into the territories of the natives, committed dreadful ravages. In this distress, the unhappy Galicians dispatched Idatius the chronologer, their bishop, into Gaul, to acquaint Aetius with the deplorable condition to which they were reduced; and to intreat him to send as many troops as he could spare to their assistance. Aetius, who was then at war with the Franks, unable to afford them the least assistance, sent count Censorius into Spain, with the character of ambassador to Emeric, hoping to induce him, by gentle methods, to conclude a peace with the natives. Emeric received the Roman ambassador with the greatest marks of honour, and, at his request, began to treat with the Galicians; but the treaty was soon broken off, and hostilities renewed, which continued till the year 437, when Censorius was sent again to the court of Emeric, with Fretimund, to negotiate an accommodation between that prince and the Galicians; which they effected in the end, Emeric being seized with a linger-

¹ Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. cap. 9. p. 63.
Goth. cap. 34. p. 660.

^m Jorn. Rer.

ing distemper, and thereby rendered incapable of bearing the toils of warⁿ.

A peace being thus concluded, Emeric resigned the crown to his son Rechila, after he had reigned twenty-eight years. He lived four years after his resignation, in retirement, without ever concerning himself with public affairs. Rechila signalized the beginning of his reign, with a victory gained in Bætica over Andevotus, whose rich treasure he pillaged; but who this Andevotus was, we are not informed. In the year 439, Rechila, entering Lusitania, made himself master of Merida, the capital of that province; and pursuing his conquests, reduced, in the course of the two following years, the city of Seville, and the two provinces of Bætica and Cartagena. In consequence of these hostilities, the Romans, who had again taken possession of Bætica, upon the departure of the Vandals, dispatched into Spain Astierus, to drive them out of the provinces they had seized. Astierus fell upon the Bagaudæ, who had lately settled in the province of Tarraco, and, cutting most of them in pieces, recovered that country^o; but we do not find that he attempted any thing against the Sueves. Not long after, Vitus, who commanded a considerable body of Roman troops in Spain, with the title of magister militiæ, entering the provinces of Bætica and Carthagera, committed great ravages; but a body of Goths, who came to his assistance, being defeated by Rechila, both he and his army were seized with such a panic, that, betaking themselves to a shameful flight, they left the Sueves at liberty to pillage the country at their pleasure, and reduce several strong places, that, till then, had been occupied by the Romans.

Yr. of Fl.
2789.
A. D. 441.

Rechila makes himself master of several places.

In the year 447 Rechila died, and was succeeded by his son Rechiarus, who took the royal ensigns at Merida, notwithstanding the opposition he met with from some of his own nation. He professed the catholic faith; but began his reign by plundering his neighbours lands^p. He married the daughter of Theodoric, king of the Goths in Languedoc^q; and, immediately after his marriage, entering the territories of the Gascons, who were still in Spain, ravaged them to a great extent. From thence he went to pay a visit to his father-in-law at Thoulouse, and, on his return to Spain, surpris'd the city of Lerida, where he carried off a great number of captives. He afterwards pillaged the territory of Saragosa, which belonged to the Romans^r.

Yr. of Fl.
2795.
A. D. 447.

Rechila succeeded by his son Rechiarus.

In the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Valentinian III. Manfuetus, count of Spain, and count Fronto, were sent

ⁿ Idat. p. 21, 22.
^o Isidor. Chron.

^p Ibid. p. 23.

^r Ibid. p. 26. 29.

*Rechiarius
concludes a
peace with
the Ro-
mans.*

*Theodoric
king of the
Visigoths
espouses the
cause of
the Romans
against
him.*

by the emperor to Rechiarius, with proposals for an accommodation between him and the natives of Spain who still continued subject to the Romans. Rechiarius not only received the Roman ambassadors with the greatest marks of esteem, but concluded a peace upon the terms which the emperor had enjoined them to propose. We are ignorant of what these terms were, but they are said, by Idatius, to have been very advantageous to the empire. The peace, thus concluded, was religiously observed by Rechiarius till the death of Valentinian, when, taking advantage of the general confusion occasioned by the murder of that prince, and likewise of his successor Maximus, he over-ran and pillaged the province of Carthagera, with a design to subdue all the countries that were still held in Spain by the Romans¹. Avitus, who had succeeded Maximus, dispatched count Fronto into Spain, to remind the king of the Sueves of the treaty he had concluded with Valentinian. At the same time Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, who had espoused the interest of Avitus, dispatched ambassadors to Rechiarius, his son-in-law, earnestly intreating him not to seize on the countries belonging to the empire, lest he too should be obliged to treat him as an enemy, and join the emperor, whom he was bound to support. What answer Rechiarius returned to this remonstrance, Jornandes does not explain: he only tells us, that he had no sooner dismissed the envoys than, breaking into the province of Tarraço, which belonged to the Romans, he laid it waste, without the least regard either to treaties or justice. Theodoric sent him a second embassy, to which he answered, with great haughtiness, that, if Theodoric complained of his conduct, he was ready to give him an account of it at Thoulouse. Theodoric, piqued at this answer, began to prepare for war; and, having first concluded a peace with the neighbouring nations, he set out, with the consent and approbation of Avitus, for Spain, leading with him a very numerous army, consisting of his own people, and a body of auxiliary Burgundians, commanded by Gondiac and Hilperic, or Chilperic, the son, as is supposed, of Gundicarius, king of that people². Rechiarius was, in the mean time, ravaging the province of Tarraço, whence he carried with him into Galicia a considerable booty, and a great number of captives; but hearing that Theodoric was marching against him, he went to meet him at the head of a powerful army. On the banks of the Urbicus, now Orbegua, at a place about twelve miles from Astorga, both armies engaged with

¹ Jorn. p. 675, 676. Idat. p. 30. 32. 33.

² Isidor. Chron.

great resolution and intrepidity; but at length the Sueves were totally defeated, and put to flight. Rechiarus, who was dangerously wounded, with difficulty made his escape, and took refuge in an obscure corner of Galicia. Theodoric, pursuing the enemy, entered Braga, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers[†]. From Braga he advanced to a place called Portucal, whither the fugitive king had retired. Rechiarus attempted to make his escape, but was taken, and delivered up to Theodoric, by whose order he was put to death, after he had been kept some time in prison. The Sueves, disheartened by the captivity of their king, submitted to the Goths, by whom great numbers of them were put to the sword. Theodoric appointed one of his officers, named Aquilphus, to govern the Sueves who had submitted; but this man revolting, caused himself to be proclaimed king of the Sueves. Theodoric sent a powerful army against him, by which he was defeated, and taken prisoner; and, soon after, he was beheaded. The Sueves who, refusing to submit to the Goths, had retired to the most distant corner of Galicia, no sooner heard that Rechiarus was dead than, scorning to live in subjection either to the Goths or the treacherous Aquilphus, they chose Maldra, the son of Massilel, for their sovereign.

*Rechiarus
utterly de-
feated,*

*taken, and
put to
death by
Theodoric.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2804.
A. D. 456.*

*Maldra
chosen king
in his room.*

Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, after his victory over the Sueves, had marched from Galicia into Lusitania, and, reducing several other cities, had laid siege to Merida, the metropolis of the province, which was forced to surrender. The king designed at first to give up the city to be plundered by his soldiers; but St. Eulalia, a famous martyr of that place, is said to have deterred him, by some prodigies, from putting his design in execution[‡]. Being soon after obliged to return to Gaul, he left behind him part of his troops, consisting of different nations, commanded by several generals, with orders to march into Galicia, and reduce such of the Sueves as had not yet submitted to his dominion; but these troops, after having committed dreadful ravages in the countries belonging to the Romans, were recalled by Theodoric, who had occasion to employ them elsewhere, before they began to act against the Sueves. That people, having now nothing to apprehend from so formidable an enemy, underwent violent commotions, some of them continuing faithful to Maldra, whom they had lately chosen, and others setting up against him a prince named Franton. Being thus divided, they made peace with the Galicians, or the natives of that province, who still possessed

*Commotions
among the
Sueves.*

[†] Jorn. p. 676. Isidor. Chron. Idat. p. 33. [‡] Cusp. p. 451.

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Rechiarius utterly de- feated,

taken, and put to death by Theodor-ic.

Yr. of Fl.
2804.
A. D. 456.

Maldra chosen king in his room.

Theodor-ic, king of the Visigoths, after his victory over the Sueves, had marched from Galicia into Lusitania, and, reducing several other cities, had laid siege to Merida, the metropolis of the province, which was forced to surrender. The king designed at first to give up the city to be plundered by his soldiers; but St. Eulalia, a famous martyr of that place, is said to have deterred him, by some prodigies, from putting his design in execution^u. Being soon after obliged to return to Gaul, he left behind him part of his troops, consisting of different nations, commanded by several generals, with orders to march into Galicia, and reduce such of the Sueves as had not yet submitted to his dominion; but these troops, after having committed dreadful ravages in the countries belonging to the Romans, were recalled by Theodor-ic, who had occasion to employ them elsewhere, before they began to act against the Sueves. That people, having now nothing to apprehend from so formidable an enemy, underwent violent commotions, some of them continuing faithful to Maldra, whom they had lately chosen, and others setting up against him a prince named Franton. Being thus divided, they made peace with the Galicians, or the natives of that province, who still possessed

Commotions among the Sueves.

^t Jorn. p. 676. Isidor. Chron. Idat. p. 33. ^u Cusp. p. 451.

several fortresses, and maintained their freedom among the mountains and in some of the fortified towns.

*They make
themselves
masters of
Lisbon.*

Notwithstanding the peace concluded between them and the Sueves, the partisans of Maldra, rushing unexpectedly into Lusitania, pillaged the country, and put to the sword a great number of the inhabitants, under pretence of making war on the Goths. Being received into Lisbon as friends, they made themselves masters of the city. Franton dying soon after this expedition, the whole nation of the Sueves acknowledged Maldra for their king, by whose orders they ravaged that part of Galicia which lay on the Douro, without the least regard to the treaty of peace concluded the year before ^w. About this time Theodoric sent an army into Spain against the Sueves, under the conduct of Cyrila, who, entering Bætica, which belonged to the Romans, committed the same disorders as the Sueves occasioned in Galicia, without offering to molest those against whom they were said to have been sent. At the same time ambassadors were dispatched to the Sueves, both by Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, and by Genéric, king of the Vandals in Africa, probably to conclude not only a peace, but an alliance with them against the emperor Majorianus, whose great parts and military genius gave them much uneasiness. The peace, however, was not concluded; for in the following year Theodoric, having recalled Cyrila, and the army commanded by him, sent Sunieric with another army in his room; which did not prevent the Sueves from pillaging Lusitania under the conduct of Maldra, and Galicia under that of his son Remismund ^x, by Jornandes called Richmund. Some writers speak of a battle fought this year between the Sueves and Galicians, in which the latter lost many persons of distinction ^y.

Yr. of Fl.
2808.
A. D. 460.

*Maldra
killed, and
succeeded by
Remismund
and Frumarius.*

In the same year 459, Maldra killed, upon what provocation we are not told, his brother, whose name has not been transmitted to us. Soon after this murder, he surprised the strong castle of Portucal, which was held by the natives: but he was soon overtaken by the fate his treachery and barbarity well deserved ^z; for he was assassinated in the course of the following year. Upon his death his sons Remismund and Frumarius divided his troops between them. Frumarius was likewise the son of Maldra, and brother of Remismund; for he not only had part of the troops, but shared with Remismund the dominions of the deceased prince. In the first year of their reign, the Sueves of Lugo

^w Isidor. Chron. p. 15.

^z Idat. & Isidor. Chron.

^x Idat. p. 37, 38.

^y Cusp. p. 451.

in Galicia treacherously attacking the Romans, who lived in that city, on Easter-day, cut great numbers of them in pieces, as they were not upon their guard, thinking themselves sufficiently protected by the solemnity of a day held by all Christians in the greatest veneration. Sunieric and Nepotianus, who commanded the troops of Theodoric in Spain, no sooner heard of this outrage than they detached part of their forces to take vengeance on the traitors. The Goths, entering Galicia, ravaged the territory of Lugo; but a false report being spread among them by Diſtines, Spinio, and Ascanius, who were natives of the country, but held a private correspondence with the Sueves, they returned into their own territories, without daring to advance farther into the enemy's country ^a. The same year, these three persons led a party of Sueves through bye-ways to surprise the city of Aquæ Flaviæ, where they took Idatius, bishop of the place, prisoner, on the twenty-sixth of July, and carried him into captivity, as he himself relates. After this exploit, Frumarius laid waste the territory of Braga, and Remismund pillaged that of Orenſo, on the Minho, in Galicia.

The Goths lay waste great part of Spain.

But the two princes, growing jealous of each other's power, began to quarrel; and their dissension gave the natives some respite; for with them they concluded a peace, that they might be more at leisure to watch each other's motions. This peace was observed for the space of four years, at the expiration of which Frumarius dying, the Sueves were again re-united under Remismund, who immediately dispatched ambassadors to Theodoric, acquainting him with the death of Frumarius, and soliciting him to conclude a peace with the Sueves. He forthwith embraced the proposal, sending envoys to Remismund with rich presents, and likewise arms, in token of his sincere friendship, and the confidence he reposed in him. At the same time he sent him a young maiden of extraordinary beauty, whom he married ^b. Remismund sent the bishops of Galicia to Theodoric, hoping, by their mediation, to obtain a peace; and Theodoric received them with all the respect due to their rank and dignity. He soon after recalled the general and troops he had in Spain; and Remismund, by a second embassy, returned him thanks for the peace he had granted him.

Remismund sole king of the Sueves.

This peace, however, did not prevent Remismund from surprising, this very year, the city of Coimbra, and carrying from thence man, captives. He did not, however,

He surprises Coimbra.

^a Idat. p. 39.

^b Ibid.

Yr. of Fl.

2813.

A. D. 465.

*The Sueves
embrace
the tenets
of Arius.*

keep possession of the place; for, three years after, he surprised it again^c. At length he was prevailed upon to release the prisoners, and make peace with the natives: but this peace, says Idatius, was attended with a greater and more dangerous evil than the war itself. Rechiarus, king of the Sueves, had embraced the catholic faith, and his example had been followed by the whole nation of the Sueves; but at this time they suffered themselves to be infected with the heresy of Arius, by Ajax, a native of Galatia, who, abandoning the catholic faith, had been ordained by the Arians. He had remained some time at the court of Theodoric, in Gaul, where he was respectfully treated by that prince, who held the tenets of Arius. From Gaul he passed into Spain, where he was well received by the Sueves, upon the recommendation of Theodoric. The kind reception he met with encouraged him to propagate his errors among the Sueves, and impugn the doctrine of the Trinity.

In the mean time Theodoric being murdered by his brother Euric, Remismund, thinking himself no longer bound by the treaty of peace which he had concluded, by his mediation, with the natives, broke into Lusitania, and having surprised the city of Coimbra, gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. He likewise ravaged the territory of Aunona, belonging to the Galicians; who sent deputies to Euric, king of the Visigoths, begging his mediation with the king of the Sueves. Accordingly Euric prevailed upon Remismund to grant a peace or truce to the people of Aunona; but in the mean time he himself committed dreadful devastations in Lusitania, reduced Pampelona and Saragosa, and having overcome and put to flight the nobility of the province of Tarraco, who continued faithful to the Romans, subdued all Upper Spain^d. Thus were the inhabitants of Spain, who could not prevail upon themselves to withdraw their obedience to the Romans, and submit to the Barbarians, in a most cruel manner plundered and harassed on one side by the Goths, and on the other by the Sueves, while the Romans were not in a condition to relieve them. In the following year they made themselves masters of Lisbon, which was betrayed by Lusides, a native of the place, who commanded in the town. As the city was at that time held by the Goths, the troops of that nation, entering Lusitania, committed dreadful ravages on the territories belonging to the Sueves, as did the Sueves on those of the Goths. However, Euric, being determined upon

^c Isidor. Chron.^d Ibid. p. 619.

driving the Romans entirely out of Spain, with a design to fall afterwards upon the Sueves, concluded, for the present, a peace with Remismund, and then turning his arms against the Romans, recovered all the places that had been hitherto possessed by them, as we have related in the history of the Visigoths; but he died before he could put in execution the design he had formed against the Sueves. Remismund, finding he could no longer contend with the Visigoths, who were now masters of almost all Spain, retired into Galicia, and there, giving over all thoughts of new conquests, ended his days. His successors followed his example, contenting themselves with the kingdom of Galicia, and observing a strict neutrality in the disputes that arose between the Visigoths and the Romans. By these means they maintained themselves in the quiet possession of Galicia till the year 585, when they were subdued by Leunigild or Leovigild, king of the Visigoths, and their kingdom reduced to a province of the Gothic monarchy, after it had continued a hundred and seventy-four, or, as some assert, a hundred and seventy-seven years: but of the successors of Remismund, to which prince the emperor Anthemius is said to have given Galicia in 468, and of the downfall of their kingdom, we shall speak at large in a more proper place.

The greater part of Spain reduced by the Visigoths.

Galicia yielded to Remismund.

S E C T. V.

The Ancient State of the Franks, till their Settlement in Gaul.

AS the ancients, by whom mention is first made of the Franks, have given us no account of their origin, and Valesius, a most diligent and curious enquirer into the antiquities of his nation, has cautiously waved this subject, it cannot be expected we should determine any thing relating to it, that may be depended upon. Of the various opinions, or rather conjectures, that have been offered on this head by the modern writers, and which it would be too tedious to relate, that of Bucherius seems the most probable; importing, that the Franks were originally a motly multitude of several ancient nations dwelling beyond the Rhine, who, uniting against the Romans in defence of their common liberty, styled themselves Franks, that word signifying, in their language, as it still does in ours, *free*°. It is certain, that under the name of Franks are comprised in

The origin and name of the Franks.

° Buch. lib. vi. cap. 13. p. 110.

history several nations, whose names were known long before their's, such as the Actuarii, Chamavi, Bructeri, Salii, Frisii, Chauci, Amisvarii, and Catti. The Franks are sometimes called Sicambrians, because they inhabited the country formerly possessed by that nation, of which the greater part was exterminated by Augustus, and the rest transplanted into Gaul.

Bodin maintains that the Franks were descended from the Gauls, who being increased to such a degree, that the country was too confined for them, sent colonies beyond the Rhine into Germany. Some of these colonies settled on the banks of that river, and in process of time conquered their ancient country. Cæsar indeed tells us, that the Gauls sent colonies into Germany; but upon what authority can we suppose the Franks to have been descended from those Gauls, rather than from some other of the many nations settled in Germany? Upon the whole, we think the opinion of Bucherius, which we have mentioned already, to be the most probable; that the Franks consisted of several German nations united against the Romans, in defence of their common liberty.

Their seats.

It appears from their constant incursions into Gaul, that they were settled on the banks of the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Mentz. The orator Eumenes, who flourished at Autun, in the end of the third century, distinguishes the territory which the Franks inhabited originally on the coast of the ocean, from the country which was conquered by the Romans beyond the Rhine, and afterwards seized by the Franks^f. This district, according to the best modern geographers and historians, was bounded on the north by the ocean; on the west, by the ocean and the Rhine; on the south, by the Lhone, or the Mein; and on the east, by the Weser^g: according to which description, they possessed the present provinces of Westphalia, Hesse, and some adjacent states. St. Jerom calls them a nation not so great as powerful, and places them between the Saxons and Alemans^h; the Saxons to the east, and the Alemans to the south; for those were properly called Alemans who dwelt between the Rhine, the Mein, and the Danube. The same writer relates, that the Saxons received a great overthrow at Deufon, in the country of the Franks; which place Pontanus, and most other writers, suppose to be the same that, by later historians, is called Duitium, and now Duyts, opposite Cologne. Upon the whole, we may conclude, that

^f Eumen. Pan. ix. p. 193.
Vit. Hil. p. 246.

^g Buch. p. 306.

^h Hier.

the Franks possessed the countries we have just mentioned; and that, in process of time, they extended themselves along the Rhine, as far as the mouths of that river, and the ocean.

The Franks were anciently divided into several tribes, whereof the Ansuarii and Salii, mentioned by Ammianus, were undoubtedly the most considerable. Pontanus supposes the Ansuarii to be the same people with the Ansinarii, of whom mention is made by Tacitus. These being driven from their own habitations by the Chauci, seized on the country from which the Frisians had been expelled by the command of Nero. Tacitus calls them a more powerful nation than that of the Frisians. Pontanus is of opinion, that they were a nation that wandered from place to place, ready to join any other, as they found their interest concerned; that, agreeable to this principle, they united with the German nations lying towards the ocean, when, confederating against the Romans, in defence of their common liberty, they assumed the name of Franks; that they too were blended under that common appellation, but at the same time retained their ancient name, being called Ansuarii or Ansinarii Franci. This name some derive from the Teutonic word *hance*, signifying *excellent free*; whence the free towns of Germany are still called the Hance towns. Others, and among the rest Goropius Becanus, call them Ansuarii or Ansinarii, from the German *ansie*, signifying *society*, because they were ready to join any other nation in league and society; and hence, according to these writers, the free towns of Germany are styled Hance towns, they being united in one society, though far removed from one another.

The Ansuarian Franks,

As for the Salian Franks, who broke into Taxandria, now Brabant, but were driven out by Julian, as we read in Ammianus¹, Beatus Rhenanus derives their name from the Sala, which falls into the Mein; Paulus Æmilius, from another river of the same name, that empties itself into the Elbe; Sidonius Apollinaris from the Latin word *salio*, as if they had been so called from their *leaping* and *dancing*; and lastly, Pontanus from the river Sala, now the Issel, on the banks of which they resided. The latter opinion appears the most probable, since the other two rivers, bearing the same name, flowed at some distance from the territories of the Franks.

and Salian Franks.

With respect to their manners, Vopiscus paints them as a treacherous and faithless nation, accustomed to despise the most solemn oaths and obligations. Salvianus, blend-

The manners of the Franks.

¹ Ammian. lib. xvi.

ing their good and bad qualities, says, that they were greatly addicted to lying, but civil and kind to strangers ^k. Procopius describes them as the most faithless of all nations; but Agathias, who flourished soon after Procopius, extols them for their fidelity, justice, and concord, with which they lived among themselves ^l; and St. Bernard, in one of his Epistles, remarks, that they observed their oaths with the greatest strictness and religion; inasmuch that they thought themselves bound by a public oath, even when it was sinful to take it ^m. They seem to have been always troublesome neighbours; whence Egonhardus, chancellor to Charles the Great, used to say, "I should choose a Frank for a friend, but not for a neighbour."

*Their form
of govern-
ment, and
kings.*

Their form of government was, without all doubt, monarchical, though authors have given us no account of their first kings. The Franks are first mentioned in history about the year 241; and yet Tyro Prosper says, that the most ancient king of that nation, whose name occurred to him in searching the records of time, was Priam, who reigned about the year 382 ⁿ. After him succeeded his two sons Marcomir and Sunno, and at the same time Genobald. Next came Theodomir or Theudemir, the son of Ricimer, who was consul in 384. Theodomir was succeeded by Pharamond the son of Marcomir, and grandson of Priam. It is, however, to be observed, that as Fredigarius supposes Theodomir to have been the son and immediate successor of Clodio, and ascribes to the former whatever else is by other writers given to the latter, the learned Usher concludes, that Theodomir and Pharamond were the same person, and accordingly places the defeat and death of Pharamond in the year 428, when Clodio began his reign, and the Franks were driven out of that part of Gaul which bordered on the Rhine, by Aetius, as we read in Prosper. In the reign of Pharamond, or not long before, the Franks, passing the Rhine, which had been the boundary between them and the Romans for near two hundred years, settled in Thongria, that is, in the territory of Tongres, where they were governed by as many kings as they had cities or cantons. These kings were chosen out of the most illustrious families, and distinguished from their subjects by the length of their hair ^o: but whether Pharamond had any authority over the other princes, or was only a chief more powerful than the rest, is what we cannot collect from history. Bucherius is of opinion, that, in Pharamond's time, Honorius concluded

^k Salv. lib. vii. p. 172.

^l Agath. lib. i. p. 13.

^m Bernard. Ep. cccxix. p. 203.

ⁿ Vide Coint. p. 417. & Vales. p. 86.

^o Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. cap. 3. p. 84.

a treaty

a treaty with them, in virtue of which they were allowed to settle in the country bordering on the Rhine on the side of Cologne^p : but what he writes is not supported by any of the ancients. Aetius obliged them, as we have hinted above, to repass the Rhine, having defeated them in battle, and slain their king Theodomir or Pharamond. However, Clodio, the successor of Pharamond, settled again in Gaul; for we are told by Gregory of Tours, that he resided in the castle of Disparg, supposed by Bucherius, and most geographers, to have stood in Brabant, on the borders of Thongria^q. Clodio was succeeded by Merovæus, Merovæus by Childeric, and he by Clodavæus or Clovis, the first Christian king of the Franks, who drove the Goths out of Gaul, and fixed the royal seat at Paris.

Tyro Prosper writes, that Priam, the father of Marcomir and Sunno, is the first king of the Franks, whose name he found recorded in history; but it is certain, that, by the ancients, other kings are mentioned long before his time, before the year 382, when Tyro Prosper supposes him to have reigned. These are Atec, Genobald, Afcaric, Gaisus or Regaisus, Maloric, Mallobaudus or Mellobaudus. Atec and Genobald seem to have reigned at the same time, but over different nations or tribes of the Franks; for they are both mentioned by Mamertinus in his panegyric on Dioclesian, pronounced about the year 288, as reigning at that time. Atec, with his Franks, had plundered the coasts of Gaul; but was compelled by Dioclesian to sue for peace, and make great submissions to that prince, in order to appease him, and be confirmed in his kingdom. Genobald likewise was forced to submit, says our panegyrist, the only means left of his being restored to the quiet possession of his dominions^r. In the same panegyric, Mamertinus speaks of a great victory gained by the generals of Dioclesian over a fickle and deceitful nation of Barbarians; which description suits no nation so well as that of the Franks. It was perhaps upon this victory that the two kings were obliged to submit to the emperor, who, in all likelihood, took on that occasion the surname of Francicus, which, in ancient inscriptions, is given both to him and his colleague Maximin. Afcaric, and Gaisus or Regaisus, governed the Franks in the time of Constantius the son of Constantine the Great, and were, by the latter, in the first year of his reign, taken prisoners, and exposed to the wild beasts in the public sports^s. Maloric, who lived in the reigns of

*Kings of
the Franks
mentioned
by the an-
cients.*

^p Buch. p. 450, 451, 475. ^q Coïnt. p. 426. Child. p. 7—9.
^r Buch. Belg. p. 223. Val. Rer. Franc. lib. i. p. 11, 12. ^s Eu-
trop. p. 537. Eumon. Panegy. ix. p. 198.

Constantius the son of Constantine, of Julian, and Jovian, is called by Marcellinus only governor or chief of his countrymen in the emperor's palace¹; but is by Procopius reckoned among their kings. Jovian appointed him general of the Roman troops in Gaul; but he declined that employment. Mallobaudus, or Mellobaudus, styled by Marcellinus king of the Franks, commanded under Gratian, and gained a signal victory over the Alemans, of whom thirty thousand were killed upon the spot, with their king Triarius. Mallobaudus, though king of the Franks, served in the Roman army, and thought himself honoured with the employment of comes domesticorum to the emperor Gratian. Ricimer, Ricimer, or Richimer, who was comes domesticorum to the same emperor, general of the Roman horse, and consul, is by some numbered among the kings of the Franks. His son Theodominus reigned over the Franks in the time of Honorius, and was killed by the Romans, with his mother Ascula, according to an ancient chronicle quoted by Gregory of Tours². Fredigarius supposes him to have been killed by count Castinus, who was sent against the Franks, by the emperor Honorius, about the year 421, at which time all other writers suppose Pharamond to have reigned.

Having thus given the reader the best account we have been able to obtain from the most authentic writers of the first kings of the Franks, without taking upon us to ascertain the order of their succession, or their descents, we shall now pass to their wars and exploits, from the time they are first mentioned in history to their settling in Gaul.

They break into Gaul; The first historian, by whom mention is made of the Franks, is Vopiscus, in the life of the emperor Aurelian; where that writer declares, that the Franks made an irruption into Gaul, and, though few in number, committed dreadful ravages: but Aurelian, then only tribune of the sixth legion, quartered at that time in Mentz, marching against them, killed seven hundred, took three hundred prisoners, whom he sold for slaves, and obliged the rest to resign their booty, and retire³.

They break anew into Gaul; but are defeated by Gallienus. In the fourth year of Valerian's reign, they broke again into Gaul, with several other German nations; but were entirely defeated by Gallienus, with whom Valerian had shared the empire⁴. However, the Franks and other German nations returning soon after in far greater numbers, Gallienus, no longer able to repress them by force, offered

¹ Ammian. Marcel. lib. xv. p. 39.

² Greg. Tur. p. 64.

³ Vopisc. Vit. Aur. p. 212.

⁴ Zol. lib. i. p. 646. Zon. Vit. Gallien. p. 235.

advantageous

advantageous terms to one of their chiefs, who, readily accepting them, undertook to guard the frontiers of the empire; which service he performed accordingly. In the following year 257, some Franks appear to have served in the Roman army against the Goths; for among the auxiliaries that marched with Aurelian into Thrace, which province the Goths were then pillaging, mention is made of Hartoman, Haldegastus, Hildemon, and Carioviscus¹, which names bear a great resemblance to others that frequently occur in history among the Franks; whence Vorburgus concludes them to be the names of some chief men of that nation, who came with a body of their countrymen to assist the Romans in this expedition².

Three years after the Franks, and other German nations, taking advantage of the confusion which the captivity of Valerian had caused throughout the empire, invaded Gaul, and, having ravaged the most wealthy provinces, made an irruption into Italy³. St. Jerom^b and Orosius^c add, that the Franks, crossing the Alps, and passing through Rhætia and Lombardy, advanced to the neighbourhood of Ravenna, destroying the country, and committing dreadful devastations. Zosimus writes, that this sudden irruption obliged Gallienus to take the field, in order to oppose the Barbarians; but whether they were forced by him to retire, or withdrew of their own accord, he does not declare.

Five years after this irruption they committed unheard-of ravages in Spain. Victor writes, that after they had ravaged Gaul, they passed from thence into Spain^d, which they pillaged for the space of twelve years. Some of them having provided vessels, crossed over into Africa, with a design to enrich themselves with the spoils of that wealthy nation; but what was the issue of that undertaking we are not informed.

In the year 265, Posthumius, who had revolted in Gaul, and assumed the title of emperor, gained great advantages over the Franks, drove them beyond the Rhine, and even built some forts in their country; wherefore on his medals he is styled the Restorer of Gaul, the Defender of the Empire^e. On the same medals frequent mention is made of his victories over the Franks, chiefly in 256, the fifth year of his reign; and on some he is styled Germanicus Maximus, the Franks being distinguished in those times, as Valerius properly observes, by the name of Germans, from the

Yr. of Fl.
2608.
A. D. 260.

They ravage Gaul and part of Italy.

Yr. of Fl.
2613.
A. D. 265.

They break into Spain, which they hold twelve years.

Posthumius gains great advantages over them.

¹ Aur. Vit. p. 212.

² Vorb. p. 519.

³ Aur. Vit.

p. 215, 216.

^b Hier. Chron.

^c Oros. lib. vii. cap. 22.

p. 214.

^d Vict. in Gallien.

^e Trig. Tyr. cap. 4.

p. 186. Birag. 393.

Alemans, and other nations inhabiting Germany. However, they afterwards served under him against Gallienus, and supported him to the utmost of their power in the authority he had usurped. In the fourth year of the emperor Aurelian, they made an irruption into Gaul; but were repulsed with great slaughter by that prince, who having taken a number of prisoners, led them, with the captives of certain other nations, in triumph, when he made his public entry into Rome.

Yr. of Fl.

2623.

A. D. 275.

The Franks, Burgundians, and Vandals, seize on seventy cities in Gaul,

but are driven out by Probus.

A small number of Franks ravage the coasts of Asia, Greece, Sicily, &c.

At the death of Aurelian, the Franks, together with the Lyges, the Burgundians, and the Vandals, crossing the Rhine, entered Gaul; and having reduced above seventy of the chief cities in the space of two years, considered themselves as masters of all that country: but in the mean time Tacitus, who had succeeded Aurelian, dying, Probus, who was chosen in his room, marching in person against the Burgundians and Vandals, dispatched some of his best generals against the Franks, who defeated them entirely, and obliged them to return home ^f. Probus himself was attended with the like success against the Burgundians and Vandals; so that all Gaul was, by his valour, delivered from the yoke of the Barbarians. The emperor, not satisfied with driving them out of Gaul, pursued them across the Rhine, laid waste their territories to a great extent, and even built some forts in their country; which struck the Barbarians with such terror, that nine of their kings came in person to sue for peace; which Probus granted, upon their promising to supply the Romans yearly with a certain quantity of corn, and other provisions, and to send sixteen thousand men to serve in the Roman army ^g. These Probus divided into companies of fifty or sixty men, distributing them among the Roman troops in different places. Some of the Franks, who had either submitted to Probus, or had been taken prisoners in this war, were sent by the emperor to the coast of the Euxine sea, where lands were allowed them to cultivate.

There they continued for some time; but growing weary of living after the Roman manner in a country so far distant from their own, having seized on some ships, they put to sea, and cruising about, pillaged first the coasts of Asia and Greece, and then passing over into Africa, landed in different places; but being constantly repulsed by the Roman troops quartered in that province, they quitted Africa, and steering their course to Sicily, made a descent in that island,

^f Tacit. Vit. Aur. p. 227. Prob. Vit. p. 218.
p. 238, 239.

^g Prob. Vit.

took and plundered the city of Syracuse, and having put most of the inhabitants to the sword, re embarked with an immense booty. From Sicily they sailed for the streights of Gibraltar, and entering the ocean, plundered the coasts of Gaul and Spain, and returned loaded with booty to their native country, at the mouth of the Rhine ^b. This event happened about the year 280. Proculus having revolted, and assumed the title of emperor at Cologne, the Franks at first espoused his cause, and promised to assist him to the utmost of their power; but, notwithstanding this engagement, they not only abandoned, but betrayed the usurper into the emperor's hands ^c. From this period they continued quiet till the fourth year of Dioclesian, when, in conjunction with the Saxon pirates, they plundered the coasts of Gaul, carrying off an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives: but Carausius having, by the emperor's order, equipped a fleet at Boulogne, and gained some advantages over them, they retired for a time to their respective countries ^d.

In the following year Maximian, crossing the Rhine, entered Germany, and having desolated the enemy's country, returned to Gaul with an immense booty. The fame of his name struck such terror into the Franks, that two of their kings, Atec and Genobald, the first we find recorded in history, submitted to him, desiring him to confirm them in their respective kingdoms ^e.

Maximian allowed lands in the neighbourhood of Treves and Cambray to great numbers of Franks and Letes, who had submitted, those territories being almost quite destitute of inhabitants. The Letes were originally a Gaulish nation; but having afterwards settled in Germany, they were reckoned among the German nations. A few years after this transaction, the Franks reduced Batavia, and that part of Flanders which is watered by the river Escaut; but Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, marching against that people soon after he was raised to the dignity of Cæsar, defeated them in battle: having obliged them to surrender at discretion, he transplanted them, with their wives and children, into Gaul, where they were forced to cultivate the lands which they themselves had wasted, to pay the usual tributes and taxes, as subjects of the empire, and to serve, when wanted, in the Roman armies. Upon their submitting to these conditions, their arms were taken from

Yr. of Fl.
2636
A. D. 288.

Several
Franks
transplant-
ed into
Gaul by
Constantius
Chlorus.

^b Zof. lib. i. p. 666.
p. 535.
12, et seq.

^c Procul. Vit. p. 247.

^d Eutrop.

^e Panegy. x. p. 125. Val. Xer. Franc. lib. i. p. 11,

Yr. of Fl.
264.
A. D. 293.

them; nor were they allowed any in their new settlements, that they might, by degrees, soften their native fierceness and barbarity, and accustom themselves to live after the Roman manner. The emperor Julian, speaking of Maximian and Constantius says, that they not only drove the Barbarians out of the Roman territories, which they had long possessed, and cultivated as their own, but built several castles on the frontiers; by which means the country, no longer infested by the Barbarians, enjoyed a profound tranquility ^m.

Constantine takes two of their kings prisoners, whom he exposes to the wild beasts.

From this period they continued quiet till the year 306, the first of Constantine's reign, when, that prince being employed in Britain, they seized the opportunity to break into Gaul; but the emperor returning soon after, fell upon them unexpectedly, while they were busied in plundering the country, cut great numbers in pieces, and having taken two of their kings prisoners, Afcatic and Gaisus, he delivered them to be devoured by wild beasts, in the magnificent shews which he afterwards exhibited. After this victory he crossed the Rhine, and entering the country of the Bructerians, who were one of the several nations then known by the name of Franks, he made a dreadful havock of that people, and took a great many prisoners, whom he likewise exposed to wild beasts. He repaired all the forts on the Rhine, placed numerous garrisons in them, maintained on that river a great number of vessels well armed and manned, and by these means restrained for some time the incursions of the Franks. In the year 308, they began again to assemble in considerable bodies, with a design, as was supposed, to make an irruption into Gaul; but Constantine marching against them they dispersed ⁿ. In 310, all the nations known by the name of Franks, taking arms, approached the banks of the Rhine, and dividing their army, which was very numerous, into several bodies, attempted to invade Gaul at different places. Constantine marched in person against them, and not depending upon the relations of others, ventured in disguise into the midst of their army, pretending to be a deputy sent by the emperor. As he found that, not willing to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement, they designed to carry on the war in separate bodies, he assured them, that the emperor was not then with the army; which circumstance they no sooner understood, than they dismissed the pretended deputy, and uniting all their forces, marched against the

^m Panegy. i. iii. vii. viii. p. 3, 47, 93, 104, 106, 107. ix. p. 200, 201.

ⁿ Ibid.
enemy.

enemy. Constantine received them at the head of his army, put them to flight at the first attack, and made a dreadful slaughter of them in the pursuit °.

They are defeated by Constantine; Yr. of Fl. 2658. A. D. 310.

Nevertheless, in three years after this defeat, taking advantage of the emperor's absence, who was gone to Rome, they began to assemble on the banks of the Rhine; Constantine no sooner received intelligence of their motions than, leaving Italy, he hastened into Gaul. The Franks, who had not yet passed the Rhine, withdrew at his approach; but Constantine, giving out that the Alemans too were ready to break into Gaul, left some troops concealed among the woods at a small distance from the river, and retired with the rest. The Franks no sooner heard of his departure than they passed the Rhine; but the Romans, issuing from their ambuscade, attacked them before they could draw up their forces, cut great numbers in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass the river in the greatest confusion. Constantine followed them in person with his whole army, and entering their country, wasted their lands, burnt their habitations, and having taken a great number of prisoners, exposed them all to be devoured by wild beasts. For this victory over the Franks, he took the title of Franciscus^p. Notwithstanding this severity, the Franks were no sooner informed that Constantine had left the country, with a design to visit Italy and Illyricum, than they crossed the Rhine in great numbers, and entering Gaul, laid waste several provinces. But Crispus, the son of Constantine, marching against them, obliged them to quit their booty, and retire.

who punishes them with great severity.

They break into Gaul again; but are repulsed by Crispus.

No farther mention of the Franks is made in history till the year 341, the fourth of Constantius's reign, when they made an irruption into Gaul. Constans marched against, and gave them battle; but as the loss was equal on both sides, the war was not ended till the ensuing year^q, when Constans either conquered or appeased them, as Idatius expresses it, by prevailing upon them, with presents and money, to retire, as may be gathered from Libanius, who tells us, though speaking as a panegyrist, that the Franks were not conquered by force of arms. Be that as it may, it is certain they concluded a peace with Constans, and submitted to the princes he was pleased to appoint over them. As they were the most powerful nation in those parts, this peace prevented the others from attempting any thing against the empire; so that Constans, having nothing to fear on

They conclude a peace with Constans.

° Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. iii. cap. 25. p. 420.
Franc. lib. i. p. 23. q Socr. p. 88. Soz. p. 504.

p Valef. Rer.

that

Yr. of Fl.

2703.

A. D. 355.

*They make
themselves
masters of
above forty
cities in
Gaul.*

that side, passed over into Britain, to oppose the Scots, who made frequent inroads into the Roman dominions.

In 355, being the eighteenth of the reign of Constantius, Malaric, king of the Franks, held a chief employment in the emperor's court*. But the following year his nation, no longer able to live in peace, entering into an alliance with the Alemans and Saxons, crossed the Rhine, took and pillaged above forty cities on the banks of that river, desolated the neighbouring provinces, and carried off a great number of captives. The city of Cologne was on this occasion almost entirely ruined†. From thence they advanced to Autun, which city they besieged; but being vigorously repulsed by the veterans, who were quartered there, they abandoned the enterprize, and contented themselves with plundering the open places, roaming about without control, and destroying with fire and sword what they could not carry off. Constantius, who was then in Italy, not thinking it prudent to quit that country, raised his cousin Julian to the dignity of Cæsar, and at the same time appointed him governor of Gaul. Julian immediately set out for his government, and arriving at Vienna, was received with extraordinary marks of joy. As he came to that city in the depth of winter, he continued there the remaining part of that season, deliberating about the operations of the ensuing campaign. Taking the field early in the spring, he marched, at the head of a small body, from Vienna to Autun, and from thence to Auxerre. On his march, he found himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy, who marched in great bodies; but he put them to flight with a handful of men, and cut himself a way through the midst of the Barbarians to Troies, and from thence to Rheims, where the main body of the army waited his arrival. Being joined by all the Roman troops quartered in Gaul, he hastened from thence to Decempagi, now Dieuze on the Seille, in Lorraine, with a design to fall upon the Franks, who were employed in ravaging the country. But the enemy, receiving timely notice of his approach, took advantage of a dark and wet night to attack his rear, and would have cut off two legions, had not the rest of the army, alarmed at the sudden noise, returned to their assistance. The Franks, encouraged with this success, attacked him again a few days after; but were easily put to flight. However, this trifling victory enabled him to reach Cologne, which the enemy abandoned at his approach, after it had been ten months in their hands.

* Ammian. lib. v. p. 39.

† Ammian. lib. v. p. 50. 168.

During

During his stay at Cologne, one of the kings of the Franks, dreading his arms, sent deputies to sue for peace; but Julian only granted him a short truce. The following year, Julian gained a complete victory over the Franks, and other German nations, that had invaded Gaul, and took by storm two castles on the Meuse, in which some Franks had taken refuge, after having ravaged the country about Rheims. They defended themselves with great bravery for fifty-four days; but being at length obliged to surrender, they were all sent to the emperor, who incorporated them among his troops. After this exploit, Julian put his army into winter-quarters, and took up his own in Paris; but in the mean time the Salii, a nation of the Franks, broke unexpectedly into Taxandria, now Brabant. Julian, marching against them early in the spring, forced them to abandon the country they had seized, though they declared themselves ready to guard the frontiers of the empire on that side, to supply the Romans with troops when required, and to pay the usual taxes and tributes. Zosimus says, that they had been driven out of their own country by the Saxons and Quadians, who were by Julian forced to restore it to the ancient proprietors; an act of generosity which so gained the hearts of the Salian Franks, that, submitting to the emperor, great numbers of them served in his army.

But they are defeated and driven out by Julian.

The Franks continued quiet the whole time Julian reigned; but they no sooner heard of his death than, entering into an alliance with their neighbours the Saxons, they began to infest Gaul both by sea and land. But count Theodosius, father to the emperor of that name, being sent against them by Valentinian, obliged them to retire with great loss. That commander is said to have overcome the Saxons, to have gained a victory over them near the Orcades, and to have defeated the enemies of the empire in Batavia, near the Rhine and the Vahal; which country was then held by the Franks. At this time Mallobaudes was king of the Franks, and engaged in a war with the Alemans, who, having concluded a peace with the Romans, had entered, upon what provocation we know not, the territories of the Franks, destroying every thing with fire and sword. Mallobaudes met them, at the head of a considerable army: pretending to avoid an engagement, he drew them into an ambuscade; by which means he cut great numbers in pieces, and among the rest their king Macrianus, a warlike prince, who had long infested, with continual inroads, the

Count Theodosius gains some advantages over them.

Mallobaudes, king of the Franks, serves the Romans, and is honoured by them.

¹ Ammian. lib. xvii. p. 89.
Rer. Franc. lib. vi.

² Zos. lib. iii. p. 561.

³ Val.

Roman dominions*. Three years after, Mallobaudes was raised by the emperor Gratian to the consulate, having the emperor himself for his colleague in that dignity^r. He was afterwards honoured by the same emperor with the post of comes domesticorum, and distinguished himself in a most glorious manner in the battle of Argentaria, in which above thirty thousand of the Lentinenses, who had invaded the empire, were killed, with their king Triarius. This victory was chiefly owing to Mallobaudes, who, on this occasion, commanded the Roman troops, in conjunction with count Nennianus, as we have related in our history of the Eastern and Western empire. He was consul the second time in 383, the eighth and last of Gratian's reign, and commanded the army, under that prince, against the usurper Maximus; but was not attended with his usual success; for Gratian was put to flight, soon after taken prisoner, and put to death at Lyons.

*The Franks
ravage
Gaul*

Three years after the death of Gratian, we find the Franks ravaging Gaul with more fury than ever, perhaps to revenge on the usurper Maximus the death of Gratian, who had shewn a particular kindness to their nation. However that be, Gregory of Tours tells us, that they over-ran all Belgic Gaul, put the city of Cologne in fear, burnt several villages, and then returned home with their booty, leaving several parties in Gaul to pursue the ravages they had begun. These were defeated by Nannius and Quintinus, the two generals of Maximus, who destroyed great numbers in the province of Hainault. Quintinus, not satisfied with this advantage, passed the Rhine at Nuys, contrary to the opinion of Nannius, who refused to follow him; and, entering the enemy's country with the troops under his command, burnt several villages, which he found abandoned by the inhabitants. Encouraged by this success he advanced far into the country; but being, on his return, drawn into marshes, woods, and impassible places, by the enemy's pretending to fly before him, he found himself suddenly furrounded on all sides by great multitudes, who attacking his men while they were entangled in the woods and marshes, cut most of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to shelter themselves in the woods, where they perished with famine, only Quintinus, and a few more, having, with the utmost difficulty, found means to escape and return to Gaul, after having suffered inexpressible hardships in the enemy's country. The loss sustained by the Romans on this occasion was very great, and is by some compared

Yr. of Fl.
2736.
A. D. 388.

*A Roman
army cut
off by the
Franks.*

* Ammian. lib. xxx.

^r Idem. lib. xxxi. p. 451.

to the disaster of Varus and his legions, in the time of Augustus². This disaster happened while the Franks were governed by Genobald, Marcomir, and Sunno, who being elated with this victory, made an irruption into Gaul the year following; and Theodosius sent Valentinian to make head against them. Upon that prince's arrival in Gaul, Arbogastes, general of the troops in those provinces, advised him to march into the enemy's country, and force them to restore the booty they had carried off the year before, and give up the authors of the war. Whether Valentinian followed his advice, we are not told. All we know is, that he had a conference with Marcomir and Sunno, who delivered hostages; and that he afterwards retired to Treves, where he passed the winter^a.

In 392, Arbogastes having put Valentinian II. to death, persuaded Eugenius, whom he had raised to the empire in his room, to make war upon the Franks. Arbogastes, of whom we have spoken at large in our history of the Eastern and Western empire, was himself a Frank; but as he bore great resentment against Marcomir and Sunno, he not only induced Eugenius to make war upon them, but taking upon himself the whole management of it, he passed the Rhine near Cologne, in the depth of winter, and pillaged the countries of the Bructerians and Chamavians, without meeting with the least opposition, Marcomir only shewing himself at a distance on the hills with some parties of the Ansivarii and Chatti; but as to the issue of this war, historians only relate, that Arbogastes, after having put many of his countrymen to the sword, concluded a peace with them; and that Eugenius himself approached the Rhine, to renew the ancient treaty with the kings of the Franks and Alemans^b. From this account it appears, that the Franks had several kings at the same time, and that under the name of Franks were comprised several ancient German nations. Great numbers of the Franks listed themselves among the troops of Eugenius; for Orosius says, that he led against Theodosius an infinite number of Franks and other Barbarians^c.

Theodosius, by his last will, divided the empire between his two children, bequeathing the East to his eldest son Arcadius, and the West to Honorius. Stilicho, who was prime minister to the latter, advised him, in the first place, to renew the ancient alliances with the Franks and other German nations, which they had broken, by assisting the

Yr. of Fl.
2743.
A.D. 395.

*They re-
new the
ancient al-
liances
with Ho-
norius.*

^a Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. cap. 9. p. 58, 59, 60.

ibid. p. 61.

^b Ibidem ibid.

^c Oros. lib. vii. cap. 35. p. 220.

usurper

usurper Eugenius against Theodosius. This task Stilicho took upon himself, and repairing to the banks of the Rhine, accomplished it in a very short time. However, Marcomir and Sunno attempting to raise new disturbances soon after the conclusion of the peace, one of them was taken, and having been kept some time in prison, banished to Tuscany. The other was resolved to revenge on the Romans the affront he had offered his brother; but his own people, unwilling to engage in a war with the empire, put him to death. Marcomir, or Marcomer, is supposed to have been the father of Pharamond, the first in the catalogue of the French kings.

Yr. of Fl.

2754.

A. D. 406.

They cut off twenty thousand Vandals.

In the year 406 the Franks, falling upon the Vandals as they were attempting to break into Gaul with the Sueves and Alans, cut off near twenty thousand, with their king Godigiscles; and would have put them all to the sword, had not the Alans come seasonably to their assistance. These two nations, together with the Sueves, forced themselves a way, in spite of the Franks, and passing the Rhine entered Gaul^c. Great numbers of Franks followed them, to share in the spoils of those wealthy provinces; but greater numbers of the same people entered Gaul four years after, invited thither by the usurper Constantine, of whose forces the commander in chief was Edobic, a Frank. In the year 413 they made an irruption into Gaul, and not only pillaged but burnt the city of Treves the second time, says Frigerid, an ancient author quoted by Gregory of Tours. We are ignorant when this first irruption happened; but that unhappy city was a third time plundered and set on fire by the Franks about the year 420, as Salvian informs us, who was an eye-witness of the deplorable condition to which it was reduced^d.

The beginning of Pharamond's reign uncertain.

About this time Pharamond must have reigned over the Franks. He is said by Vitalis to have been the son of Sunno; but all other writers suppose him to have been the son of Marcomir, the brother of Sunno. He was one of the most powerful princes among them; but we are not told whether he had any authority over the rest. He is supposed to have reigned from the year 417 to 428, in which Clodio, his son and successor, reigned in France, that is, in the country of the Franks^e. In the year in which he is supposed to have died, the famous Aetius vanquished the Franks in Gaul, and drove them from the country in which they had settled^f. Of this war Jornandes speaks, without all doubt,

^c Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 9. p. 62. Oros. cap. 46. p. 223.

lib. vi. p. 145—147.

^e Prosop. p. 51.

lib. xv. cap. 8. p. 472.

^d Sal.

^f Vide Buch. Belg.

where

where he tells us, that Aetius, with great slaughter, tamed the barbarity of the Franks, and forced them to submit to the empire ^g.

Pharamond was succeeded by his son Clodio in the year 428, the fourth of the reign of Valentinian III. Gregory of Tours calls him a most illustrious prince, to whom his people, whose interest he had at heart, were highly indebted ^h. We know but very little from the ancients of what happened in this prince's reign. Idatius writes, that in the year 431 Aetius was employed in an expedition to Gaul ⁱ. This expedition was, without all doubt, undertaken against the Franks; for the same writer, who was then with Aetius, adds, that in 432 he overcame the Franks in battle. Aetius, after having defeated the Franks, concluded a peace with them the same year ^k; but upon what terms we know not. In the year 435 the Franks made an attempt upon Tours; for Sidonius asserts, that Majorianus defended that city against them. Not long after the Franks made an irruption into the country of the Atrebat, now Artois. But Aetius marching against them with all possible expedition, fell upon them unexpectedly, while, without the least apprehension of danger, they were celebrating the nuptials of one of their chiefs, and killed great numbers. Valefius, who supposes the battle of Lens to have been fought in the year 437, repeats, after Gregory of Tours, that Clodio, having sent spies to reconnoitre the country as far as Cambray, upon their return, set out on his march, advanced, in spite of all opposition, to that city; and having reduced it, fixed, for some time, his residence there ^l. From Cambray Valefius supposes him, to have made the above mentioned irruption into the Artois, and to have been surpris'd by Aetius and Majorianus at Lens.

Notwithstanding that defeat he extended his conquests as far as the Somme ^m. Some add, that he took Tournay, Amiens, and several other cities ⁿ. Aetius is supposed to have afterwards concluded a peace with the Franks, and to have left them in possession, at least, of some part of the country they had conquered, since he granted the like favour to other nations, whom he dreaded less. Priscus, who flourished in those days, says, that he saw at Rome the second son of the king of the Franks, who had been sent thither on an embassy, though a beardless youth. He takes notice of his long yellow hair; and adds, that Aetius

Yr. of Fl.
2776.
A.D. 428.

Clodio.

He is overcome by Aetius.

He extends his conquests as far as the Somme.

^g Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 34. p. 660.

^h Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc.

lib. ii. c. p. 9. p. 64.

Idat. p. 19.

^k Ibid.

^l Valef.

p. 131, 132. Greg. Tur. lib. i. ii. cap. 9. p. 64.

^m Greg. Tur.

p. 65.

ⁿ Val. p. 130, 131. Du Ch. tom. i. p. 164.

Boch. p. 505.
adopted

adopted him for his son by presenting him with his armour, and treated him with the greatest marks of esteem, friendship, and affection^p. Upon his leaving Rome he was loaded with rich and valuable presents, sent him both by Actius and Valentinian III. then emperor. This young prince was, in all likelihood, Merovæus, the successor of Clodio; for he lived in great friendship with Actius, and joined him against Attila.

He destroys Treves.

Salvianus, who wrote about the year 440, informs us, that the city of Treves had been the fourth time pillaged by the Franks, and entirely destroyed^q. The same writer adds, that the Franks made themselves masters of another city equal to Treves in grandeur, and standing at a small distance from it. This city can be no other than Cologne, which was occupied by the Franks, as appears from that writer, in the year 440. The enemy surprised the city while the chief inhabitants were feasting and revelling, without the least apprehension of danger (1). As the Franks were still Pagans, the church suffered much in the countries subject to them; and hence it is, that we find no bishops of Cologne named in the ecclesiastical history from the time of Evergilius, who is supposed to have died about the year 430, till the time of Aquilinus, who governed that church in the reign of Clovis^r. The churches of Tournay and Cambray fared no better; for they seem to have had no bishops from the year 407, when the Vandals invaded those countries, till the end of that century. Clodio reigned about twenty years, from the year 428 to 448, when Tyro Prosper tells us, that Merovæus reigned in France^s, that is, in the countries subject to the Franks on both sides the Rhine.

Takes Cologne.

He dies.

Yr. of Fl.

4296.

A. D. 448.

Merovæus.

There is a great disagreement among authors about Merovæus. All we know for certain concerning him is, that upon the news of the death of Valentinian III. the Franks, under the conduct of Merovæus, ravaged Germania Prima, and Belgica Secunda, that is, the provinces of Mentz and

^p Prisc. Legat. p. 40. tom. i. p. 63, 70.

^q Salv. Gub. lib. vi. p. 133. ^r Val. cap. 3. p. 125, 144.

^s Coint.

(1) Father Le Cointe observes, that, till this time, Cologne is constantly called Agrippina, and seldom Colonia; whereas the latter name universally prevailed, and the former was

quite laid aside after the Franks became masters of the place; which induced Hincmar, and some others, to imagine, that the name of Colonia had been given it by them (1).

(1) Coint. tom. i. p. 921

Rheims^t. Bucherius thinks, that Merovæus died the year after Valentinian III. in 456^u: but Valefius says he lived till the year 458^w. Rorico writes, that he was loved, honoured, and revered by his people, as a common father; and that from him the Franks in general were called Merovingians. In a genealogical table of the French kings, prefixed to a manuscript life of Charles the Great, lodged in the royal library at Brussels, he is made the stock or head of the first race.

He dies.

Merovæus was succeeded by his son Childeric. When he was but a youth, he was taken prisoner by Attila, with his mother, and other persons of distinction; but delivered from captivity by the fidelity, courage, and address, of a Frank named Wiomald. This incident happened in the year 453, when Attila, attempting to pass the Rhine, in order to enter Gaul, was opposed by Merovæus, at the head of the Franks, who had espoused his cause against his competitor. Childeric no sooner ascended the throne than he began to think of enlarging his dominions, as Aetius, who had kept the Barbarians in awe, was now dead. He is said to have extended his conquests as far as the Loire, and to have reduced the city of Paris, after a siege of ten years^x. In the year 470 he made himself master of Angers, after having killed count Paul the Roman governor of the place^y. Such is the account of Gregory of Tours, without assigning the cause of disagreement between count Paul and Childeric; for he had told us, a few lines before, that the Roman general, with the assistance of the Franks, had made war on the Goths, and gained some advantages over them. Bucherius thinks, that the Romans and Franks were defeated by the Goths; and founds his opinion upon the authority of Sidonius, who writes, without marking any time, that the Franks were vanquished, and put to flight, by Euric king of the Goths^z. The same author adds, that Euric, after having routed the Franks, entered into an alliance with them; and elsewhere says, that he gave his daughter in marriage to Sigismer, a Barbarian prince, whom Valefius takes to have been a Frank^a. This alliance between the Goths and the Franks induced, in all likelihood, Childeric to turn his arms against the Romans, and seize on the city of Angers, at that time belonging to them. He likewise made himself master of Orleans, after having defeated Odoacer, who came with a body of Saxons to the relief

Yr. of Fl.

2804.

A. D. 456.

Childeric.

He extends his conquests to the Loire.

^t Sid. Car. vii. p. 342.

^u Buch. p. 526.

^w Val.

lib. iv. p. 189.

^x Bolland. 3. Jan. p. 140

^y Greg.

Tur. p. 282.

^z Sid. lib. vii. ep. 3. p. 215.

^a Val. p. 219, 220.

of the place. Gregory of Tours tells us, that Childeric entering into an alliance with Odoacer king of Italy, marched against the Alemans, who had entered that country, and defeated them with great slaughter.

He diss.

Soon after his return to Gaul, he died at Tornacum, now Tournay, where his remains were discovered in 1653, with many gold coins of the Roman emperors, and other articles of great curiosity and value; among these the king's signet, with the inscription Childerici regis, and his image engraved on it, with his long hair covering both his shoulders, and a dart in his right-hand. The curious reader will find a minute and learned account of this discovery in the *Anastas Childerici*, which Chiffletius wrote in 1655, by order of the archduke Leopold, at that time governor of the Low-Countries for Philip IV. king of Spain ^b. Childeric, in the beginning of his reign, abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness, at the same time loading his subjects with exorbitant taxes and impositions, to supply his extravagant appetites. At length some of those, whose wives and daughters he had debauched, revolting, drove him from the throne. Gregory of Tours writes, that, foreseeing the storm, he prudently retired into the territory of Tongres, where he continued, till, his subjects returning to their duty, he was recalled, and restored to his kingdom. During his absence, the Franks submitted to Ægidius, a Gaul, but commander of the Roman troops in that country ^c, whom, upon the return of Childeric, they easily expelled, and received their lawful sovereign with the greatest marks of joy. Fredigarius, in his epitome of the history of the Franks, observes, that Childeric, being driven from the throne, fled to Constantinople, to implore the protection of the emperor Mauritius, and returned from thence by sea into Gaul. A strange anachronism! Mauritius having been raised to the imperial throne near a hundred years after the flight of Childeric. Wilthomius, in his Chronicle written in the year 810, reads Martianus instead of Mauritius; but, according to the best chronologers, Martian died in 457, whereas Childeric either fled, or was expelled in the year 461, and restored eight years after. Besides, Gregory of Tours, who lived in the next age, takes no notice of his journey to Constantinople; and Aimonius expressly tells us, that he kept at a small distance from his own dominions, not doubting but Wiomald would be able to appease his subjects, and procure his return. ^d. He was received in

^b *Anastasis Childerici*, per Chifflet. Antwerpæ, 1655. ^c *Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 12.* ^d *Papir. Masson. Annal. lib. i. p. 13.*

mon. lib. 3. cap. 7.

his own territories by the inhabitants of Barrum, who went out to meet him, and were, on that account, exempted from all tribute, which immunity they enjoyed for many years. This Barrum Franchette asserts to be Barrum Ducis, or Bar le Duc; Belleforest to be Bar on the Seine; while Uredius and Chiffletius maintain it to be a place in Brabant, or Holland; for they are of opinion, that Childeric took shelter, not in Tungria, but in Thuringia, as we read in Gregory of Tours; but that writer, or his transcriber, often confounds those two countries. Whatever place he came from, he was soon followed by Basina the wife of king Basinus, by whom he had been entertained during his exile. Some French historians endeavour to make us believe, that she abandoned her husband to follow Childeric merely for the sake of his extraordinary virtue; but the answer she gave to Childeric, when asked for what reason she had left her husband to follow him, seems to insinuate, that she was not so much attracted by his virtues, as with the abilities of another kind, which it seems he possessed (K). Be that as it may, Childeric married her, and had by her Clodovæus, who succeeded him in the kingdom ^e.

Clodovæus, called also Hludovicus, Ludovicus, Ludicin, and Clovis, was no sooner raised to the throne than he thought of enlarging his dominions, which, according to the best writers, extended only from the Wahal to the city of Tournay. That Childeric was, at his death, master of Tournay, cannot be questioned, since he was interred there; and, on the other hand, we are certain that Clovis resided at Tournay during the first years of his reign ^f. The kingdom, therefore, to which he succeeded, was bounded on the north by the Wahal; on the east by the city of Tongres, which belonged to another tribe of Franks, and was not reduced by Clovis till the tenth year of his reign, as Gregory of Tours relates in express terms; on the south by the kingdom of Ragnacharius, who possessed Cambray; on the west by the kingdom of Chararic, commonly placed between the

Yr. of Fl.

2830.

A. D. 482.

Clodovæus.

^e Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 12.

^f Vide Du Ch. tom. i. p. 632.

(K) The words of Gregory of Tours are these: "His ergo regnantibus simul, Basina illa, quam supra memoravimus, relicto viro suo, ad Childericum venit. Qui cum solícite interrogaret, qua de causâ ad eum de tantâ regione venisset, respondisse fertur: novi, inquit,

utilitatem tuam, quod sis valde strenuus; ideoque veni, ut habitem tecum. Nam noveris, si in transmarinis partibus aliquem cognovissem utilitorem te, expetissem utique cohabitationem ejus. At ille gaudens eam sibi conjugio copulavit."

Escault and the ocean. Ragnacharius and Chararic were likewise kings of the Franks; but ruled over different tribes, and were quite independent of Clovis, as well as of each other. The other provinces of Gaul were governed by the Romans, by the Visigoths, and by the Burgundians, who all tyrannized over the unhappy natives. Clovis, resolved to extend his dominions; and perhaps, as his ambition knew no bounds, he being then but in the twentieth year of his age, aspiring to nothing less than the monarchy of all Gaul, thought it politic to begin with the Romans, who, by the ruin of the Western Empire, were reduced to the lowest ebb of power. Syagrius, the son of Ægidius, of whom we spoken before, held the city of Soissons. He had succeeded his father in the government of that city, and perhaps had made himself absolute master of it during the anarchy which had prevailed in Gaul, upon the decline of the western empire, since he is, by Gregory of Tours, distinguished with the title of king^s. However that be, Clovis, being resolved to reduce that city, invited Chararic and Ragnacharius to assist him in the enterprize, to which the latter readily consented; but Chararic declined being concerned in the undertaking. But for the particulars of the reign of Clovis, we must refer the reader to our modern history of France.

Yr. of Fl.

2835.

A. D 487.

*He makes
war upon
Syagrius.*

S E C T. VI.

*The Ancient State of the Burgundians, Alemans, Heruli,
and Gepidæ.*

The Burgundians.

*The origin
of the Bur-
gundians.*

THE Burgundians, who, upon the decline of the empire, seized on a considerable portion of Gaul, and founded a new kingdom there, were, according to Ammianus Marcellinus^b, originally descended from the Romans. Orosius, who wrote about the year 420, was of the same opinion: "We are told (says that writer), that Drusus Nero, and his brother Tiberius, the adopted sons of Cæsar Augustus, having subdued the interior parts of Germany, left several camps in the country, and part of their army, to keep the neighbouring people in subjection. From the Roman soldiers, who were on this occasion left to guard the camps, are descended the Burgundians. The castles and strong-holds, built for the defence of a country, are by the Germans called *burgts*; and hence the Romans who guarded them, and their descendants, were named *Burgundians*.

^s Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 27.

^b Ammian. lib. xxviii. p. 375.

Their conquests in Gaul, continues our historian, evince that they were a numerous and warlike nation. As they embraced the catholic faith, the ecclesiastics, whose spiritual jurisdiction they acknowledged, have described them mild and tractable in their disposition; for, in the countries where they settled, they treated the natives, not as strangers whom they had subdued, but as brothers in Christ¹. Pliny the Elder supposes them to be a German nation, descended from the Vindili, whom most writers mention as the same people with the Vandals². Valesius distinguishes the Burgundians of Germany from those of the same name who dwelt more to the east, on the banks of the Danube³.

The Burgundians of Germany were sometimes in alliance, and sometimes at war, with the empire; but never had the reputation of a warlike nation. The writers who flourished in those times speak of them as inferior in courage and bravery to the other Germans; and observe, that the Burgundians dwelt in castles and fortified places, whereas the other German nations scorned any other fence but their arms⁴. Most of them were mechanics, and, before they settled in Gaul, they used to resort in great numbers to that country, to earn a livelihood by their respective professions. As to their form of government, they were divided into several tribes, each having its respective chief or king, whose authority was so far from being hereditary, that it was not continued even during life. The kings of this nation, whom we find mentioned in history, are Gundicar, Gundiac, Bilimer, Gundebald, Sigismund, and Godemar. These princes reigned after the Burgundians had entered Gaul, in the year 497; but they had, doubtless, kings or chiefs long before that period, though not mentioned by the historians whose works have reached us. The kings of the Burgundians, as well as those of the other Barbarians, did not think it beneath them to serve in the Roman armies, to execute some of the chief offices of the empire, and to receive, at the hands of the emperors, such dignities as they usually conferred on their subjects. Thus Gundiac was, in the reign of Anthemius, magister militiæ, or general of the Roman armies; and Gundebald, his eldest son, patrician. Chilperic, the brother of Gundebald, had been likewise magister militiæ, and was afterwards created patrician⁵. His son Sigismund, who succeeded him in the kingdom, received from Anastasius the same dignity of pa-

The least warlike of all the German nations.

Their kings.

They think themselves honoured with the dignities of the empire.

¹ Oros. lib. vii. cap. 19.

Her. Franc. p. 48.

² Ennod. Vit. p. 404.

³ Plin. lib. iv. cap. 14. p. 86.

⁴ Vales.

⁵ Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 30.

*The use of
legal duels
introduced
by them.*

trician, on which occasion he wrote to the emperor the following letter: "My predecessors and I have been ever so attached to the Roman empire, as to think ourselves more honoured by the dignities the emperors have conferred upon us, than by the titles which have been transmitted to us by our ancestors. We command at home; but think it a greater honour to serve abroad in your armies^o."

The use of legal duels, or duels ordered by the magistrates or judges, to discover, from the event, the truth of contested facts, was first introduced into Gaul, where it long obtained, by the Burgundians. Gundebald was the first who established by law this maxim, that the best champion is the best man, and ought to be believed; a maxim which has so often proved fatal to innocence! This unjust and sanguinary law was couched in the following words: "Being fully convinced, that many of our subjects suffer themselves to be corrupted by their avarice, or hurried on by their obstinacy, so as to attest by oath what they know not, and indeed what they know to be false; to put a stop to such scandalous practices, when two Burgundians are at law, if the defendant shall swear that he owes not what is demanded of him, or that he is not guilty of the crime laid to his charge; and the plaintiff, on the other hand, not satisfied therewith, shall declare, that he is ready to maintain, sword in hand, the truth of what he advances; if the defendant does not acquiesce, it shall be lawful for them to decide the controversy by dint of sword. This is to be likewise understood of the witnesses of either party, it being just, that every man should be ready to defend with his sword the truth which he attests, and to submit himself to the judgement of Heaven. If one of the plaintiff's witnesses shall be killed, all the others shall be condemned to pay immediately three hundred solidi. If the defendant is overcome, the plaintiff shall receive three times the sum which he demanded. It is our will and pleasure, that this law be strictly observed and executed, that our subjects may conceive an utter aversion to the detestable sin of perjury. Given at Lyons, the twenty-seventh of June, Abienus being consul;" that is, in 501 P. This law was no sooner published, than Avitus, bishop of Vienne, wrote a letter to the king, remonstrating, with equal zeal and learning, against the injustice of it, but could by no means prevail upon that prince to repeal it; on the contrary, it gained ground, and prevailed by degrees among the Franks, and all the other nations residing in Gaul.

^o Avit. ep. lxxxiii. p. 137.

^p Lex Burg. tit. xlv.

As to the history of the Burgundians, we find nothing worthy of notice concerning them till the year 275, the first of the emperor Tacitus's reign, when, in conjunction with the Lugians, the Franks, and the Vandals, they crossed the Rhine, over-ran all Gaul, and made themselves masters of seventy cities and upwards in that country⁹: but in the mean time Tacitus being assassinated, Probus, who was chosen in his room, marched against them, and having gained a complete victory over the Burgundians and Vandals on the banks of the Rhine, obliged them to sue for peace; which was granted, upon their promising to restore the booty they had made, and set at liberty the prisoners they had taken: but as they did not faithfully comply with this condition, Probus fell upon them in their retreat, cut off great numbers, and took many prisoners, whom he afterwards sent into Britain, where they proved very serviceable to the Romans in all seditions and insurrections¹. In the reign of the emperor Dioclesian they entered Gaul again with the Heruli, the Alemans, and the Chabons or Cavions, a people on no other occasion mentioned in history, and of whom all we know is, that their country, as well as that of the Heruli, lay at a great distance from Gaul².

We are told, that the Alemans and Burgundians were destroyed by their own numbers, which occasioned a famine that was followed by a plague; so that they were easily defeated by Maximian, whom Dioclesian had taken for his coadjutor in the empire. Of such multitudes of Barbarians, a very small number is said to have returned home, the rest being carried off by the plague, or put to the sword by the Romans. For the advantages gained over the Barbarians on this occasion, the two emperors were decreed a triumph, as appears from a medal struck this year. In 291, a war broke out between the Burgundians and Alemans, in which the former seem to have gained considerable advantages over the latter; for we are told that they reduced great part of their country, and that the Alemans were endeavouring to recover what they had lost: this is all we know of that war. In the year 370, the seventh of Valentinian I. the Burgundians appeared on the banks of the Rhine, to the number of eighty thousand fighting men, invited thither by Valentinian, who maintained a private intelligence with their chiefs, and had promised to pass the Rhine, and, in conjunction with them, fall upon Macrian,

Yr. of Fl.
2623.
A. D. 275.

The Burgundians break into Gaul; but are driven out by Probus.

Yr. of Fl.
2635.
A. D. 287.

They are defeated again in Gaul by Maximian.

⁹ Tacit. Vit. p. 227. Valef. Rer. Franc. lib. i. p. 7, 8. ¹ Prob, Vit. p. 238. Zof. lib. i. p. 664. ² Buch. Belg. p. 281.

king of the Alemans, with whom they were then at variance; but the emperor, who was employed in building forts on the Rhine, not being disposed to interrupt the work, and join them, as he had promised to do, they returned home, highly incensed against Valentinian, by whom they had been thus disappointed and deluded; but we do not find they committed any hostilities against the empire.

Yr. of Fl.
2761.
A. D. 413.

The beginning of their kingdom in Gaul.

In the year 407, they followed the Vandals, Sueves, and Alans, who had entered Gaul the last day of the preceding year, in order to share with them the spoils of those wealthy provinces; but they did not settle in that country till the year 413, when, as Prosper tells us, they obtained that part of Gaul which borders on the Rhine, that is, according to Bucherius, the present Alsace, and the remaining part of Germania Prima, which, in the opinion of that writer, were ceded to them by Honorius^u. Such was the commencement of the kingdom of the Burgundians in Gaul. They continued quiet in the settlements allotted them till the year 435, when, in conjunction with the Heruli, the Hunns, and the Franks, they entered Belgic Gaul, committing wherever they came dreadful ravages, though they had, upon their first settling in Gaul, promised to assist the Romans, and serve in their armies as subjects of the empire. Aetius marched against them, and having defeated their army with great slaughter in a pitched battle, reduced them to such difficulties, that Gundicarius their king was obliged to sue for peace; which in the end he obtained, but did not long enjoy, being, in the beginning of the following year, attacked by the Hunns, perhaps at the instigation of Aetius, and cut off, with twenty thousand of his subjects^v. They continued on the banks of the Rhine till the year 438, when they were removed from thence by Aetius to the present duchy of Savoy. During their residence here, Gundiac, who succeeded Gundicar, and is thought to have been his son, joining Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, about the year 456, against the Sueves, marched with him into Spain, and signalized himself in the battle that was fought the same year on the banks of the Orbegua, in which the Sueves were entirely defeated, their king Rechiarius wounded, and afterwards taken prisoner^x.

Gundicarius their king killed by the Hunns.

They make themselves masters of several cities and places in Gaul.

Gundiac, upon his return from Spain, seized on part of Gaul, dividing the lands with the Roman senators. Valerius is of opinion, that he then made himself master of the city of Lyons^y. In 463, Gundiac wrote to Hilarius, bishop

^u Amm. lib. xxx. p. 377.

^v Buch. Belg. p. 440.

^w Idat.

p. 25. Val. Rer. Franc. lib. iii. p. 136, 137.

^x Jorn. p. 676.

^y Valef. Rer. Franc. p. 186.

of Rome, concerning an affair relative to Dié, in Dauphiny; whence we may conclude he was at that time in possession of that city. Some are of opinion, that both Dié and Vienne were ceded to him by the emperor Avitus, whose cause he had espoused². Others think that Gundiac, taking advantage of the disturbances that were occasioned by the deposition of Avitus, extended his dominions, and seized on the above mentioned cities. It is certain that, in the war between the Romans and Visigoths about the year 470, the Burgundians, under the command of their king Gundiac, and his son Chilperic, fought for the Romans; as we are told, that they defended the province of Auvergne against Euric, king of the Visigoths, being jealous of the growing power of that prince. Besides, both Gundiac and Chilperic were at that time *magistri militiæ*, and commanded the Roman troops; whence it is probable, that the Romans either yielded the above mentioned countries, or suffered that people to seize them, not caring to quarrel at the same time with the Visigoths and Burgundians. Before the year 490, the Burgundians were masters of all *Lugdunensis Prima*, which Sidonius styles *Germanica Lugdunensis*, saying it was then subject to Chilperic, the son of Gundiac. The same writer tells us elsewhere, that when he left Lyons, and retired to Auvergne, a Burgundian king resided in that city with his queen. Sidonius withdrew from Lyons about the year 470, finding himself obnoxious to the Burgundians, who suspected him of privately favouring the Franks. Chilperic was likewise master of the country in which the abbey of St. Claudius was situated³; that is, of the country of the Sequani. When Sidonius died, Aprunculus, bishop of Langres, finding the Burgundians suspected he carried on a private correspondence with the Franks, made his escape from the castle of Dijon, and withdrew to Auvergne⁴. In 494, Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, went to the court of Gundebald at Lyons, and to that of Godigiscles at Geneva⁵; hence we may conclude that the Burgundians were then masters of all these places.

In the year 473, Gundebald was at Ravenna; he is said to have induced Glycerius to take upon him the title of emperor in that city⁶. After the deposition of Glycerius, Gundebald espoused the cause of Nepos, who was raised to the imperial throne in his place, joining the Romans in

² Buch. p. 525.

³ Bolland. Mart. 21. p. 265.

⁴ Greg.

Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. cap. 23. p. 284.

⁵ Ennod. Vit. Epiph.

p. 402, 408.

⁶ Jorn. cap. 45. p. 654. Onuph. p. 57.

*Gundebald
joins the
Romans a-
gainst the
Visigoths.*

Gaul against the Visigoths, who, under the command of Euric, their king, attempted to make themselves masters of Auvergne^e. In the year 480, Odoacer, king of Italy, having ceded Provence to the Visigoths, Gundebald, jealous of the increasing power of that nation, claimed part of the country that had been granted them. His claim occasioned a war between the two nations, in which the Burgundians were subdued, according to Jornandes, by the Visigoths, who made themselves complete masters of Gaul: but that writer was certainly mistaken, as the Burgundians were, in the year 514, and 528, still masters of above twenty-eight cities, and, among the rest, of Lyons, Vienne, Besançon, and Embrun, which appears from the acts of the councils of Agde and Epaune, held in those times. In the year 490, the Burgundians, under the conduct of Gundebald, entering Italy, with a design, as they pretended, to assist Odoacer against Theodoric the Ostrogoth, committed unparalleled ravages in Liguria, putting all to fire and sword, and carrying off, upon their return, such numbers of captives, that in most places there were not left sufficient hands to till the ground. They met with no opposition, the Romans, who had always looked upon them as their friends and protectors, not being the least upon their guard against them^f. Gundebald afterwards declared, that he had acted as an open enemy, to be revenged on the king of Italy, who had deceived him by a false alliance; but whether he meant Theodoric, or Odoacer, is uncertain. About this time Gundebald sent one Laurentius, a person of great distinction among the Burgundians, with the character of ambassador to the emperor Anastasius at Constantinople^g; but with what commission he was charged, we are not informed. Two letters have reached us, both written in 497, the one by the emperor Anastasius to Clovis, intreating him to prevail upon Gundebald to allow one of Laurentius's sons to repair to his father at Constantinople; the other by Clovis to Gundebald, who readily complied with his and the emperor's request. In the history of the Franks, we have mentioned the war which Gundebald waged with Clovis, and his brother Godegisces, whom in the end he defeated, and put to death. Being restored to his dominions, he reigned without molesting his neighbours, or being disturbed by them till his death, which happened in the year 516^h. Some years before his death he was inclined to renounce

*Ravages
Liguria.*

Yr. of Fl.
2864.
A. D. 516.

He dies.

^e Sid. Car. xii. p. 363. & lib. vii. ep. 3. p. 172.
Vit. Epiph. p. 398—405. ^g Avit. ep. xli. p. 97.
Rer. Franc. lib. vi. p. 328.

^f Eanod.
^h Valef.

privately the errors of Arius; but could by no means be prevailed upon, says Gregory of Tours, to acknowledge publicly the mystery of the Holy Trinity ¹.

Gundebald was succeeded by his son Sigismund, who had no sooner taken possession of his father's dominions, than he dispatched ambassadors to the emperor Anastasius, at Constantinople, acquainting him with his accession to the crown. In the letter he wrote on this occasion to the emperor, he styles his father one of Anastasius's most faithful subjects; and adds, that the nation which he governed had ever acknowledged Anastasius for their liege lord; that he himself deemed it a greater honour to obey his commands than to be obeyed by a whole nation; that these sentiments were hereditary in his family; that his ancestors had ever had hearts truly Roman, thinking themselves more honoured by the titles, which the emperors had been pleased to confer upon them, than by those, however specious, which they had received by birth; that the country which it was now his lot to govern, though lying at a great distance from the capital of the empire, was not, on that account, less subject to the imperial crown than those that were contiguous. He closes the letter thus: "The East is governed by your presence, the West under your auspices. By this letter, therefore, I offer my duty to the greatest of princes; and wait, with submission, your august commands^k." Sigismund wrote a second letter to Anastasius, returning him thanks for the honours to which he had raised him, and acquainting him, that, upon his father's death, he had immediately written to him; but that his ambassadors had been stopped on their way to Constantinople ¹. In this letter, as well as in the former, and in a third, which he wrote to the emperor Justin, he owns himself a subject of the empire, and the language of a subject to his sovereign prevails throughout.

Sigismund.

He acknowledges himself a subject of the empire.

There was, doubtless, at this time a misunderstanding between Theodoric and Sigismund, which however did not proceed to an open rupture. Sigismund, in the sixth year of his reign, caused his son Sigeric to be inhumanly assassinated. Of this murder Gregory of Tours gives us the following account: Sigismund's first wife was the daughter of Theodoric king of Italy, and by her he had a son named Sigeric. Upon the death of that princess, he married one of her domestics, who, looking upon Sigeric with the eyes of a stepmother, did all that was in her power to incense

He causes his son Sigeric to be put to death.

¹ Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 34.
¹ Idem ibid.

^k Ayit. ep. xciv. p. 139.

his father against him. The young prince, indeed, by his haughty and contemptuous behaviour, increased the aversion which the new queen bore him as a stepmother; for she having one day appeared in the robes of his mother, he publicly upbraided her for presuming to shew herself in the apparel of one whose menial servant she had been. This bitter reproach galled her to such a degree, that, transported with rage, she resolved at all events to make Sigeric pay dear for his insolence. Accordingly, as she had great influence over her husband, she persuaded him, that the young prince had formed a design of assassinating him, and joining his dominions to those of his grandfather Theodoric. Sigismund gave entire credit to these false and malicious insinuations, and, without farther inquiry, to anticipate his son's designs, caused him to be strangled, while he was reposing after dinner. He was scarce dead, when Sigismund, stung with the remorse of so heinous a crime, threw himself upon the dead body, and, bathing it in tears, called himself of all men the most unhappy; which exclamation one of his servants hearing, "You have but too much reason," (said he) to bewail your own fate; but, as for your son, he died free from all guilt; and is now happy^a." A few days after this fatal event, Sigismund retired to the monastery of St. Mauritius in Valois, to do penance for the crime he had committed; and there founded what is called by our historian *laus perennis*, that is a service to be celebrated night and day without intermission, by several ecclesiastics relieving one another. After a short stay in that monastery, he returned to Lyons, and there gave in marriage a daughter, which he had by his first wife Ostrogotha, to king Theodoric or Thierry, the eldest son of Clovis.

War between the Franks and Burgundians.

As the Ostrogoths, and their king Theodoric, were greatly irritated against Sigismund for the murder of his son, whom they looked upon as a prince of their own blood, Clothildis thought this a favourable conjuncture to be revenged on the posterity of Gundebald, as he was no more, for the death of her father Chilperic, of her mother, and her brothers, all massacred by that prince's order. Having therefore first reminded the three kings her children, Clodomir, Childebert, and Clotharius, of the cruel and inhuman treatment which her father and mother had met with at the hands of Gundebald, she exhorted them not to lose the opportunity that presented itself of revenging it on his posterity. As this advice was entirely agreeable to the ambitious views of the young princes, they readily listened to

^a Greg. Tur. lib. iii. cap. 5.

it, and began to make the necessary preparations. They pressed Theodoric, whom their father Clovis had by a concubine, to join them in the enterprize; but as he had married the daughter of Sigismund, and had not been in any respect injured either by him or his ancestors, he declared that he would take no part in a war between his brothers and father-in-law, but observe a strict neutrality. The three princes, therefore, finding they could not prevail upon him to join them, took the field without him, and, entering the dominions of Sigismund, began to lay them waste.

Sigismund, having collected a body of troops, marched against them; but, in the battle that ensued, he was defeated, and obliged to take refuge in a monastery, where he lay some time concealed in the habit of a monk; but his own subjects, by whom he was abhorred on account of the murder of his son, discovered him to the Franks, who immediately seized him, and delivered him to Clodomir, who had already in his power his wife and children. Clodomir sent both the prince and his unfortunate family to the city of Orleans, where they were closely confined. Upon the news of his captivity, the greater part of the country submitted to the Franks. This revolution happened, according to the bishop of Avranches, in the year 523. In the consulship of Maximus, says that writer in his chronicle^a, Sigismund was by the Burgundians delivered up to the Franks, who carried him away in the habit of a monk, in which they had found him; and afterwards threw him, with his wife and children, into a deep well, where they were all drowned. Maximus was consul, as appears from all the ancient chronologers, that year. What our chronologer relates of the unhappy end of Sigismund and his family, did not happen till the following year, when the Franks returning to their own country, the Burgundians, who had submitted to them, revolting, proclaimed Godemar, the brother of Sigismund their king; and, in order to induce the Ostrogoths to assist them, at least underhand, ceded to them four cities, namely, Carpentras, Cavaillon, Tricastinum, now St. Paul-trois-chateaux, and Apt^c. No mention is made of any succours sent them by the Ostrogoths. It is not, however, to be doubted, but that Theodoric, then king of that nation, who was greatly alarmed at the growing power of the Franks, assisted them as far as he could, without openly declaring in their favour.

Yr. of Fl.
2871.
A. D. 523.

*Sigismund
defeated
and taken.*

*Sigismund
put to death
by Clodo-
mir.*

*Godemar
king of the
Burgun-
dians.*

^a Avent. Chron. ad. ann. 523.
Franc. tom. i.

^c Vide Coint. Annal. Ecclef.

News was no sooner brought to the three princes of the Franks, that Godemar had been proclaimed king of the Burgundians, and acknowledged even in those countries which had submitted to them, than they resolved to take the field again: but Clodomir, before he set out on his march, ordered Sigismund, with his wife and children, to be put to death in the city of Orleans, in the manner we have related, notwithstanding the remonstrances and menaces of Avitus, abbot of Mici, a person highly esteemed and revered all over Gaul for the sanctity of his life. Gundeald had caused the father, mother, and brother, of Clothildis to be thrown into a well; and in the same manner, by way of retaliation, Clodomir ordered Sigismund to be dispatched, with his wife and children. Soon after this execution, Clodomir led his troops against Godemar; and the two armies meeting at Veferonce, in the territory of Vienne, not far from the city of Belley, a bloody battle ensued, in which the Burgundians, after a long and obstinate resistance, were put to flight: but Clodomir, pursuing the enemy with more ardour than caution, was surrounded by them, and cut in pieces^p. The Burgundians, says Agathias, concluding from Clodomir's long hair, which covered his shoulders, that he was one of the kings of the Franks, struck off his head, and, carrying it upon the point of a spear, returned to the charge; but were repulsed by the Franks, and a second time put to flight. However, the Franks being destitute of a leader (for the children of Clodomir were yet very young), they readily concluded a peace with the Burgundians, one of the articles of which was, that they should restore to Godemar all the countries they had seized during the war. Gregory of Tours says, that Godemar, having raised a new army, prosecuted the war very vigorously, and, in the end, recovered the kingdom of his ancestors. According to the chronicle of the bishop of Avranches, the battle of Veferonce was fought the same year in which Godemar had been proclaimed king, namely in 524.

Peace between the Burgundians and Franks.

Yr. of Fl.
2880.

A. D. 532.

A new war between those two nations.

The peace concluded between the Franks and Burgundians lasted for the space of eight years, at the expiration of which time, the two surviving brothers, Childebert and Clotharius, again invaded the dominions of Godemar. What gave rise to this war, we are not told; but, so far as we can conjecture from Procopius, they were prompted merely by their ambition, to invade a kingdom, which, they were well apprised, they could easily reduce. Childebert and Clotharius, having made the necessary prepara-

^p Greg. Tur. lib. iii. cap. 5:

tions to invade the kingdom of Burgundy, solicited their brother Theodoric to join them in the enterprize; but he openly declared, that he would take no part in that war. This refusal gave great offence to the Franks, who were subject to him; indeed, they were displeased with his conduct to such a degree, that they openly threatened to revolt from him, and acknowledge the other two princes, if he did not assist them with all his forces, and look upon their cause as the common cause of the Franks. Theodoric, to quiet his mutinous subjects, told them, that, without him, his brothers were sufficiently powerful to attack the king of the Burgundians; that, however, he would not fail to join them, if they should stand in need of his assistance; but that, in the mean time, he designed to lead them against the inhabitants of Auvergne, who, during the war he had lately waged against the Thuringians, had given strong proofs of their disaffection to his person and government; that he designed to lay waste their country; and that those who followed him thither should have free-quarters, and be at full liberty to plunder. The subjects of Theodoric, allured by these promises, resigned all thoughts of joining the other two princes in their expedition against the Burgundians. Childebert, therefore, and Clotharius, hoping to compass their design without the assistance of Theodoric, took the field, and, entering the territories of the Burgundians, laid siege to Augustodunum, now Autun, obliged Godemar to save himself by flight, and made themselves masters of his kingdom.

Thus, in a few words, Gregory of Tours gives us an account of the reduction of the kingdom of the Burgundians, one of the most remarkable events in the history of the Franks. And Marius Aventienfis is no less concise on the same subject. In the consulship of Paulinus the younger, says that writer, Childebert, Clotharius, and Theodebert, kings of the Franks, reduced Burgundy, and having put Godemar to flight, divided his kingdom among them. According to this writer, it appears that the war lasted two years, and that Theodoric dying in the mean time, his son Theodebert joined the other two princes. From other writers we learn that, in this war, the Burgundians were assisted both by the Ostrogoths and Visigoths; that in several skirmishes the Franks were defeated by those two nations; but that, upon the death of Athalaric, the Ostrogoths having withdrawn their troops, the Burgundians were in the end obliged to submit to the conquerors. Procopius tells us, that Godemar was taken prisoner by the Franks, who kept him under close confinement in one of their castles; that,

Yr. of FF.
282.
A. D. 534.

The kingdom of the Burgundians reduced by the Franks.

that, upon his captivity, the Burgundians agreed to serve the Franks in their wars, and to pay them a yearly tribute, with such taxes and customs as they had paid to Godemar and his predecessors^q. One of the conditions on which they submitted to the Franks was, though not mentioned by Procopius, that they should be governed by their own laws; which they actually were till the reign of Lewis surnamed the Debonnair, as we shall relate in another place. Thus the Franks, prompted by their boundless ambition, extended their dominions at the expence of their neighbours, till they became complete masters of Gaul.

*The Alemans.**The Alemans.**Their origin.**Their country.*

THE Alemans, a nation, who in process of time became so famous in history, made their first appearance about the year 214, the fourth of the emperor Caracalla's reign^r. Agathias, upon the authority of Aflinius Quadratus, a Roman historian, who wrote in the reign of the emperor Philip, about the year 247, acquaints us, that the Alemans were originally a motly multitude, consisting of several nations, as appears from their very names, signifying *all men*, that is, of men of all nations. Some German writers, displeased with this etymology, derive the name of Alemans from the word *atelman*, signifying *a man of distinction*^t: but the other derivation is both more natural and better grounded. The Alemans, according to the most common opinion, consisted chiefly of Sueves, who, in process of time, were joined by several other German nations, and some Gauls; as we are told by Tacitus, that a considerable number of Gauls, abandoning their own country, went to settle beyond the Rhine, in that territory which had formerly belonged to the Sueves^u. The Alemans are placed by Aurelius Victor, St. Jerom^v, and other writers, between the Danube, the Upper Rhine, and the Mein, that is, in the present duchy of Wirtemberg. They were a numerous and warlike nation, and are chiefly celebrated for fighting with great skill and dexterity on horseback^x. They had such an aversion to slavery, that even their women, some of whom were taken prisoners by Caracalla, chose rather to die than to be sold for slaves. Caracalla, however, ordered them to be sold; but preferring death to slavery, they laid violent hands on themselves, some of them having first dis-

^q Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. i. cap. 13.
lib. i. p. 17.

^t Ludewic. Vit. Justin. p. 501.

Belg. lib. vi. cap. 7. p. 199, 200.

^x Aur. Vict.

^r Var. p. 473.

^s Agath.

^u Vide Buch.

^v Hier. Vit. Hilar. p. 246.

patched their children ¹. Their government was monarchical; for we find several of their kings mentioned in history, of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak. As to their religion, they worshipped the same deities that were adored by the other German nations.

Their government and religion.

In the year 214, Caracalla is said to have made war upon the Cenni, or, as some read, the Chatti, the Alemans, and other German nations. The Alemans, it seems, had joined the Chatti or Catti; and Caracalla, under pretence of succouring another nation, with whom they were at variance, made war upon them, and is said to have defeated the Alemans on the banks of the Mein ². He afterwards concluded a peace with them, distributed large sums among them, lifted great numbers of them in his army, and some even served in his guards, choosing rather to trust his life to them than to the Romans. Aurelius Victor adds, that he often appeared in the dress peculiar to those Barbarians, wearing false hair of the same colour with theirs ³. In consequence of the victory he gained over the Alemans, he took the surname of Alemannicus ⁴. In the year 234, the thirteenth of the emperor Severus Alexander, the Alemans, and other German nations, having passed the Rhine, made themselves masters of the forts built on the banks of that river, and entering Gaul, ravaged the country. Alexander, who was just then returned from Persia, where he had gained great advantages over Artaxerxes, upon the news of this irruption hastened to Gaul, and advanced, without loss of time, to the banks of the Rhine. But the enemy having repassed that river upon the news of his approach, he ordered a bridge to be thrown over it, with a design to attack them in their own country, as soon as the season would allow him to take the field.

Yr. of Fl.
256.
A. D. 214.

They are overcome by Caracalla.

But he being in the mean time assassinated by the mutinous soldiery, Maximinus, who had instigated them to this act, and was chosen in his room, entered Germany early in the spring, at the head of a mighty army, ravaged the country wherever he came, burnt the enemy's habitations, carried off their corn and cattle, and took a great number of prisoners. We are told that several battles were fought in the woods and marshes, in each of which the emperor killed many of the enemy with his own hand ⁵. For the signal advantages he gained in this expedition over the Alemans, and other German nations, the senate decreed

Their country ravaged by Maximinus.

¹ Dio, lib. lxxvii. p. 876. ² Caracal. Vit. p. 87. ³ Aur. Vict. de Cæsarib. ad Ann. Urb. 965. ⁴ Spart. in Caracal. cap. 10. p. 731.
⁵ Maximin. Vit. p. 142. Herod. lib. vii. p. 590.

*They break
into Gaul
and Italy.*

*Gallienus
is said to
have gain-
ed a great
victory
over them.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2616.
A. D. 268.*

*Great
numbers of
them cut
off by
Claudius,
and by
Aurelian,*

both to him and his son the title of Germanicus, which is still to be seen on several of his medals. The Alemans continued quiet from this time to the year 256, the fourth of Valerian's reign, when, making an unexpected irruption into Gaul, they laid waste that country, while the Juthongians, that is, the Alemans who dwelt on the banks of the Danube, entered Italy. In Gaul they were defeated, and obliged to repass the Rhine, by Posthumius, governor of those provinces. In Italy they advanced as far as Milan, destroying the country with fire and sword; but their numerous army, consisting of three hundred thousand men, were defeated in the neighbourhood of that city by Gallienus^d.

We find no farther mention made of them till the first year of the emperor Claudius, when the Juthongians, making an incursion into Italy, advanced without opposition as far as the lake Benacus, now Lago di Garda, near Verona. Claudius had no sooner suppressed the rebellion of Aureolus, who had assumed the purple, than he marched against them, defeated them in a pitched battle, and having cut off great numbers, obliged the rest to quit their booty, and save themselves by a precipitate flight into their own country^e. Notwithstanding this defeat, they no sooner heard of the death of Claudius than, joining the Marcomans, they resolved to invade Italy again. But Aurelian, who succeeded Claudius, having timely notice of their march, left Pannonia, where he then was, and meeting them with the flower of his army in Vindelicia, which comprehended all the present Bavaria, and a great part of Swabia, obtained a complete victory over them, and closely pursuing them cut off great numbers as they attempted to pass the Danube. Humbled by this disaster, they sent ambassadors to the emperor, offering to renew their ancient alliance with the empire, provided they were allowed to return unmolested to their own country; for Aurelian had cut off their retreat, and detached part of his army to guard the banks of the Danube. But the emperor refusing to listen to any terms, the Alemans, reduced to despair, after various debates and consultations, resolved at length to enter Italy, since they could not return to their own country; and accordingly, finding the passes unguarded (for the emperor thought only of cutting off their retreat), they advanced as far as Placentia before Aurelian could come up with them, and ravaged the country as they advanced.

^d Zon. lib. i. p. 65a.

^e Aur. Vict. in Epit.

As the emperor approached, they concealed themselves in the neighbouring woods, whence falling out upon him in the night, they gained a complete victory; which threw all Italy, and Rome itself, into the utmost consternation. The books of the Sibyls were consulted on this occasion by the emperor's orders, and several ceremonies performed to avert the impending storm; but in the mean time Aurelian, having received strong reinforcements from Illyricum, rushed unexpectedly upon the enemy in the neighbourhood of Fanum Fortunæ, now Fano, and totally defeated them. Such of them as escaped from the first battle were slain in two others, one of which was fought in the neighbourhood of Placentia, and the other in the plains of Ticinum, or Pavia. Thus was the whole multitude cut off to a man^f. About four years after this event, the Alemans, who dwelt near the Rhine, made an irruption into Gaul, but were forced by Probus, who then commanded in those parts, to repass that river, and return home^g. They continued afterwards in a state of tranquility, without molesting either their neighbours or the Romans, for the space of eleven years, that is, till the year 285, the third of Dioclesian's reign, when they attempted, it seems, to enter the empire; as Dioclesian is said to have made war upon them, and to have gained some advantages^h. In 287, they made another incursion into Gaul, in conjunction with the Burgundians, Heruli, Carians, and other barbarous nations; but were most of them cut off by Maximian, or destroyed by famineⁱ. For the great advantages gained over them by Maximian, a triumph was decreed by the senate both to him and Dioclesian, as appears from a medal struck this year 287. In the following year Maximian passed the Rhine at the head of a numerous army, and entering the country of the Alemans, laid it waste wherever he came with fire and sword. He took in this expedition an incredible number of captives, and reduced, if Mamertinus, his panegyrist, is to be credited, great part of Germany. At the same time Dioclesian entered Germany through Rhætia, and is said to have extended the confines of the empire to the source of the Danube. In the year 291, the Burgundians seized on part of the country belonging to the Alemans; a circumstance which gave rise to a war between those two nations; but as to the issue of this war, we are left quite in the dark.

who is afterwards defeated by them;

but in the end cuts off their whole army.

Yr. of Fl.
2618.
A. D. 270.

Their several irruptions into the empire.

^f Aur. Vit. p. 215. Vict. Epit.

^g Prob. Vit. p. 237.

^h Noris. de Dioc. cap. 14. p. 19, 20.

ⁱ Buch. Belg. p. 221.

In the year 301, Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great, gained a signal victory over the Alemans, who entering Gaul with a numerous army, came upon him unexpectedly, while he had but a small body of troops under his command. He was obliged at first to retire, and shelter himself within the walls of Langres; but his army arriving a few hours after he had entered that city, he marched out, joined his other forces, and engaging the enemy, gained a complete victory^k. In this battle the Alemans lost sixty thousand men, as appears from Eutropius, St. Jerom^l, Orosius^m, and even from Zonarasⁿ. The Alemans, dispirited by so great a loss, did not offer to disturb the peace of the empire during the remaining part of the reign of Constantius: but in the first of his son Constantine they began again to make inroads into Gaul, which irritated that prince to such a degree, that, having taken some of their kings prisoners, he exposed them to be devoured by wild beasts in the magnificent shews which he exhibited. Nevertheless, in 310, the Alemans, in conjunction with the Bructerians, Cheruscans, and Chamaevians, having crossed the Rhine, laid waste the neighbouring provinces; but Constantine marching against them, overcame the allies in a pitched battle, and obliged them to quit their booty, and repass the Rhine^o. On account of this victory he is supposed to have taken the title of Maximus, which we find on his coins struck this year^p. From this time no mention is made of the Alemans till the eighteenth of Constantius's reign, when they attempted to break into Italy; an invasion which obliged the emperor to take the field. They had already advanced as far as the lake of Constance, when he detached against them Arbëtio with the flower of his army. This general falling into an ambuscade was defeated with great loss: but some of the officers who commanded under him, engaging the enemy a few days after without his orders, put the Alemans to flight; and Constantius, satisfied with this small advantage, returned to Milan^q. In the course of the same year another body of Alemans, breaking into Gaul with the Franks and Saxons, took and plundered above forty towns on the banks of the Rhine, and among the rest the city of Cologne, which they almost entirely ruined.

In consequence of these ravages Constantius, unwilling to leave Italy and march against the Barbarians in per-

^k Eutrop. p. 589. Theoph. p. 7. ^l Hier. Chron. ^m Oros. lib. vii. cap. 25. p. 215. ⁿ Zonar. p. 244. ^o Panegy. vii. p. 165. ^p Birag. p. 462. ^q Ammian. lib. xv. p. 36, 37.

Yr. of Fl.
2649.
A. D. 301.

Sixty thousand of them cut off by Constantius Chlorus.

Take and plunder forty cities in Gaul.

*They are
driven out
by Julian.*

son, raised Julian to the dignity of Cæsar, and sent him to command the Roman forces in Gaul. Julian, soon after his arrival, led all the troops he could assemble against the Alemans, who had advanced as far as Lyons, with a design to surprise that city; but the enemy retiring upon his approach, he waited for them in the passes, through which they were to return to their own country, and there cut most of them in pieces. A small number only, who took their route through the present Switzerland, had the good fortune to make their escape, being suffered to pass unmolested by Barbatio, another Roman general, who was encamped at Basle, and is supposed to have had private orders from Constantius to counteract all the designs of Julian. Be that as it may, Julian having thus driven the Alemans out of Gaul, undertook to rebuild the Tres Tabernæ, a fort near Argentoratum, now Strasburg, known at present by the name of Saverne, which the enemy had demolished. He not only repaired the ancient fortifications, but added new works, stored them with provisions for a whole year, and left a numerous garrison in the place to keep the neighbouring country in subjection^r. In the mean time a numerous body of Alemans, falling upon Barbatio while he was engaged in laying a bridge of boats over the Rhine, killed numbers of his men, took the greatest part of his baggage, laid waste the neighbouring country, and returned home loaded with booty. Elated with this victory, they assembled in great numbers under the banners of Chnodomarius, and six other kings, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Strasburg. Being informed there by a deserter, that Julian's army was only thirteen thousand strong, Chnodomarius had the arrogance to send a messenger to him, commanding him to quit a country which the Alemans had acquired by their courage and valour^s. Libanius adds, that the messenger produced letters from Constantius, in which he ceded to him that country^t.

Julian however, paying no regard to these credentials, detained the messenger as a spy, and pursued the works he had begun at Saverne, till he received intelligence that the enemy, having passed the Rhine, were advanced within twenty miles of his camp. Then, discontinuing the work, he marched directly against them, and engaging the same day, though his men were tired with their long march, gained a complete victory. They were thirty-five thousand strong, headed by seven kings, ten princes, and several

Yr. of Fl.
2705.
A. D. 357.

^r Jul. p. 518. Liban. p. 273.
^t Liban. Orat. xii. p. 269, 273.

^s Ammian. lib. xvi. p. 76, 77.

The battle of Strasburg, in which the Alemans were entirely defeated.

other persons of great distinction. The victory continued long doubtful; for the Roman cavalry gave way, nor could Julian, with all his oratory, prevail upon them to return to the charge; but the vigorous resistance made by the foot so disheartened the Barbarians, that despairing of the practicability to break them, they began to abate much of their impetuosity; a circumstance which the Romans perceiving, availed themselves of, made a vigorous effort, and charging the Barbarians, already quite exhausted, at length put them to flight, and pursued the fugitives with great slaughter; many of whom were drowned in the Rhine attempting to cross that river. Chnodomarius himself was taken prisoner and presented to Julian, who sent him to Constantius, by whose order he was conveyed to Rome, where he died soon after a natural death. In this battle Julian lost only four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three private men. Of the Alemans six, or, as some write, eight thousand men were killed in the field; but a great many dead bodies were seen floating on the river. Zosimus says, that sixty thousand of the enemy were killed on the spot, and nearly an equal number drowned; but he must certainly have been mistaken. Julian himself styles the battle of Strasburg a successful action, which restored Gaul to its ancient liberty". Mamertinus says, that by this single battle the war was ended, and Germany ruined. It is at least certain, that the Barbarians were entirely driven out of Gaul. Julian, from the field of battle, returned to Saverne, and, having finished the works, advanced with his whole army to Mayence, where he built a bridge over the river, and entering Germany, continued ravaging the countries of the Alemans and their allies till after the equinox, when the snow prevented him from penetrating farther, he returned to Gaul, after having repaired the castle of Trajan, which stood at a small distance from the present city of Frankfort, and granted to the Alemans and their allies a truce for ten months, upon their promising to furnish amply with provisions the fort that was building in their country". The truce no sooner expired than Julian, passing the Rhine on a bridge of boats, again entered the country of the Alemans, and obliged two of their kings, Suomarius and Hortarius, to sue for peace, which he granted upon their sending back all the Roman captives, and furnishing timber, iron, and other materials, to repair the cities which they had partly destroyed.

" Ammian. lib. xx. p. 140.

" Liban. Orat. xii. p. 277.

Several other very considerable advantages were gained over them by Julian, which we have mentioned elsewhere. Having been often defeated by him while he was yet Cæsar, they continued quiet during the greater part of his reign; but they no sooner heard of his death, than they renewed their ravages in Rhætia and Gaul. Valentinian I. then emperor, dispatched Dagalaiphus, one of his best generals, against them, and leaving Italy, hastened in person into Gaul, in order to make head against the numerous forces which the Alemans, and other barbarous nations, were said to be raising with a design to invade that country. The emperor advanced as far as Rheims; but the Alemans retiring at his approach, he returned back, and took up his winter-quarters at Paris.

Upon the death of Julian they ravage Gaul.

In the mean time the Alemans, having in the depth of winter passed the Rhine on the ice, defeated, in a pitched battle, the Romans, who attempted to oppose them, took the standards of the Batavians and Heruli, slew count Charietta, and wounded count Severianus, who had the command of a body of troops*. Zosimus supposes Valentinian himself to have been present at this battle; but it is plain, according to Ammianus, that he was then at Paris; whence, upon the first news of the defeat of his troops, he dispatched Dagalaiphus to prevent the evil consequences that were likely to attend the late defeat. Dagalaiphus, pretending he had not sufficient strength to engage the enemy, who were scattered about the country in several great bodies, did not so much as offer to restrain them. He was therefore recalled, and Jovinus, general of the horse, appointed to succeed him. This officer defeated the Alemans in three battles, the first of which was fought at a place called Scarponna, now Charpeigne, between Toul and Metz; the second in the neighbourhood of the Moselle; and the third near Chalons on the Marne. In the last of these engagements the enemy fought with much resolution and intrepidity, and the Romans were once in great danger of being totally defeated, the sudden flight of a tribune having dispirited the troops under his command. However Jovinus, inspiring them with fresh courage, led them on to the charge, and pressing with great resolution and intrepidity upon the enemy, obliged them to fly with precipitation. On the enemy's side six thousand were killed on the spot, and four thousand wounded; whereas the loss of the Romans did not exceed four hundred killed and wounded. The enemy withdrew in the night; but were intercepted in their re-

They defeat the Romans.

Yr. of Fl.
274.
A D. 366.

but are defeated with great slaughter by Jovinus.

* Ammian. lib. xxvii. p. 334. Zof. lib. iv. p. 740.

treat by several parties sent out by Jovinus for that purpose ; infomuch, that few of them had the good fortune to make their escape. One of their kings was taken prisoner, and immediately hanged by those who took him ; which base action provoked Jovinus to such a degree, that he would have punished with death the tribune who commanded the party, had he not found, upon a strict enquiry, that he had done all that lay in his power to restrain the fury of the incensed soldiers.

The Romans cause one of their kings to be treacherously murdered.

In the close of the following year 367, the Alemans, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained the preceding year, unexpectedly passed the Rhine, and having taken and plundered the city of Mentz, while the emperor was employed in some other expedition, committed dreadful ravages in the neighbouring provinces, under the conduct of Rhando, one of their princes. The Romans, to be revenged on the Alemans, had recourse to treachery ; and caused Vithicabius, a prince of the same nation, to be assassinated by one of his own people, whom they had corrupted by their emissaries. Vithicabius was the son of Vodomarius, and a prince of great address, intrepidity, and resolution. Valentinian, having spent the following winter at Treves in making vast preparations to attack the Alemans in their own country, took the field on the seventeenth of June. Having assembled all his troops, he crossed the Rhine, entered the enemy's country, and advanced, without the least opposition, to a place called Solicinium, which the modern geographers affirm to be the city of Sultz on the Neckar. The Alemans had posted themselves on a high and steep mountain ; but the Romans, notwithstanding their advantageous situation, attacked them with great intrepidity, and though several times repulsed, dislodged them in the end, and pursued them with great slaughter. Some of the enemy made their escape by favour of the night ; but the greater part were put to the sword, their retreat being cut off by count Sebastian, at the head of a strong detachment. After this battle, which was fought at a small distance from the head of the Neckar, in the present duchy of Wirtemberg, the emperor returned to Treves, as the season was already far advanced, and there gave audience to the ambassadors of the Alemans suing for peace ; which he granted them, but upon what terms we are not told. This pacification was of short duration ; for two years after there appeared on the banks of the Rhine eighty thousand Burgundians, whom Valentinian had invited to

Yr. of Fl.
2716.

A. D. 368.

Valentinian gains a signal victory over them.

join him against Macrianus, king of the Alemans: but the emperor being then busied in fortifying the banks of the river, and unwilling to interrupt that work, the Burgundians retired, without offering to molest the Alemans. However, Theodosius, father to the emperor of that name, taking advantage of the consternation the Alemans were in, made an irruption into their country, and returned with a considerable number of prisoners, to whom the emperor granted lands and settlements on the banks of the Po.

In the following year Valentinian unexpectedly invaded the country of the Alemans, hoping to surprise Macrianus their king, whom he chiefly dreaded; but Macrianus having received timely notice of his approach, saved himself by flight; and the emperor returned to Treves, after having destroyed the country round Mentz belonging to the Alemans, called Bucinobantes, to whom he gave one of their own nation, named Fraomarius, for king: but the country being entirely ruined, Fraomarius was glad to resign his new dignity for the command of a body of his countrymen then quartered in Britain². Next year, Valentinian passing the Rhine in the beginning of the summer, committed some ravages in the country of the Alemans, and undertook the building of a fort in the neighbourhood of Basle, to curb the Alemans on that side: but in the mean time the Sarmatians and Quadians having ravaged Pannonia, and cut in pieces two Roman legions, the emperor resolved to march against them in person. As he could not leave Gaul without concluding a peace with the Alemans, who, he was convinced, would not fail to pillage those provinces upon his departure, he invited Macrianus to an interview in the neighbourhood of Mentz. The king of the Alemans complied with the invitation; and though at first he betrayed great haughtiness in seeing his friendship thus courted by the emperor, yet at last he accepted the advantageous terms that were offered him, and ever after continued a faithful ally to the Romans³. Some years after a war being kindled between the Alemans and Franks, Macrianus, having invaded the enemy's country, was killed in an ambuscade by Mellobaudes, a warlike prince of that nation.

*He invades
their country.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2722.
A. D. 374.*

*He concludes a
peace with
Macrianus
their king.*

In the year 378, the Goths, who had been admitted by Valens into the empire, having revolted, and defeated several Roman armies sent against them, Gratian, alarmed at the danger that threatened the eastern provinces, resolved

² Ammian. lib. xxix. xxx. p. 397, 398.
p. 417, 418.

³ Idem. lib. xxx.

Yr. of Fl.

2726.

A. D. 378.

The Alemans defeated with great slaughter by Gratian.

to march in person to the assistance of his uncle, as soon as the season would permit; and in the mean time ordered part of his forces to march from Gaul, where he then was, to Illyricum. Of this notice being immediately given to the Alemans, called Lentienses, by a countryman of theirs, who was in some employment at the court of Gratian, without the least regard to the treaty they had concluded with Valentinian, they passed the Rhine, and wasted the neighbouring provinces. They were repulsed at first by the Roman troops quartered in those districts; but returning soon after, to the number of forty thousand fighting men, Gratian was obliged to recall the troops that were already on their march into Illyricum, and to send them, reinforced with those that were left in Gaul, under the conduct of count Nannianus, and Mellobaudes, king of the Franks, to oppose the attempts of the enemy, and to force them to repass the Rhine. The two generals gave them battle at a place called Argentaria, now, as is commonly believed, Colmar, and though greatly inferior in number, gained a complete victory, thirty thousand of the enemy being killed on the spot, and the rest either slain in the pursuit, or taken prisoners. Their king Triarius, and several other persons of great distinction, were in the number of the dead^b. After this victory, Gratian passed the Rhine at the head of his army, and entering the enemy's country, obliged them to take refuge among their barren mountains, where he kept them enclosed, till they were forced by famine to submit to such terms as the conqueror thought fit to impose, one of which was, that they should deliver up their youth to serve in the Roman army.

They submit to Maximus.

They settle in Helvetia.

Of the Alemans no farther mention is made in history till the year 388, when we are told by Orosius^c, that dreading the arms of Maximus, who had usurped the empire in Gaul, they submitted to his dominion, paying him a yearly tribute, and supplying his army with such quantities of corn, and other provisions, as he thought fit to demand. In the reign of Honorius a colony of the Alemans was allowed to settle in that part of the present Switzerland, which is separated by Mount Jura from the Franche Comté, and by the lake of Geneva and the Rhone from the present Savoy and province of Vienne^d. Servius, who wrote his comment upon Virgil about the year 411, says, that in his time the country bordering on the lake Lemanus, or lake of Ge-

^b Ammian. lib. xxxi. p. 453, 454, 455.
35. p. 220.

^d Val. lib. v. p. 237

^c Oros. lib. vii. cap.

neva, was inhabited by the Alemans *. We find no farther mention made of the Alemans till the year 477, when Audoacrius, king of the Saxons, and Childeric, king of the Franks, marching against those of that nation who had settled among the Alps, and made frequent inroads both into Gaul and Italy, put great numbers to death, and stripped them of the booty which they had a little before brought from Italy †.

Upon the destruction of the Western empire, the Alemans subdued that part of Gaul which is now known by the name of Alsace, where they settled ‡. These being joined by their countrymen in Germany, and those who dwelt between Mount Jura and the lake of Geneva, in the year 496, entered Germania Secunda, which then belonged to the Ripuarian Franks, and wasted the country with fire and sword. Sigebert, king of the Ripuarian Franks, unable to make head against them with his own forces alone, had recourse to Clovis, king of the Salian Franks, who immediately joined him. The two kings, after their junction, engaged the Alemans, and gained a complete victory at Tolbiac, thought to be the present Zulpick, about four leagues from Cologne. After this defeat those Alemans, who had settled in Alsace, and in the neighbourhood of the lake of Geneva, acknowledged Clovis for their king. Others took refuge in Rhætia and Noricum, being allowed to reside there by Theodoric, king of Italy. The same prince transplanted great numbers of them into Italy, and suffered the rest to settle in the countries between the Alps and the Danube, which were subject to him. From this time the Alemans had no king of their own; but continued, as they were dispersed in several countries, subject partly to the Ostrogoths, who were masters of Italy, and partly to the Franks, who were lords of Gaul. When the Ostrogoths ceded to the children of Clôvis whatever they held out of Italy, all the Alemans, except those whom Theodoric had transplanted into that country, submitted to the Franks, as we shall relate in our history of the modern nations.

Yr. of Fl.
2844.
A.D. 496.

They are overcome by Clovis, and dispersed.

The Gepidæ.

THE Gepidæ were, without all doubt, a Gothic nation. Jornandes, speaking of them, gives us the following account of their name and origin: the Goths, leaving Scandinavia under the conduct of king Berith, put to sea with

*The Gepidæ
Their origin and name.*

* Serv. in Not. ad iv. Georg. p. 158.
cap. 19.

† Greg. Tur. lib. ii.
‡ Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. i. cap. 12.

*Their
country.*

three ships only. One of these, sailing slower than the other two, was thence called Gepanta, signifying in the Gothic tongue *slow*; and hence the name of Gepantæ, and Gepidæ, which was first given to that people as a term of reproach ^h. Procopius likewise affirms, in express terms, that the Goths, the Vandals, the Visigoths, and the Gepidæ, were originally the same nation; that they had the same customs, manners, religion, and language; and that they only differed in names, borrowed perhaps, says he, from their different leaders ⁱ. They entered Scythia with the other Goths, and settled in the neighbourhood of the Tanais and Palus Mæotis. There they continued till the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, when their numbers being greatly increased, they approached the Danube, and having some time after crossed that river, dwelt in the neighbourhood of Singidunum and Sirmium, about the year 400, where they still were when Procopius wrote his history. They had kings of their own, and formed a separate and distinct nation both from the Ostrogoths and Visigoths; but perhaps not one from the Lombards, who were afterwards masters of Italy ^k.

*They defeat
the Bur-
gundians;*

Under the conduct of their king Fastida, they gained a complete victory over the Burgundians about the year 245. The Burgundians whom they overcame, and almost exterminated, were, according to Valesius, a different nation from the Burgundians who afterwards settled in Gaul. Be that as it may, Fastida, elated with his success against the Burgundians, dispatched a messenger to Ostrogotha king of the Goths, acquainting him, that as the Gepidæ were greatly incommoded for want of room, he must either grant them lands, or prepare for war. Ostrogotha answered, that he should be very unwilling to make war upon his kinsmen; but was determined to part with no land. In consequence of this answer, Fastida, entering the territories of the Goths, began to lay them waste; a circumstance which Ostrogotha no sooner understood than, leaving Mœsia, which he was then ravaging, he returned to the defence of his own country, and meeting Fastida, defeated him in a pitched battle; but contenting himself with the victory, he did not even pursue the flying Gepidæ, considering them rather as his kinsmen, than an enemy. The Gepidæ joined the Goths, and other northern nations, in the famous irruption which they made with their united forces into the empire in the second year of the reign of Claudius; but they

*but are de-
feated by
the Goths.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2596.*

A. D. 248

^h Jorn. de Reb. Goth. p. 89.
cap. 2.

ⁱ Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. i.
^k Vid. Grot. Proleg. in Hist. Goth. p. 53.

were defeated by that prince with great slaughter, as we have related in its proper place ¹.

In the year 279, the emperor Probus granted to them, and likewise to the Juthongians, Vandals, and Franks, lands in Thrace, upon their promising to live as the other subjects of the empire: but while the emperor was engaged in war with Saturninus, who had revolted in the East, they seized that opportunity to harass the neighbouring provinces. Probus having successfully ended his other wars, marched against them in person, and, in several encounters, cut such numbers of them off, that only a small body of Franks had the good fortune to escape the general slaughter, and return home ^m. In 291, a war broke out between them and the Goths, in which the Gepidæ were assisted by the Vandals; and the Goths by the Taifalæ, another Gothic nation: but all we know of this war is, that both parties were greatly weakened, and put out of a condition of disturbing, for some years, the peace of the empire. The Gepidæ are mentioned by St. Jerom among the other nations of Barbarians, that, in 407, invaded Gaul, and over-ran those provinces ⁿ. They were afterwards subdued, with the other northern nations, by Attila, and in 451, served under him in his famous expedition into Gaul; on which occasion the Franks and they meeting in the dark, both parties engaged with such fury, that above fifteen thousand were left dead on the spot ^o.

Yr. of Fl.
2627.
A. D. 279.

Great numbers of them cut off by Probus.

They are subdued by Attila.

Upon the death of Attila, the Gepidæ shook off the yoke, under the conduct of their king Ardaric; a measure which occasioned a bloody war between them and the Hunns: but at length Ardaric having gained a complete victory over the Hunns, of whom thirty thousand were killed on the spot, with their king Ellac, the Gepidæ not only recovered their ancient liberty, but also the country from which they had been driven by Attila, that is, all ancient Dacia, lying north of the Danube. This memorable battle, which, in a manner, terminated the empire of the Hunns, was fought on the banks of the Netad in Pannonia, about the year 480. The Gepidæ, thus settled in Dacia, entered into an alliance with the Romans, who agreed to pay them an annual pension. Dacia, beyond the Danube, was henceforth called, from its new inhabitants, Gepidia, as we read in Jornandes. Some years after, part of Illyricum was likewise bestowed on them, with the city of Sirmium; whence their kings are by Theophanes styled kings of Sirmium ^p.

Yr. of Fl.
2828.
A. D. 480.

Defeat the Hunns.

¹ Claud. Vit. p. 207.
ep. xi. p. 93.
ad Ann. Justin. 13.

^m Prob. Vit. p. 240.
^o Jorn Rer. Goth. cap. 46. p. 664.

ⁿ Hier.
^p Theoph.

They are driven out of Illyricum by Justinian.

Yr. of Fl.
2898.
A. D. 550.

They quarrel with the Lombards.

There they continued quiet till the year 537, when, joining the Heruli, they plundered the neighbouring provinces. Justinian, then emperor, having ended the war in Italy with the Goths, dispatched his best generals against them, who, having defeated them in several encounters, obliged them to abandon what they possessed in Illyricum, and content themselves with North Dacia, or Dacia beyond the Danube¹.

In the year 550 a contest arose between the Gepidæ and the Lombards descended from them, says Paulus Diaconus², about their confines: for the Lombards inhabited part of Dacia beyond the Danube, having been allowed to settle there by the Roman emperors, who indeed had abandoned that province, but claimed a right of disposing of it to whom they pleased. Both the Gepidæ and Lombards, before they proceeded to an open rupture, dispatched ambassadors to Justinian, soliciting succours, in virtue of their alliance with the empire. The emperor, after having heard the deputies of both nations, declared, that, in case of a war, he was determined not to suffer the Lombards to be oppressed by their encroaching neighbours, ordering, at the same time, ten thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot to march to their assistance, under the command of Constantianus, Buzes, Aratius, and other generals; a circumstance which the Gepidæ no sooner understood than they concluded a peace with the Lombards: but the Roman troops were scarce returned home, when the Gepidæ, refusing to stand to the articles of the treaty, took the field again under the conduct of their king Thorisfinus.

Auduinus, then king of the Lombards, having assembled a body of troops, went out to meet the enemy; but both armies, seized with a panic while they were ready to engage, betook themselves at the same time to a precipitate flight; which both kings beholding as a prodigy, they concluded a two years truce³. This was no sooner expired, than the Gepidæ, calling in the Heruli to their assistance, broke unexpectedly into the territories of the Lombards,

Yr. of Fl.
2900.
A. D. 552.

The Gepidæ receive a great overthrow from the Lombards.

ravaging the country with fire and sword: but the Lombards receiving a timely reinforcement from Justinian, attacked the Gepidæ, and gave them a total overthrow. This defeat was followed by a peace between the two nations, concluded by the mediation of Justinian, who was unwilling that either should aggrandize themselves at the expence of the other. Thorisfinus was at this time king of the Gepidæ, and Auduinus of the Lombards; but neither

¹ Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. iii. cap. 33, 34, 39.
lib. xiii. p. 429.

² Paul. Diac.
³ Procop. lib. iv. cap. 18, 25, 27.

had any right to the crown he wore. The lawful heir to Elemund the late king of the Gepidæ was Ustirgothus, that prince's only son; but Elemund dying while he was under age, Thorisfinus had caused himself to be acknowledged in his room. In the same manner Auduinus, king of the Lombards, had excluded Ildigesal, the lawful heir from the crown, and placed it upon his own head. The peace between the two nations was scarce concluded, when Ildigesal took refuge among the Gepidæ, and Ustirgothus among the Lombards. Both princes were demanded with great earnestness and threats by their respective nations; but neither willing to comply with the request of the other, they both began to prepare for war: however, the two kings, or rather usurpers, before hostilities were committed on either side, agreed to dispatch each other's rival; an agreement which they performed accordingly, deeming it less dishonourable to assassinate than betray those, who had put themselves under their protection. Not long after, the two kings dying, Thorisfinus was succeeded by Cunimundus, and Auduinus by Alboinus.

Cunimundus had scarce ascended the throne, when, reviving some ancient claims upon the Lombards, which they refused to comply with, he took the field at the head of a very numerous army, and, entering their country, committed horrid ravages. On the other hand, Alboinus, having collected a no less numerous army, resolved to put the whole to the issue of a battle; which Cunimundus not declining, the two armies engaged with inexpressible fury. The victory continued long doubtful; but at last, the Gepidæ were put to flight, and pursued by the victorious Lombards with such slaughter, that scarce one was left alive of such a numerous multitude. Alboinus killed Cunimundus with his own hand, and, cutting off his head, turned his skull into a cup called by the Lombards *schala*, and by the Latins *patena*. This schala or cup he ever afterwards used at all public banquets and entertainments. After this victory, the Lombards seized on all Dacia, obliging the Gepidæ either to submit, or retire. Henceforth they had no king of their own, but lived in subjection either to the Lombards, who were masters of their country, or to the princes of the neighbouring nations, especially the Hunns settled in Pannonia¹. Lazius says, that, among the present Hungarians, the descendants of the Gepidæ are easily distinguished from those who are sprung from the Hunns². The ruin of the

Are defeated by the same nation with great slaughter.

Yr. of Fl.
2920.
A. D. 572.

The end of their kingdom.

¹ Paul. Diac. de Gest. Longibard, lib. i. cap. 27.
de Migrat. Gent. lib. xi. p. 183.

² Laz.

kingdom

kingdom of the Gepidæ is placed by Pagi in 553, while Justinian was living; but by others more accurately in the year 572, Justin, the successor of Justinian, being then emperor; for we are told, that the treasures of the deceased king were conveyed to Justin at Constantinople by Trassai-cus an Arian bishop, and by Reptilanes, the late king's grandson *. Alboinus afterwards married Rosamund the daughter of Cunimundus; a match which made the Gepidæ bear the yoke more patiently.

The Heruli.

The Heruli.
Their ori-
gin.
Their dif-
ferent
seats.

THE Heruli, by Zosimus called Eruli *, by Syncellus Aairuli †, but commonly Heruli, were originally, according to Jornandes and Procopius, a Gothic nation. The former writer affirms, that they first dwelt in Scandinavia; and that, being expelled by the Dani, they wandered eastward as far as the Palus Mæotis, and settled in that neighbourhood ‡. Procopius speaks of them as inhabiting, in ancient times, the countries lying beyond the Danube §. There they continued, making frequent irruptions into the empire, till the reign of the emperor Anastasius, who succeeded Zeno in 491, when great numbers were cut off by the Lombards, and the rest driven from their ancient habitations. A large body, after having long roved about from one country to another, settled in that of the Rugians, the present Pomerania, which they found uninhabited, the ancient proprietors having gone with the Goths into Italy. Some time after, they removed into North Dacia, or Dacia beyond the Danube, being allowed by the Gepidæ to mix among them; but, being oppressed and ill treated by the Gepidæ, they had recourse to the emperor Anastasius, who, in 511, allowed them to pass the Danube, and settle in Thrace, upon their promising to serve with fidelity in the Roman armies, when required. Great numbers, upon their being driven out of their own country by the Lombards, took their route westward, and passing without opposition through several barbarous nations, arrived at the ocean, and, embarking, set sail for Thule, where they settled (L).

* Abbas Bictar. p. 12. edit. Scalig.

† Zof. lib. i. p. 562.

‡ Syncel. p. 382.

§ Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 3. p. 613.

¶ Procop. de Bell. Goth. lib. ii.

(L) By Thule Procopius of it was destitute of inhabit-
meant, without all doubt, the ants; but in that which was in-
peninsula of Scandinavia, which habited, were thirteen populous
he calls ten times as big as Bri- nations, each governed by their
tain; and adds, that great part own kings and laws (1).

(1) Procop. de Bell. Goth. lib. ii. cap. 14. p. 42.

The Heruli had kings of their own, but Procopius says they were only nominal kings; for they scarce had any authority, and were almost upon a level with every private man. Hence some think they were called Heruli from the ancient Gothic word *herrn*, signifying *free*; but others, and among the rest, Ablavius, as quoted by Jornandes, affirms they were called Heruli from the Greek word *hele*, signifying *marshy grounds*, such as those were in the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis, where they lived ^b. The Heruli had some laws peculiar to themselves, differing from those of all other nations; for, among them, when men were grown old or infirm, they were obliged to intreat their relations to dispatch them; and their request was granted, by placing them on a pile of wood, where they were put to death by a stranger to them in blood, and their bodies reduced to ashes. When the husband died, the wife was to strangle herself on her husband's tomb, on pain of being deemed infamous, and detested as one who had no value for her husband. They were addicted to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, and not ashamed of the most unnatural practices. They adored the gods of the other Gothic nations, and used, on some extraordinary occasions, to appease them with human sacrifices ^c. They were a warlike people, and are chiefly commended by the ancients for their swiftness and agility. The Heruli began first to invade the empire about the year 526, the fourth of the emperor Valerian's reign; but were soon repulsed by Gallienus, the son of Valerian, and his colleague in the empire ^d.

Their government,

manners, customs,

religion.

Eleven years after this period, the Heruli, passing from the Palus Mæotis into the Euxine Sea, with five hundred vessels, under the conduct of one of their chiefs, named Naulobat, landed at Byzantium and Chryopolis, now Scutari. At the latter place they were defeated by Venerianus, who was himself killed in the engagement. The Heruli, in some degree discouraged by the loss they had sustained, re-embarked, and began to retire to the mouth of the Euxine Sea; but the very next day, the wind proving favourable, they returned before Byzantium, and, having crossed the Bosphorus, surprised and plundered the city of Cyzicus, with great part of Asia, and the islands of Lemnos and Scyros, in the Archipelago. Then they steered their course towards Greece, and, landing, besieged and burnt Athens, Corinth, Sparta, and Argos, without meeting with the least opposition, till the Athenians, under the conduct of Dexip-

Great ravages committed by them in Asia and Greece.

^b Jorn. ubi supra. P. 253.

^c Procop. ibid.

^d Zonar. Vit. Gallien.

*They are
defeated by
Gallienus,*

pus the historian, waiting for them in the defiles, and falling upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers in pieces : however, in their retreat they committed horrible devastations in Bœotia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Thrace. In the mean time Gallienus, returning from Gaul, hastened into Illyricum, hoping to intercept the Heruli on their return home. He met them accordingly, and, coming upon them by surprise, gave them a total overthrow, pursued them with great slaughter as far as the Nessus in Mœsia, and destroyed three thousand, as they were attempting to cross that river. Naulobat himself was taken prisoner, but treated with great humanity by Gallienus, who, to gain the affection of the Barbarians, honoured him either with the consulate, or the consular ornaments *. The Heruli, however, two years after this defeat, joined the Goths, and other northern nations, against the emperor Claudius ; but were defeated by that prince with great loss.

*Yr. of Fl.
2635.
A. D. 287.*

*and by
Maximian.*

In the fourth year of Dioclesian's reign, the Heruli, joining the Chaibons and Cavions, entered Gaul, and laid waste the provinces bordering on the Rhine ; but Maximian, marching against them, totally defeated them, and pursued them with such slaughter, that, if his panegyrist may be credited, not one was left alive to carry home the news of their defeat. All we know of the Chaibons and Cavions is, that their country lay at a great distance from Gaul, as well as that of the Heruli. In the year 366, the third of Valentinian's reign, we find a body of Heruli serving in the Roman army on the Rhine ; for Ammianus Marcellinus † and Zosimus tell us, that the Alemans, crossing that river on the ice, defeated the Romans, and took the standards of the Batavians and Heruli. About the year 370, Ermenric, whom Jornandes calls Ermanaric, king of the Ostrogoths, after having subdued the neighbouring nations, attacked the Heruli, obliged them to pay him a yearly tribute, and to supply his army with their youth, when required ‡. They were afterwards subdued, with the other northern nations, by Attila, and composed part of his army when he invaded Gaul. Upon the death of Attila, they recovered their ancient liberty, and, entering into an alliance with the Romans, served in their armies, under commanders of their own nation, but appointed by the emperors.

*Subdued by
the Ostro-
goths and
Hunns.*

*Serve in
the Roman
armies.*

In the year 456, they made a descent on the coast of Galicia ; but finding the inhabitants on their guard, re-embarked, and, landing in Biscay, committed great ravages §.

* Gallien. Vit. p. 181—184. Zof. lib. i. p. 651. Syncel. p. 331.
† Amm. Marcel. lib. xxvii. p. 334. § Jorn. Rer. Goth. p. 645.
Procop. de Bell. Goth. lib. i. sub init. § Idat. p. 32.

When

When Odoacer conquered Italy in 476, the Heruli, who served at that time in the Roman armies, obtained lands in Italy, the third of that country being divided among the Barbarians, who were in the Roman service, under the name of *foederati*, or allies, and had joined him against Orestes, and his soon Augustulus. In the reign of the emperor Anastasius, which began in 491, they made war on several barbarous nations, says Procopius¹, and subdued them; but having obliged their king Rodolphus to commence hostilities against the Lombards, without the least provocation, they were overthrown with great slaughter, and obliged to live either in subjection to the conquerors, or abandon their country. Most of them chose to retire; some settling amongst the Rugians; others returning into Scandinavia; and some, with the permission of the emperor Anastasius, taking up their abode in Thrace and Illyricum; where they had not been long before they began to oppress and abuse, in a most barbarous manner, the Romans, among whom they lived. Anastasius ordered the troops quartered in the neighbouring provinces to march to the assistance of the oppressed people, who, taking arms upon their arrival, fell, in conjunction with them, on the Heruli, and cut most of them in pieces. Such as escaped the general slaughter, had recourse to the clemency of the emperor, who, upon their promising to serve the empire like faithful subjects, not only spared, but suffered them to continue in the countries, which he had formerly assigned for their habitation².

*Over-
thrown
with great
slaughter
by the
Lombards.*

In the reign of the emperor Justinian, the Heruli having murdered their king, and no other remaining of the blood royal, they dispatched ambassadors into Thule, or Scandinavia, with orders to bring a prince from thence of the same family. The messengers, pursuant to their directions, chose one (for there were many of the royal race there); but he dying on the way, they returned, and preferring another named Todasius, who immediately set out on his journey to Thrace, attended by his brother Aordas, and by a guard of two hundred men. But in the mean time the Heruli, having long waited the return of their envoys, and suspecting they had met with some misfortune, had recourse to Justinian for a king. The emperor readily complied with their request, and appointed Suartuas to reign over them, who was of the same nation, but had lived long at Constantinople. The Heruli received their new king with the greatest demonstrations of joy; but a few days after his ar-

*They mur-
der their
king, and
send for
another
from
Thule.*

¹ Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. ii. cap. 14.
cap. 20. p. 759.

² Paul. Diac. Lang.

*They are
driven out
of the em-
pire by
Justinian.*

rival, news being brought, that the ambassadors, on their return from Thule, had already reached the confines, with a prince of the blood royal, they immediately revolted from Suartuas, who was thereupon obliged to save himself by flight, and return to Constantinople. Justinian, provoked at their conduct, resolved to force them to acknowledge the prince he had nominated; but the Gepidæ espousing the cause of the new king, the emperor, whose troops were then employed against the Ostrogoths in Italy, thought it impolitic to engage in a new war. But the war in Italy was no sooner ended, than, turning his arms against the Heruli, and their allies the Gepidæ, he drove both nations quite out of the empire¹. He was afterwards reconciled to the Heruli, who assisted him in his other wars, supplying his armies with numerous bodies of troops, of which one served with great reputation in Italy, and the other in Colchis^m. In the reign of Justinian, great numbers embraced the Christian religion; but the change of religion wrought no change in their manners, they being of all nations, says Procopius, the most wicked, the most treacherous, avaricious, and the most addicted to drunkenness, and all manner of lewdness and debaucheryⁿ. They were, soon after the death of Justinian, subdued by the Lombards, and lived partly subject to them, and partly to the neighbouring nations.

The Marcomans.

*The Mar-
comans.
Their ori-
gin, coun-
try, &c.*

THE Marcomans are, by all the ancient writers, numbered among the German nations. They dwelt originally near the springs of the Danube; but removed, under the conduct of their king Maroboduus, into the country which was then held by the Boians, and is still called from them Bohemia, as it was by the ancients Boiohemia, and Boioheimia, that is, the country of the Boians. The Boians were, according to Cæsar, a Gaulish nation, but from Gaul passed into Germany, and, settling in the present Bohemia, continued there till they were expelled by the Marcomans^o. The migration of the Marcomans, from their original country into that of the Boians, is mentioned by Velleius Paterculus^p. Ptolemy, in describing the country of the Marcomans, mentions a city called Marobudum, which name it received, without all doubt, from its founder Ma-

¹ Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. ii. cap. 14, 15.

cap. 22. ⁿ Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. ii. cap. 4. p. 144.

lib. vi. cap. 24.

^p Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 108.

^m Agath. lib. i.

^o Cæsar,

roboduus

roboduus (M). The Marcomans agreed in customs, manners, and religion with the other German nations, were a very numerous and warlike people, and ever ready to prefer death to slavery. Of all the German nations, they alone used the Runic letters in their charms and incantations; whence Lazius and Rhabanus Maurus conclude them to have come originally from Scandinavia; but in every thing else they agreed with the Germans.

In the reign of Augustus, Tiberius, having crossed the Rhine at the head of a very numerous and powerful army, gained great advantages over them and other German nations; which obliged them to send deputies to Augustus, and sue for peace. The emperor received the ambassadors of the Marcomans with particular marks of distinction, and granted their request; but obliged the other German nations to retire beyond the Elbe, and the Sicambrians, with such of the Sueves as were not subject to Maroboduus, to abandon their native country, and people some places in Gaul that were destitute of inhabitants¹. In the fourth year of Tiberius, a war commenced between the Marcomans and the Cheruscan's dwelling between the Elbe and the Weser. The former were commanded by Maroboduus, and the latter by the celebrated Arminius, who, a few years before, had cut off the legions of Varus; but all we know of this war is, that the Cheruscan's gained considerable advantages over the Marcomans. Two years after, Tiberius having excited the subjects of Maroboduus to revolt against him, he was driven from the throne, and obliged to pass the last eighteen years of his life at Ravenna. Maroboduus was succeeded by Catualdus, who was likewise deposed, and obliged to take refuge in Gaul².

The Marcomans obtain a peace of Augustus.

They wage war with the Cheruscan's.

The emperor Domitian, provoked against the Marcomans and Quadians, because they did not assist him in the war which he was then waging with the Dacians, entered their country in a hostile manner. Both nations earnestly sued for peace; which Domitian was so far from granting, that he caused their ambassadors to be put to death. The Marcomans flew to arms, and having raised a considerable

¹ Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 26. p. 47. Strab. lib. vii. p. 29.
² Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 62, 63. p. 61, 62.

(M) This our modern geographers take to be the present city of Prague. Strabo usually resided, Boviasmum (1); but Cluverius thinks we ought to read Boizeum. the city, where Maroboduus

(1) Strabo, lib. vii. p. 201.

*They defeat
and put to
flight the
emperor
Domitian.*

body of troops, engaged the emperor, and put his army to the route*. However, the emperor, upon his return to Rome, triumphed both over them and the Dacians, of whom, after his defeat by the Marcomans, he had purchased a peace with large sums, which he had refused before upon the most advantageous terms†. But the triumphs of this emperor were considered as certain tokens of his having been defeated. In the year 93, Domitian marched in person against the Sarmatians, who had cut in pieces several Roman legions, and, at the same time, made war upon the Marcomans. But all we know of this war is, that Domitian pretended to have gained great advantages over both nations, and, on that account, assumed the title of imperator.

*Yr. of Fl.
2516.
A. D. 168.*

*Their war
with M.
Aurelius.*

We have spoken elsewhere at large of the memorable war, which, in conjunction with several other German nations, the Marcomans made on the empire; and therefore shall only observe here, that in one of the battles fought in this war the Romans were defeated with the loss of twenty thousand men; and that, on another occasion, the emperor Aurelius was in great danger of being cut off with his whole army‡. Though the whole strength of the empire was employed against them, yet they resisted for the space of fifteen years, and in the end obtained a peace upon very reasonable terms, one of which was, that they should not, for the future, settle within six miles of the Danube. Some of the Marcomans, who submitted to the emperor, were transplanted into Italy; but these having attempted to make themselves masters of Ravenna, were sent back to their own country. In the year 214 a war was kindled between them and the Vandals, by means of the emperor Caracalla, who used to boast that he had set at variance those two nations, which, till his time, had lived in friendship and amity§; but what was the issue of the war we are not informed. In the year 256 the emperor Gallienus entered into an alliance with Attalus, king of the Marcomans; and upon the captivity of his father Valerian, taken prisoner by the Persians, he yielded part of Upper Pannonia for his daughter Pipa or Pipara, whom he pretended to marry; but as he was already married to Salonina, styled in the ancient inscriptions Cornelia Salonina Augusta, Pipa is called by the writers of those times his concubine¶.

The Marcomans joined the Alemans and the Iuthongians in the war, which those nations made on the emperor

* Dio. lib. lxxvii. p. 764.

† Suet. in Domit. cap. 6. p. 788,

789. ‡ Dio, lib. lxxi. p. 807.

¶ Dio, Val. p. 754, 757.

§ Gallien. Vit. p. 184. Valer. Vit. p. 174. Viſt. Epit. p. 541.

Aurelian about the year 270, but were in the end cut off almost to a man. Both Idatius and Victor mention a victory gained over the Marcomans in the sixteenth year of Dioclesian's reign. About the year 396, Fritigil, queen of the Marcomans, having embraced the Christian religion, wrote to St. Ambrose, intreating him to send her some instructions relating to the conduct of her life. The holy prelate immediately complied with her request, and besides exhorted her to persuade her husband to live in peace and amity with the Romans. She not only performed this task, but prevailed upon the king to subject himself and his kingdom to the the empire¹. And hence it is, that among the many barbarous nations that broke into Gaul in 406 and 407, no mention is made of the Marcomans. They seem to have continued faithful to the Romans till the time of Attila, when being subdued by that prince, they were obliged to serve in his army against their own friends and allies; for they are mentioned among the many different nations of which his army was composed, when he invaded Gaul². Upon the death of Attila, they shook off the yoke, and having recovered their ancient liberty, submitted either to Marcian or his successor Leo, and served the empire to the last with unshaken fidelity. From them, and, without all doubt, from several other nations settled among them, are descended the present inhabitants of Bohemia.

Yr. of Fl.
2744-
A. D. 396.

*The king of
the Marco-
mans sub-
jects him-
self and his
kingdom to
the empire.*

The Quadians.

NEXT to the Marcomans dwelt the Quadians, a German nation often mentioned by the ancients, especially by Eutropius and Capitolinus. Their country is at present known by the name of Moravia; for it extended from the mountains of Bohemia to the river Marus, now the March, and consequently comprised that province. Ptolemy mentions the following cities in the country of the Quadians; namely, Eburodunum, or, as others read it, Robodunum, Eburum, Medoslanium, and Celemantia, now, according to Cluverius, Brin, Olmutz, Znaim, and Kalminz. The Quadians were a warlike people, had kings of their own, and agreed in customs, manners, and religion, with the other German nations. The Quadians joined, without all doubt, their countrymen against Lollius, Germanicus, Caius and Galba, who attempted to reduce Germany, and subdue the several nations inhabiting that extensive country.

*The Qua-
dians.
Their
country.*

*Their wars
with the
empire.*

¹ Ambros. Vit. cap. 39 p. 10.
666, 667,

² Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 38. p.

*They join
the Mar-
comans
against M.
Aurelius.*

The emperor Domitian, while engaged in a war with the Dacians, unexpectedly turned his arms against them; but before the Quadians could assemble their troops, the emperor was defeated, and put to flight, by the Marcomans, as we have already related. They submitted, it seems, to the emperor Titus Antoninus; for they received and acknowledged a king named by that prince, as appears from some of Antoninus's coins, supposed to have been struck about the year 139^a. They joined the Marcomans in the memorable war which that nation made on the empire in the reign of M. Aurelius. The Quadians being reduced to great distress, sent ambassadors to sue for peace, and with them all the Roman deserters, and thirteen thousand prisoners, whom they had taken during the war. By these means they obtained peace, upon condition that they should not traffick for the future within the Roman dominions, nor settle within six miles of the Danube; but disliking these conditions, they renewed the war, in conjunction with the Marcomans; and having deposed Furtius, whom the emperor had appointed to reign over them, they appointed Ariogeses in his room; a measure which M. Aurelius resented to such a degree, that though the Quadians promised to set at liberty fifty thousand Roman captives, upon condition that he confirmed Ariogeses in the title of king, the emperor would not hearken to the proposal, but on the contrary proscribed the new prince, and set a price upon his head. In consequence of this severity, the Quadians, being joined by the Marcomans, and several other nations, attacked the Romans; but after a long and bloody dispute, were totally defeated. Ariogeses himself was taken prisoner; but the emperor generously spared his life, and contented himself with confining him to the city of Alexandria the metropolis of Egypt.

*They obtain
a peace of
Commodus.*

After this victory the other nations submitted; but the Quadians seem to have continued in arms till the reign of Commodus, who granted them peace upon the following terms; 1. That they should keep at the distance of five miles from the Danube. 2. That they should deliver up their arms, and supply the Romans with a certain number of troops when required. 3. That they should assemble but once a month in one place only, and in the presence of a Roman centurion. And lastly, That they should not make war upon the neighbouring nations without the consent of the people of Rome^b. In the year 214 the Qua-

^a Birag. p. 194. Spanh. lib. ix. p. 831, §12.
p. 806, §12.

^b Dio, lib. lxxii.

dians had Gaiobomar for their king, who was murdered by order of Caracalla; but upon what provocation we are not told. Of this assassination the emperor used to boast as of a glorious action^c. In the fourth year of the emperor Valerian's reign, the Quadians, joining the Sarmatians, invaded Illyricum, and ravaged part of that province; but they were defeated by Probus, afterwards emperor, at that time only tribune of a legion. On this occasion Probus rescued out of the hands of the Quadians Valerius Flaccus, a youth descended from an illustrious family, and nearly related to the emperor Valerian, who publicly commended Probus for so glorious an action, and presented him with a civic crown, which, in the times of the republic, was bestowed on those who had saved the life of a citizen^d. In 260, the seventh of the emperor Gallienus, they made a sudden irruption into Pannonia; but were obliged by Regillianus, who commanded in that province, to quit their booty and return home. That general is said to have gained several victories over them in one day^e. Probus, who had kept the Barbarians in awe, being dead, the Quadians, in conjunction with the Sarmatians, broke into Illyricum and Thrace, and after having ravaged those provinces, were advancing towards Italy; but Carus, who had succeeded Probus, meeting them on the borders of Illyricum, defeated them entirely, killed sixteen thousand on the spot, and took twenty thousand prisoners^f. In the nineteenth year of the emperor Constantius, the Quadians made an irruption into Pannonia and Mœsia; and having pillaged both provinces, returned home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty^g. They returned in two years, and laid waste Valeria, while the Sueves committed dreadful ravages in Rhætia, and the Sarmatians over-ran Lower Pannonia and Upper Mœsia. In consequence of these invasions Constantius, leaving Milan, advanced to the confines of the Quadians, and conferred with their chiefs, who excused the past hostilities, and promised, for the future, to live in peace and amity with the empire^h. Notwithstanding these promises, they next year, in conjunction with the Sarmatians, laid waste great part of Pannonia and Mœsia; but at the approach of Constantius, who marched against them in person, they repassed the Danube, and returned home. The emperor resolved to punish them for their treachery, and having passed the Danube on a bridge of boats, began to destroy their country. The Quadians, not finding themselves in a condition

*Defeated
by Probus.*

Yr. of Fl.
2031.
A. D. 283.

*and by Carus
with
great
slaughter.*

^c Val. p. 754, 757.
Tyran. Vit. p. 188.

^d Prob. Vit. p. 234, 235.

^e Trig.

^f Carin. Vit. p. 250. Zonar. p. 242.

^g Zof. p. 702.

^h Ammian. p. 72. Jul. ad Ath. p. 513.

to make head against the numerous forces of Constantius, sent deputies to sue for peace; which the emperor granted, upon their delivering up hostages, and setting at liberty all the prisoners they had taken.

*Their king
Gabinus
murdered
by the Ro-
mans.*

In the year 374 their king Gabinus being treacherously murdered by Marcellianus duke of Valeria, they crossed the Danube in the utmost rage, and falling upon the reapers, it being then harvest-time, killed most of them, laid waste the country to a great distance, and took an incredible number of captives. Equitius, general of the troops in Illyricum, unable to stem this furious torrent, retired into Valeria; but the Quadians, incensed against him as the chief author of the murder of their late king, followed him thither, committing dreadful devastation in the countries through which they passed. In their way they met with

*Yr. of Fl.
2272.
A. D. 374.*

*They cut off
two Ro-
man le-
gions, and
commit
great ra-
vages in
the empire.*

two legions, the Pannonian and Mœsian, who had been sent to oppose them; but the legions falling into an unreasonable contention about precedence, the Barbarians, taking advantage of their disagreement, cut them both in pieces. Thus all the open country was abandoned to them, the Romans remaining masters only of the fortified places^h. The Sarmatians, who had joined the Quadians in this irruption, having entered Upper Mœsia, were defeated with great slaughter by Theodosius, afterwards emperor, but then very young, and only duke of Mœsia. Against the Quadians Valentinian I. marched in person; and arriving at Carnutum in Illyricum, the present city of Hainburg on the Danube in Austria, about thirty miles east of Vienna, continued there about three months, making vast preparations for his intended expedition into the country of the Quadians. At length he took the field, and having passed the Danube at Acincum, now Gran, or Buda in Lower Hungary, entered the enemy's country, and destroyed it with fire and sword. Having thus spent the summer, and great part of the autumn, he took up his winter-quarters at Bregetio, which some take to be a village on the Danube, now called Bregnitz, and others suppose the present city of Komare in the isle of Schut. There he gave audience to the Quadians who came to sue for peace; but while he was speaking with great warmth, and threatening to extirpate their whole nation, he fell suddenly to the ground, as if his life and voice had failed him at once. Being immediately conveyed into his chamber, he was seized with convulsion fits, and expiredⁱ. Socrates writes, that being offended at the mean and beggarly appearance of the ambaf-

^h Zos. lib. iv. p. 745.

ⁱ Ammian. lib. xxx. p. 68.

sadors of the Quadians, he asked them if their country afforded men of no better quality to appear before him. They answered, that the first men in the nation were in his presence. He then fell into a violent rage, upbraiding their whole nation with arrogance, for daring to insult the majesty of the Roman people. He delivered himself with so much heat and violence, that, his veins bursting, he was instantly suffocated in his own blood ^k.

Upon his death the officers of the army proclaimed Valentinian, his second son, emperor, though he was then a child of four or five years old. At the same time they concluded a truce with the Quadians, and recalled the troops which, under the conduct of Merobaudes and count Sebastian, were laying waste their country. In the year 379 the Quadians broke again into Illyricum; but were driven out, with some loss, by the emperor Gratian. In the year 407 they entered Gaul with the other Barbarians, and over-ran those provinces, committing dreadful ravages, of which we have spoken at large elsewhere. From this time no farther mention is made in history of the Quadians; whence Lazius concludes, that they were either subdued or utterly extirpated by the Goths, who had settled in Pannonia and Illyricum.

They enter Gaul.

The Sarmatians.

THE Sarmatians were a very numerous and warlike nation, divided into many tribes, each of them having their own king, and masters of a large and extensive country. Sarmatia Europæa, or Sarmatia in Europe, extended from the Vistula, now the Weisfel, parting it from Germany, to the Euxine sea, the Bosphorus Cimmerius, the Palus Mæotis, and the Tanais, dividing it from Asia and the Asiatic Sarmatia. In this vast tract of land, comprehending the present Poland, Russia, and great part of Tartary, dwelt the following people; the Burgiones, Cariones, Sudeni, Geloni, Hamaxobii, Agathyrsi, Borusæ, Melanchlanæ, Alauni or Alani, Iazyges, Roxolani, Bastarnæ, Carpi or Carpates, Sidones, Borani, and Venedi, by Jornandes called Winidæ and Vinidi. The five last named nations are thought to have come originally from Germany, especially the Bastarnæ; for even in the time of Tacitus, who is at a loss whether he ought to place them among the Germans or the Sarmatians, they agreed with the former in dress and language^l. The Gelonians were, according to

The Sarmatians. Their country.

They consisted of different nations.

^k Soçrât. p. 284.

^l Tacit. de Mor. German. cap. 46.

Their origin.

Herodotus^a, of Greek extraction; but had, even in his time, adopted, in a great measure, the customs and manners of the Budini, among whom they had settled, especially the custom of painting their bodies, as we read in Virgil^b and Claudian^c. The Budini dwelt near mount Budinus, from which springs the Borysthenes, called by more modern writers the Danapris, and thence the Dnieper, or Nieper. The other nations, which we have mentioned, were all Gothic; and of the origin of the Gothic nations we have spoken at large in the history of the Goths. These various tribes were blended by the Romans under the common name of Sarmatæ; by the Greeks under that of Sauromatæ; and sometimes by both, under the denominations of Scythæ or Scythians, and Getæ. Each of them had, it seems, their own king; for mention is made in history of the kings of the Roxolani, of the Bastarnæ, and of the Iazyges. Ammianus Marcellinus, speaking of the Sarmatians in general, says, that they were a savage people, infamous for their lewdness^d. The Melanchlænæ are asserted, both by Ammianus and Herodotus^e, to have fed on human flesh; and are thence called by them, as well as by Mela and Pliny, Anthropophagi and Androphagi.

The Sarmatians began first to threaten the empire in the reign of Nero, about seventeen years after Thrace had been reduced to a Roman province by Claudius; for, till its reduction, it had been governed by its own princes, and served as a barrier on that side between the Sarmatians and Romans. A few years after the latter became possessed of it, the Sarmatians began to appear in great numbers on the confines, as if they intended to make themselves masters of that province; which was then guarded by a small number of troops, under the command of Plautius Silvanus Ælianus, who had sent the rest to the assistance of Corbulo, then in Armenia: but the Roman general having gained over the king of the Bastarnians and Roxolani, the rest soon dispersed^f. Six years after this transaction, Otho being then emperor, the Roxolani, who inhabited the west side of the Palus Mæotis, entering Mœsia, defeated two Roman cohorts; and, having pillaged that part of the province, which bordered on the Danube, repassed the river, and returned home unmolested. Animated by this success, they appeared again the same year with nine

Yr. of Fl.

2497.

A. D. 69.

The Roxolani defeated two Roman cohorts, and ravage Mæsia.

^a Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 108.^b Claud. lib. i. in Rufin. ver. 315.^c Claud. lib. i. p. 443.^d Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 102, 106.^e Tacit. Annal. xv. cap. 25. p. 248. & 459.^f Virg. Georg. ii. ver. 115.^g Amm. Marcell. lib. xxxi.^h Tacit. Annal.

thousand

thousand horse: but Marcus Aponius Saturninus, governor of Mœsia, attacking them with a legion and some auxiliaries, cut them off almost to a man. Vespasian being proclaimed emperor by the legions quartered in the East, the Iazygians, a Sarmatic nation, dwelling next to the Roxolanians, declared for the new emperor against Vitellius: but Vespasian, returning them thanks for the troops they offered him, took with him only their chiefs, not with a design to employ them, but to prevent them from making inroads into the Roman territories during the war.

The very first year of the reign of Vespasian, whom they had offered to join a few months before, they broke into Mœsia; and, having killed Fonteius Agrippa, governor of that province, who attempted to oppose them, laid waste the country to a great extent. Hereupon Rubrius Gallus, marching against them with the greatest expedition, pursuant to the orders he had received from the emperor, killed great numbers of them. In several encounters, he obliged the rest to repass the Danube, and, with great care, fortified the banks of the river, to cover the province from their incursions^a. In the fourth year of Domitian's reign, the Iazygians, joining the Sueves, armed with a design, says Dio^b, to cross the Danube, and lay waste the Roman dominions; but whether they put their design in execution, that writer has not thought fit to inform us. Tacitus indeed writes in one place, that the Sarmatians and Suevians took arms against the empire; and that this year, soon after the return of Agricola to Rome, the Roman armies were defeated in Pannonia^c. In the thirteenth of Domitian's reign, the Sarmatians having cut off a Roman legion with their tribune, the emperor, who was then in Dacia, marched against them in person^d; but with what success, we are not told.

They kill the governor of that province; but are most of them cut in pieces.

The Sarmatians in Europe broke into Illyricum with great fury in the year 119, the second of Adrian's reign; which obliged that prince to quit Rome, and march against them in person. Upon his arrival in Mœsia, they repassed the Danube with great precipitation, and encamped on the opposite bank; but the Roman cavalry swimming cross the river, in order to attack them, the Sarmatians were struck with such terror, that they immediately submitted.

They submit to Adrian.

The princes of the Sarmatians quarrelled afterwards among themselves, and chose Adrian for their umpire, who

^a Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 54. p. 102.

^b Dio, lib. lxxvii. p. 71.

^c Tacit. Agr. cap. 41. p. 151.

^d Suet. in Domit. cap. 6, p. 788.

composed their differences to the general satisfaction of the contending parties. On this occasion, the king of the Roxolanians complaining to the emperor, that his pension had been reduced, Adrian ordered the sum, which had been formerly allowed him, to be paid without the least deduction². In the year 135, the Iazygians sent ambassadors to Rome, to renew their alliance with Adrian, who received them in a very obliging manner, introduced them to the senate, and, having granted them their request, sent them back loaded with rich presents¹.

Yr. of Fl.
2513.
A. D. 165.

*They join
the Mar-
comans
against
M. Aure-
lius.*

*They ob-
tain a
peace.*

All the nations inhabiting Sarmatia conspired, with the Marcomans, against M. Aurelius; but were in the end subdued, and almost extirpated. Over the Iazygians in particular the emperor gained two complete victories, one before they reached the Danube on their way home, and the other, described at large by Dio, as they were crossing that river on the ice. Notwithstanding the great losses they sustained in this war, they were so far from suing for peace, that they deposed, and threw into prison, their king Bandaspes, for no other reason, but because he had made proposals for concluding a peace with the empire. However, being abandoned by the Marcomans, and their other allies, and reduced to great extremity, their new king, named Zantichus, came in person, attended by all the chief men of the nation, to throw himself at the emperor's feet, and implore peace: which was granted upon the following terms; that they should not settle within ten miles of the Danube; that they should release all the prisoners they had taken, and supply the emperor's army with a body of eight thousand horse. With these conditions they readily complied; and we are told, that the prisoners, whom they dismissed on this occasion, were in number, at least, one hundred thousand, though they had sold to other nations many of those they had taken during the war. The eight thousand Iazygian horse were, by the emperor, sent into Britain. To the other Sarmatic nations lands were allotted in Pannonia, Mœsia, Germany, and even in Italy². The Iazygians lived, it seems, some time in peace and amity with the Romans; for in 180, one of the articles of the peace concluded between the emperor Commodus and the Alemans was, that they should not make war upon the Iazygians, Burians, or Vandals². Besides, no mention is made by historians, either of them, or the other Sarmatic nations, till the year

¹ Adrian. Vit. p. 4.
p. 808, 809.

² Dio, p. 794.
Dio, lib. lxxii. p. 817.

² Idem, lib. lxxi.

215, when the emperor Caracalla is said to have gained some advantages over the Sarmatians, and to have assumed, on that account, the surname of Sarmaticus ^b.

In the year 228, the Carpi, a people of Sarmatia, dwelling near the Carpathian mountains, which part Hungary and Transylvania from Poland, being informed, that the Roman emperors paid a yearly pension to the Goths, sent deputies to Menophilus, governor of Mœsia, demanding, that the same sum which the Goths received should be paid to them, since their friendship deserved to be no less courted than that of the Goths. The deputies found Menophilus exercising his troops, according to his daily custom; and, as he well knew on what errand they were come, to humble their pride, he made them wait several days before he gave them audience, allowing them in the mean time to assist at the military exercises performed by his forces. At length he received them seated on a high tribunal, and attended by all the officers of the army, to whom he pretended to give his orders while the ambassadors were speaking, as if nothing they said deserved his attention. The Carpi, mortified and amazed at this conduct, only asked, Why money was given to the Goths, and not to them? Because the emperor, answered Menophilus, bestows his favours on whom he pleases. "We hope then, replied the ambassadors, that he will be pleased to shew himself as generous to us, as to the Goths: we are a more brave and deserving nation." The Roman general answered with a smile, That the emperor would do what he thought fit; and that if they met him in four months time, at a place which he appointed, he would acquaint them with the emperor's will and pleasure.

The Carpi demand an annual pension.

The ambassadors met him accordingly, and found him, as they had done before, wholly intent upon exercising his troops. Menophilus, made them wait some days, received them in the same manner as he had done the first time, and ordered them to return in three months, naming the place where they should find him. The answer he then gave was, That the emperor would enter into no engagements with them; but, if they stood in need of present relief, he would, in all likelihood, out of generosity, allow them some, provided they went and threw themselves at his feet. They were highly provoked at this answer, and departed in a great rage; but, nevertheless, they continued quiet as long as Menophilus commanded in that province ^c. The emperor Maximinus made war upon the Sar-

Their demand rejected.

^b Get. Vit. p. 92.

^c Legat. Excerpt. p. 24.

*They make
several
irruptions
into the
empire;*

matians, and gained considerable advantages over them; for it appears from several inscriptions found in France and Spain, that both he and his son took the surname of Sarmaticus^d.

In the year 238, Menophilus being recalled, the Carpi, who had been awed by his presence, broke into Mœsia; and, having ravaged that province, and utterly destroyed the city of Istria or Istropolis, on the most southern mouth of the Danube in Lower Mœsia, returned home unmolested, the Romans being then engaged in a civil war between Maximinus, Maximus, and Balbinus^e. In the fourth of the emperor Gordian's reign, that prince, passing through Thrace on his march into the East against the Persians, overcame the Goths and Sarmatians, and obliged them to abandon that province, and retire beyond the Danube^f. In the year 260, the Sarmatians and Quadians seized on great part of Dacia and Pannonia; but were driven out by Regilianus, who commanded in Illyricum, and is said to have gained several victories over them in one day. He soon after caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; but he was scarce seated on the throne, when the Roxolanians, who served under him, revolted; and their example being followed by the rest of the army, he was murdered by some of his adherents. Aurelian, who was afterwards emperor, is said to have gained a signal victory over the Sarmatians and Sueves in the reign of Claudius^g. In the year 278, the emperor Probus marched against them in person; but, at his approach, they retired from Thrace, where they had committed great ravages, abandoned the booty they had taken, and, intimidated by the fame of his name, sent deputies to sue for peace; which the emperor granted, upon their promising to remain beyond the Danube, and supply the Roman armies with a certain number of troops^h.

*and are
defeated
with great
slaughter
by Carus.*

They continued quiet during the remaining part of Probus's reign; but no sooner heard of his death, than they invaded Illyricum. Carus, then emperor, marching against them, cut sixteen thousand of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass the Danubeⁱ. About seven years after this event, they returned with a numerous army, and committed great ravages in Thrace and Illyricum; but Dioclesian, hastening to the relief of the oppressed provinces, defeated the Barbarians with great slaughter. Eumenes writes, that, on this occasion, almost the whole nation was cut

^d Grut. p. 151. 156. Spon. p. 186, 187.
^e Vit. 171.

^f Gord. Vit. p. 165.

^h Prob. Vit. p. 259.

ⁱ Car. Vit. p. 250.

^e Maxim. & Balb.

^g Aur. Vit. p. 213.

off^k: but he speaks more like a panegyrist than an historian; for some years after, the Sarmatians dwelling near the Palus Mæotis, under the conduct of Crisco king of Bosporus, broke into the country of the Lazians in Colchis, and, having pillaged great part of Pontus, advanced as far as the Halys, a river of Paphlagonia. Constantius, then only tribune, but soon after declared Cæsar, was sent by Dioclesian to restrain their ravages; but his army being far inferior in number to that of the Barbarians, he contented himself with encamping on the opposite bank of the Halys, and preventing them from passing that river. In the mean time Chrestus, king of the Chersonesus, and vassal of the empire, having at the instigation of Dioclesian, entered Sarmatia, and even taken by stratagem the city of Bosporus, Crisco immediately sued for peace; which was granted by Constantius, upon his resigning the booty, and setting at liberty all the prisoners he had taken. Chrestus at the same time restored to him the booty he had acquired, and the prisoners, among whom were his wife, and his concubines. For this eminent service, Dioclesian sent rich presents to the inhabitants of the Chersonesus, declared them free, and exempted them from all tribute, customs, and taxes (N).

The emperor Galerius made war, it seems, on the Sarmatians; for both Zonaras and Ammianus Marcellinus tell us, that, seeking the destruction of Constantine, whose extraordinary qualities gave him great umbrage, he ordered him, in the Sarmatian war, to engage a Barbarian, who surpassed all the others in stature and ferocity. Constantine having vanquished and thrown him on the ground, dragged him by the hair to the emperor's presence, and laid him at his feet. In the same war, the emperor having ordered him to cross a marsh at the head of some troops, he entered it the first on horseback, and, being followed by his men, put great numbers of the enemy to the sword, and gained a complete victory^l. About this period, the whole nation of the Carpi submitted to the Romans, being several times overcome, and reduced to great distress, by Galerius. Dioclesian transplanted the whole nation into the Roman territories, especially into Pannonia, where great numbers had been allowed to settle in the reign of Aurelian^m. Con-

The emperor Galerius makes war on the Sarmatians.

The Carpi transplanted into the empire.

^k Panegy. xi. p. 133. & viii p. 105, 107.
Dioc. p. 246. Ammian. p. 471.

^l Zonar. Vit.
^m Aur. Vict. p. 525.

(N) This account we have copied from a piece, intitled, 1611, and ascribed to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who Of the Government of the Empire, published by Meursius in reigned in the East in 950.

Yr. of Fl.
5670.
A. D. 322.

*The Sar-
matians de-
feated in
several
battles by
Constantine.*

Constantine the Great, in the seventeenth year of his reign, gained a great victory over the other Sarmatic nations^a. Optatianus writes, that they were overcome in several battles in the neighbourhood of Campana, Marga, and Bononia, all three cities of Illyricum on the Danube^c. Raufimodes, one of the Sarmatian kings, had, as we read in Zosimus, besieged a city, which that writer does not name; but Constantine, coming to the relief of the place, put the enemy to flight. Having obliged those, who had made their escape, to repass the Danube, he pursued them cross that river, defeated them a second time, killed their king Raufimodes, laid waste their country, and returned with an incredible number of captives. The Sarmatian sports, which were yearly celebrated about the latter end of November, as appears from an ancient calendar of the year 534, probably took their rise from this victory.

*Constantine
exposes
their cause
against the
Goths.*

In the year 332, a war being kindled between the Goths and Sarmatians, the latter had recourse to Constantine, who immediately sent a considerable body of troops to their assistance. These, engaging the Goths on the twentieth of April of this year, gained a complete victory. We are told, that, in this war, near a hundred thousand Goths perished either by the sword, or by famine. At length they concluded a peace, both with the Romans and the Sarmatians, Ariaric or Araric their king delivering up his son as an hostage^d, and supplying the Roman armies with a body of forty thousand Goths; which corps was, for some ages, kept entire and complete, and served under the name of *foderati*, or *allies*^e. The Sarmatians, finding they had nothing now to fear from the Goths, with the utmost ingratitude, turned their arms against their friends and benefactors, making frequent inroads into the territories of the Romans, to whom they owed their deliverance. Constantine, provoked at their conduct, marched against them at the head of a powerful army, and, having put them to flight, entered their country, which he ravaged with fire and sword. However, upon their submitting, and promising to serve the empire with fidelity, the emperor put a stop to all hostilities, and, quitting their country, repassed the Danube^f. Two years after, the Sarmatians were attacked again by the Goths, under the conduct of their king Geberic, the successor of Ariaric. The war lasted some years; but at last the Sarmatians were totally defeated on the banks of the Marisus in Dacia.

*Punished by
him for
their in-
gratitude.*

^a Zos. lib. ii. p. 680. ^c Optat. cap. 23.
^d p. 472. ^e Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 21. p. 640.

^f Ammian.
Socrat. p. 48.

In this battle, the Sarmatians lost their king Wisimar, and with him the flower of their nobility, and such numbers of men, that they were obliged to arm their slaves; who indeed defeated the Goths; but then, turning their arms against their masters, drove them quite out of their native country, and seized on their lands and possessions. These slaves are by Ammianus and St. Jerom ¹ styled Limigantes. The former relates, that the free-born among the Sarmatians were distinguished by the name of Acaragantes. The Sarmatians, thus expelled by their slaves, had recourse to Constantine, who received three hundred thousand into the empire, incorporated some among his troops, and to the others allowed lands in the provinces bordering on the Danube, and in Italy itself ². Some of them took refuge amongst other Barbarians, by Ammianus called Victohales ³, and by most writers thought to be the same people with the Quadi Ultramontani, or the Quadians beyond the mountains Sudeti or Suditi, which part the country of the Quadi from that of the Marcomans, at present the mountains of Bohemia. The Sarmatians, who took refuge among the Quadians, in the year 355, made an irruption into Pannonia, in conjunction with the Quadians; and, having pillaged both that province and Upper Mœsia, returned unmolested, with an immense booty ⁴. Two years after this expedition, they laid waste the same provinces, while the Sueves committed dreadful ravages in Rhætia, and the Quadians in Valeria, a province of Illyricum. Constantius, who was then at Rome ⁵, set out in great haste to oppose the Barbarians, who threatened Italy itself; but they were no sooner informed of his arrival at Milan, than they retired with precipitation. However, the emperor advanced as far as Sirmium, and had several conferences with the chiefs of the nations dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Danube, who all promised to live in peace and amity with the empire.

They are driven out of their country by their slaves.

But in the following winter, while the Danube was frozen, unmindful of their promises, they seized that opportunity, and, entering Mœsia and Pannonia, pillaged those provinces, while the Alemans, notwithstanding the peace they had lately concluded with the empire, laid waste Rhætia. Against the Alemans Constantius dispatched Barbatio; but against the Sarmatians, who had been joined by the Quadians, he marched in person, leaving Sirmium, where he had passed the winter. The Barbarians retired at his

They break into the empire.

¹ Hier. Chron. ² Euseb. p. 529. ³ Ammian. lib. xvii. p. 106.
⁴ Zof. p. 702. ⁵ Ammian. p. 72, & seq.

*but con-
clude a
peace with
the emperor
Constantius.*

approach; but the emperor, having passed the Danube on a bridge of boats, entered their country, and laid it waste to a great extent. The Sarmatians came in great numbers to Constantius, pretending to sue for peace; but their real design was to attack the Romans by surprize. Of this the emperor had timely notice, and therefore ordered his troops to fall upon them as they approached; a service which they performed accordingly, and killed great numbers. The rest submitted to Constantius, who concluded a peace with them, upon their setting at liberty all the prisoners they had taken, and delivered up hostages as a surety for their future conduct. The Sarmatians reaped in the end great advantages from this war. They had been driven from their own country by their slaves in 334, as we have hinted above, and obliged to take refuge among the Quadians, who treated them as their subjects. From this subjection they were delivered by Constantius, who declared them free, appointed one Zizais, a prince of their own nation, to reign over them, and re-established them in their ancient country; for the slaves, by whom they had been expelled, having ravaged the neighbouring provinces, Constantius made war upon them, and reduced them to great difficulties. In this distress the Limigantes (for so those slaves were called) came in great numbers to the emperor, imploring peace; but resolved at the same to fall unexpectedly upon the Romans, if they could not obtain it upon honourable terms. This design Constantius suspected, and therefore ordered his troops to surround them insensibly, while they were yet speaking. When they had finished their speech, Constantius told them upon what terms he was willing to grant them peace; which they rejecting, began to handle their arms. This commotion the Romans, who watched them narrowly, no sooner observed, than they attacked them sword in hand, and cut most of them in pieces, not one, out of so great a multitude, calling for quarter, or offering to submit. After this massacre, the Romans entering their country on one side, and the Sarmatians, their ancient masters, on the other, a dreadful havock was made of the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age.

Thus the Limigantes were obliged to submit, and accept the terms, however severe, that were offered them. These were, that they should quit the country, which they had seized on, and held with the utmost injustice, and retire to another at a great distance from the empire. The country which they abandoned was, by Constantius, restored to the

ancient proprietors, who settled there again, twenty-four years after they had been driven out by their rebellious slaves. For these great achievements the victorious emperor Constantius took the surname of Sarmaticus. The Sarmatians, notwithstanding the great obligations they owed the Romans, a few years after broke into Pannonia, and laid waste that province, while the Roman troops were employed against the Alemans in Rhætia². In 374 they joined the Quadians, and, in conjunction with them, committed dreadful ravages in Pannonia, and from thence advanced into Upper Mœsia; but were there defeated with great slaughter by Theodosius, afterwards emperor. In the year 376, Athanaric, one of the chiefs of the Goths, being forced by the Hunns to abandon his own country, retired with his people to a place called Caucalanda, dispossessing the Sarmatians, to whom it belonged. In 378 the Sarmatians, informed that the Goths, who had been admitted by Valens into the empire, had taken up arms against the Romans, resolved to pass the Danube, and join them; but Theodosius, afterwards emperor, meeting them in Thrace, defeated them with great slaughter. The victory is said to have been so complete, that Gratian, then emperor, could not believe the account which Theodosius himself gave upon his return to court, till he was informed of the truth by persons sent on purpose to view the field of battle³. In the year 407 they entered Gaul, with the Vandals, Sueves, Franks, Burgundians, and other Barbarians, and committed dreadful devastation. Those who remained in Sarmatia were afterwards subdued by Attila, and served, with their princes, in his army, when he invaded Gaul in 451⁴. Upon that prince's death, they shook off the yoke; and, having recovered their ancient liberty, submitted to Marcian, then emperor, who allowed them to settle in Pannonia, Mœsia, and the other provinces bordering on the Danube, where they continued quiet, till they were reduced by the Goths. Those who resided among the Goths became, in process of time, one nation with them. From those who remained in Sarmatia, the present Poles and Tartars are thought to have sprung.

Yr. of Fl.
2706.
A. D. 358.

*They are
restored by
Constantius.*

The Dacians.

THE Dacians were, according to Jornandes⁵, a Gothic nation, who came originally out of Scandinavia, and, settling in the neighbourhood of the Palus Mœotis, subdued Scythia, Mœsia, Thrace, and Dacia, expelling the ancient

*The Dacians.
their ori-
gin.*

² Ammian. lib. xxvi. p. 315.
p. 710. ³ Jorn. p. 685—688.

⁴ Theodoret. lib. v. cap. 5.
⁵ Jorn. Rer. Get. lib. v.

inhabitants: This account seems agreeable to what we read in Herodotus, that the ancient Scythians, who, coming out of Syria, had crossed the Araxes, and settled in the country which was afterwards called Scythia, were, in process of time, driven from their seats by the Cimmerians, that is, by the Goths, who, according to Jornandes, settled first in Cimmeria. Dio observes, that the same people were called Dacians by the Romans, and Getes by the Greeks^d; and Justin, the compiler of Trogus Pompeius, says, in express terms, that the Dacians were the offspring of the Getes^e. Now, that the Getes and Goths were the same people, we have sufficiently proved above, in our history of the Goths. The Dacians, in more ancient times, were known by the name of Davi; for the termination *dava* was common to most of their towns and cities, as Comidava, Sergidava, Decidava, and Marcidava; and the names of Geta and Davus were, among the Athenians, peculiar to slaves, who usually bore the name of the nation to which they belonged.

Their country.

The ancient country of the Dacians comprised the present Moldavia, Valachia, and part of Transylvania. The whole nation was afterwards transplanted into Illyricum by the emperor Aurelian, and the country they possessed there is the Dacia of which the authors speak, who wrote in the fourth and fifth centuries, the Goths being then masters of ancient Dacia. The Dacians were deemed the most warlike and formidable of all the barbarous nations, not only on account of their natural courage, and great strength, which enabled them to endure the toils of war, but because they beheld death, not as the end of the present, but as the beginning of a more happy life; whence they were as ready, says the emperor Julian, to expose themselves to the greatest dangers, as to undertake a journey^f. The Dacians were governed by their own kings, and agreed in customs, manners, laws, and religion, with the other Gothic nations, of whom we have already spoken. The first of their kings we find mentioned in history is Oroles, in whose reign they made war upon the Bastarnæ; but, not having behaved on a certain occasion with their usual courage, the king, by way of punishment, ordered them to lay their heads, when they slept, where their feet should lie, and to perform the same offices about their wives which it was customary for their wives to perform about them, till, by a more gallant behaviour, they had retrieved their lost reputation^g.

Their customs, manners, &c.

^d Dio, lib. lxxvii. p. 761.
p. 39, 40.

^e Justin. lib. xxxii.
^g Justin. lib. xxxii.

^f Jul. Cæs.

In the reign of Augustus they broke first into the empire, but in what place we are not told. All we know is that, at the approach of Drusus, sent against them by Augustus, then in Gaul, they retired to their own country ^b. In the year of the Christian æra 69, the legions quartered in Mœsia being ordered into Italy by Otho, to make head against Vitellius, the Dacians, who dwelt beyond the Danube, and never allowed the Romans any respite, but when they did not think it safe to attack them, embracing that opportunity, crossed the Danube, and entering Mœsia, conquered part of that province; but Mucianus, passing soon after through Mœsia, on his march from the East into Italy, obliged them to abandon the country they had seized, leaving Fonteius Agrippa, formerly proconsul of Asia, with a body of troops, to awe the Barbarians ^d. In the following year, Agrippa being killed by the Sarmatians, the Dacians broke into Pannonia, and, having plundered that province, advanced into Mœsia, where they joined the Sarmatians; but were soon after repulsed with great slaughter by Rubrius Gallus, whom Vespasian, then emperor, had dispatched against them. About the year 86, the Dacians having ravaged the neighbouring provinces, and committed great cruelties, Domitian, then emperor, resolved to march against them in person. Duras was at that time king of the Dacians; but he, by an instance of moderation seldom to be found in history, voluntarily surrendered the sovereignty to Decebalus, because he thought him better qualified for it than himself: and indeed Decebalus was, according to Dio, one of the best commanders of his time; knew what was proper to be done, and how it ought to be put in execution; was very skilful both in attacking and retiring, in laying ambuscades, and engaging in the open field; and was never at a loss how to improve a victory, or how to support himself when conquered.

We have related the particulars of this war in the history of Domitian's reign, and therefore shall only observe in this place, that the Dacians, in the first battle they fought, totally defeated Appius or Oppius Sabinus, governor of Mœsia, who was killed in the engagement; that upon his death, and the ruin of his army, they laid waste, without controul, all Mœsia, and reduced several castles and other forts; that Domitian, to put a stop to their ravages, hastened into Illyricum, with almost all the forces of the empire; that Decebalus sent deputies to treat of peace; but the emperor, rejecting his proposals, dispatched Cornelius

*Their ir-
ruptions
into the
empire.*

Yr. of Fl.
2434-
A. D. 86.

*They cut off
Appius Sa-
binus, with
his army.*

^b Dio, lib. liv. p. 546.

^d Tacit. lib. iii. cap. 46. p. 73, 74-

*Domitian
concludes a
shameful
peace with
them.*

Yr. of Fl.

2438.

A. D. 90.

*They seize
on part of
the country
of the
Iazygians.*

Fuscus, then *præfectus prætorio*, against him, with the flower of his army, who having passed the Danube, and engaged the Dacians, was cut off by them, with almost his whole army. This overthrow obliged Domitian, who was already returned to Rome, to hasten into Illyricum; whence he detached one of his generals, named Julian, against the enemy, not daring to expose his own person. Julian gained a complete victory, and put such numbers of the Dacians to the sword, that Decebalus, no longer able to keep the field, dispatched ambassadors once more to sue for peace; which Domitian would not grant upon any terms: but in the mean time, instead of improving his late victory, and pressing Decebalus, already reduced to great distress, he turned his arms against the Marcomans and Quadians; and being by the former defeated, and put to flight, he was glad to come to an agreement with Decebalus; and accordingly granted more advantageous terms than he could have asked or expected.

Decebalus, reflecting on the bad situation of his affairs, thought proper to accept the emperor's offers; but instead of waiting upon him, as Domitian desired, he appointed his brother Diegis to represent his person. Diegis delivered up to the emperor some arms, and a small number of prisoners, and received from his hands the diadem, in his brother's name ^k. The emperor, besides, agreed to pay to Decebalus a yearly sum; and sent him, at his request, a great number of artificers of all professions, such especially as were skilful in the art of contriving and making military engines. This yearly pension was punctually paid as long as Domitian lived. After the conclusion of the peace, Domitian caused a magnificent monument to be erected in the country of the Dacians in honour of Fuscus, who was there killed.

The yearly sum which Domitian had agreed to pay to Decebalus, was transmitted to him during the reign of that prince, and likewise the reign of his successor Nerva; but Trajan, who succeeded Nerva, would not submit to that shameful tribute, as he called it, alleging that he had not been conquered by Decebalus. In consequence of this refusal the Dacians began to prepare for war, soliciting the neighbouring nations to join them, especially the Iazygians, at that time a powerful and warlike people; but they declining, under various pretences, to break with the empire, Decebalus made war first upon them, and seized a consider-

^k Tac. Vit. Agr. cap. 41. p. 151. Suet. in Dom. cap. 6. p. 788. Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 13. p. 629. Dio, lib. lxxviii. p. 773 & lib. lxxvii. p. 764.

able part of their country, which Trajan, after he had conquered the Dacians, refused to restore, though they had lost it for their fidelity to the Romans. Decebalus soon after turned his arms against the Romans, and, passing the Danube, began to plunder the neighbouring provinces. Trajan was not displeased with these hostilities; for he wanted only a pretence to make war on the Dacians, of whose growing power he was extremely jealous. Besides, he was informed, that Decebalus maintained a friendly correspondence with Pacorus, king of the Parthians, whom he had presented with Callidromus, taken in Mœsia by one of his lieutenants during the war with Domitian.

The good understanding between these two powers gave Trajan great uneasiness. He therefore no sooner heard that Decebalus had committed hostilities in the Roman territories than, assembling a formidable army, he marched, with incredible expedition, to the banks of the Danube; passed that river without opposition, Decebalus not being apprised of his arrival; and entering Dacia, desolated the country with fire and sword. Decebalus, however, not in the least dismayed, having armed the youth of the country, marched boldly to meet Trajan: a bloody engagement ensued, in which great numbers fell on both sides; but the Romans gained the victory. It was on this occasion that, linen being wanted to bind the wounds of the Romans, Trajan tore his own robes to supply that want. The emperor, pursuing the advantages of his victory, followed the enemy close, and not allowing them time to levy new forces, harassed them without intermission to such a degree, that Decebalus was at length obliged to send deputies with proposals for an accommodation. Trajan appointed Licinius Sura and Claudius Libianus, to treat with them; but the deputies not agreeing, Trajan pursued his ravages, advancing from hill to hill, not without great danger, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of Zermizegethusa, the metropolis of Dacia. On the other hand, Maximus, one of the emperor's generals, reduced several places, in one of which he took the sister of Decebalus prisoner, and recovered a Roman standard, which had been lost when Fuscus was defeated and killed in the reign of Domitian. Thus Decebalus was obliged at last to submit, and comply with the terms, which Trajan thought fit to prescribe.

Nevertheless, in three years, he renewed the war; but being vanquished by Trajan in several encounters, and stripped of his dominions, he chose rather to put an end to his life, than to live in subjection. His head was immediately brought to Trajan, and sent to Rome. Upon the

Yr. of Fl.
2450.
A. D. 102.

*Their war
with
Trajan.*

Dacia reduced by Trajan to a Roman province.

the death of Decebalus, Dacia was entirely subdued, and reduced to a Roman province. The emperor caused several castles to be built in the country, in which he placed garrisons, to keep the inhabitants in subjection. He likewise planted a great number of colonies, distributing lands among the poor citizens of Rome, and other Italians, who were willing to settle in Dacia. The Hungarian writers mention several cities in their country, and likewise in Transylvania, which on this occasion were built or peopled by the Romans. Dacia, thus reduced to a province, was governed by a Roman magistrate, with the title of pro-prætor, as appears from some ancient inscriptions ^l.

That at- tempt in 105 to shake off the yoke.

The emperor Adrian, who succeeded Trajan, was inclined to abandon Dacia; but the regard he had for the Roman citizens, who had settled there in great numbers, made him alter the resolution he had taken. However, to prevent the Barbarians on the other side the Danube from invading the Roman territories, he caused the famous bridge to be destroyed, which his predecessor had built over that river. In the first year of the reign of Antoninus Pius, the Dacians attempted to shake off the yoke; but the rebellion was soon quelled by the generals, whom the emperor dispatched against them ^m. In 168 they joined the Alemans, Marcomans, Quadians, and Sarmatians, against the empire; but the two emperors, M. Aurelius and L. Verus, marching against them, they submitted. In 180, twelve thousand Dacians being driven out of their country by other Barbarians, Sabinianus, governor of that province, prevailed upon them to settle in another part of Dacia, while they were in full march to join the Alemans, then at war with the Romans ⁿ. In the reign of Caracalla, the Dacians seem to have revolted again; for we are told, that some skirmishes were fought between them and that prince, and that they gave hostages, as a pledge of their future fidelity ^o. Upon the reduction of Dacia in 105, great numbers of the natives, abandoning their ancient country, settled among the neighbouring Barbarians. These made frequent inroads into the empire, with the Sarmatians, Quadians, and Alemans; and their descendents, in the reign of Maximinus, joining the Sarmatians, committed dreadful ravages in the Roman provinces bordering on the Danube; but were, in all likelihood, repulsed with great loss by the emperor, since, the year after they invaded the empire, Macrinus took the titles of Sarmaticus and Dacicus,

^l Gruter. p. 354.
lxxii. p. 818.

^m Tit. Anton. Vit. p. 19.
^o Get. Vit. p. 92.

ⁿ Dio, lib.

as appears from several inscriptions found in France and Spain ^p.

In the year 265, the thirteenth of Galienus, the Goths, and other barbarous nations, made themselves masters of Dacia; for the loss of that province is reckoned among the many misfortunes of that prince's unhappy reign ^q. About nine years after, it was in great part recovered by Aurelian; but he finding he could not maintain it in the midst of so many barbarous nations without an immense charge, withdrew the troops appointed to defend it, and with them the inhabitants and their families, allotting them lands in Mœsia and Dardania, which he made a new province, called likewise Dacia, and by Lactantius New Dacia. This province lay on the Roman side of the Danube, and is placed by Vopiscus between the two Mœsias. It comprised, according to Sanfon, part of the present Bulgaria and Servia, and had Sardica for its metropolis. The Goths appear to have seized on the ancient Dacia abandoned by Aurelian. Thus were the ancient Dacians either transplanted into the Roman territories, or dispersed among the neighbouring Barbarians beyond the Danube, with whom they became one nation.

Yr. of Fl.
262.
A. D. 274.

Dacia beyond the Danube abandoned by Aurelian.

The Lombards.

THE Longobards, Langobards, or Lombards, who, in process of time, made themselves masters of Italy, and from whom part of that country, formerly known by the name of Cisalpine Gaul, is still called Lombardy, are first mentioned in history by Prosper Aquitanus, bishop of Rhegium, in the year 379. That writer, beginning a chronicle of his own composition, in the said year, after having copied that of St. Jerom, as far as it goes, tells us that the Lombards, abandoning the most distant coasts of the ocean, and their native country Scandinavia, and seeking new settlements, as they were overstocked with people at home, attacked, and overcame about this time the Vandals, then in Germany. They were headed by two chiefs, named Iboreus and Aionus; upon whose death they created Agilmund, son to the latter, their first king, who reigned thirty-three years ^r. It is to be observed, that long before Prosper's time, mention is made of a people named Longobards; for that name occurs in Ptolemy, Tacitus, and Strabo; even Maroboduus, who was contemporary with Augustus, is styled king of the Sueves, Marcomans, and Longobards, by Tacitus ^s. In

The Lombards.

^p Grut. p. 151 & 158. Spon. p. 186. ^q Aur. Viſt. Eutrop. Oroſ. lib. vii. cap. 22. p. 214. Feſt. p. 670. ^r Proſp. Chron. Grot. Proleg. in Hiſt. Goth. p. 53. ^s Tacit. Hiſt. cap. 44. 46. p. 54, 55. the

the time of Tiberius they entered into an alliance with the Cheruscans, under the conduct of the celebrated Arminius, and made war upon Maroboduus, from whom they had revolted^t. In the year 170, the ninth of M. Aurelius's reign, six thousand of these people, who had passed the Danube, and, in conjunction with the Marcomans, invaded the Roman dominions, were defeated by Vindex and Candidus^u.

The Lombards in Italy, and the Lombards in Germany, two distinct nations.

But these Longobards, by most geographers placed between the Elbe and the Oder, were, according to Grotius, a German nation, and a quite different people from the Longobards who are mentioned by Prosper, and afterwards settled in Italy^v. The latter were, according to Paul Warnefrid, deacon of Aquileia, commonly known by the name of Paulus Diaconus, and the most credible writers, originally a Gothic nation, and the same with the Gepidæ, who coming, with other Goths, out of Scandinavia by sea, stopped at the mouth of the Vistula, or the Wiesler. From thence they advanced to the banks of the Danube, and fixing there, infested, as we read in Vopiscus, the Roman territories with frequent incursions. In process of time the Gepidæ quarrelled among themselves, and from this dissension sprung the Longobards, who are, therefore, as Salmasius and Constantine Porphyrogenitus^w observe, called sometimes Gepidæ, and sometimes Longobards. They wandered from place to place, often shifting their habitations, and were therefore called Winili, that is, Wanderers; which denomination has induced some writers to think, that the Lombards and Vandals, named also Winili, were the same people. As these two nations were constantly changing their situation, they were indiscriminately called Winili or Wanderers; but though agreeing in name, they continued to be two distinct nations. The learned Sheringham is of opinion, that the Longobards mentioned by Strabo, Tacitus, and Ptolemy, were of Gothic extraction; and that they were left in Germany by the celebrated Woden, on his march through that country from Scythia into Scandinavia; but at the same time that writer allows the Lombards, who afterwards subdued Italy, to have been a different nation, which migrated several ages after out of Scandinavia, their common country^x.

The origin of their name.

The name of Longobards some derive from the word *lack* or *lache*, signifying in the German language, *water*, be-

^t Tacit. Annal. xi. cap. 16. 18. p. 159, 160.

^u Grot. ibid. p. 17.

^v Constant. Porphy. de Admin. Imper. x. cap. 25.

^w Sheringh.

de Angl. Gent. Orig. cap. 15. p. 352.

cause the Lombards, while in Scandinavia, lived in marshes, or near the sea ^γ. Others think it comes from the two German words *langen borgen*, or *bellebarden*, that is, from the *long halberds*, which they suppose to have been used by them; but Paulus Diaconus, who was himself a Lombard, though born in Italy, tells us, that they were called Longobards from the length of their *beards*; and with him Constantine Porphyrogenitus ^z, Otho Frisingensis ^a, Gunterus ^b, and Grotius ^c agree. After they had wandered through several countries, shifting their seats, they settled in Pannonia, which they possessed for the space of forty-two years, and then marching into Italy, under the conduct of their king Alboinus, made themselves masters of the greater part of that country. We have observed above, that upon the death of their leaders Iboreus and Aion, they appointed Agilmund their first king. He was succeeded by the following princes, Lamiscus, Leta, Ildeock, Gudeoc, Claffus, Tatus, Wachus, Walterius, Audoinus, and Alboinus, the first of that nation who reigned in Italy. As for the manners of the Lombards, Paulus Diaconus tells us, that no violence or oppression, no treachery or compulsion, was practised among them; and that every man enjoyed his property undisturbed, and followed his profession without the least apprehension of danger; but that writer was perhaps in some degree prejudiced in favour of his countrymen; for Procopius writes, that those Lombards who had served under Narfes against the Goths in Italy, were sent back to their own country on account of the disorders they committed; and pope Gregory, surnamed the Great, who was but too well acquainted with the Lombards, calls them, in several parts of his works, a most abandoned nation. Perhaps they neither deserved the encomiums of Paulus nor the reproaches of Gregory; at least it does not appear from their conduct, while masters of Italy, that they did. Paulus Diaconus, speaking of their dress, tells us, that their cloaths were loose, and for the most part of linen, such as the Anglo-Saxons wore, being interwoven with various colours; that their shoes were open to the end of the foot, and that they used to button or lace them ^d. From some ancient paintings it appears, that they shaved the back part of their heads; but that their hair was long before, their locks being parted, and laid on each side their foreheads. With respect to their history we shall here relate what we

*Their
kings.*

Their dress.

^γ Rudbeck. Atlant. part i. cap. 24.
Them.

^z Const. Porphy. de

^b Gunt. lib. ii.

^a Otho Frising. lib. ii. cap. 13.

de Gest. Frid. Imper.

^c Gret. ibid.

^d Paul. Diac. lib. iv. cap. 23.

Their several migrations.

find in Paulus Diaconus; but will not take upon us to vouch the truth of what that author writes.

The Goths in Scandinavia, overstocked with people at home, sent out frequent colonies in quest of new settlements. One, among the rest, leaving their native country, put to sea in three ships: one of these sailed slower than the other two, and stopped in the mouth at the Vistula. The Goths on board were called Gepidæ, from a word in their language signifying *slow*. These Gepidæ, unwilling to proceed farther, settled in an island formed by the Vistula, and continued there till their numbers were so increased, that the island could no longer support them. They then began to roam about the neighbouring countries in quest of new lands, and thence were called Winili or Wanderers. Disputes arising among themselves, they agreed to separate. Paulus Diaconus writes, that the country where they had settled, being no longer able to maintain them, they divided into three parts, one whereof, on whom the lot should fall, was to go in quest of new habitations: but most other writers suppose the Longobards to have sprung from the division of the Gepidæ. Be that as it may, those who migrated, chose for their leaders Iboreus and Aion, the sons of Gambara, a woman universally respected on account of her wisdom. Under their conduct they first settled in a country, by Paulus Diaconus called Scoringa, bordering on that which was then possessed by the Vandals, who, soon after their arrival, gave them to understand, that they must either pay tribute or prepare for war. The two leaders, by advice of their mother, replied, that though they were few in number, they preferred war to servitude and subjection. A bloody engagement ensued, in which the Vandals were totally defeated.

They defeat the Vandals.

They migrate first into Mauringa, and thence into Gothland.

But the Gepidæ, whom we shall henceforth call Lombards, though that name was perhaps given them afterwards, being severely distressed with famine, resolved to abandon Scoringa, and settle in a more fruitful country. They set out accordingly for Mauringa; but the Assipitti denying them a passage through their territories, they resolved to attempt it by force. In order to strike terror into the enemy, who were far superior to them in number, they pretended that they had among them Cynocephali, or men with dogs heads; which report so terrified the Assipitti, that not daring to engage so dreadful an enemy, and having one among them of extraordinary strength and courage, they resolved to put the whole to the issue of a single combat; which they no sooner offered to the Lombards than
the

the proposal was accepted, the two nations agreeing, that if the champion of the Assipitti should overcome, the passage should be denied; but if the Lombard proved victorious, the rest should be allowed to pass unmolested. The two champions engaged in fight of both armies, and the Lombard having gained the victory, a passage was granted to the whole nation, pursuant to the agreement. Upon their arrival in Mauringa, they, in order to increase the number of their warriors, set all their slaves at liberty, who, though of different countries, became one nation with them. From Mauringa, where they remained but a short time, they proceeded to Gothland, and made themselves masters of Anthabet, Bathaib, and Urgundiab, which our historian conjectures to be names of towns.

In Gothland their two leaders Iboreus and Aion died, upon whose death the Lombards resolved to choose a king, after the manner of other nations; accordingly they conferred that dignity on Agilmund the son of Aion, who is said to have been killed by the Bulgarians, after he had reigned thirty-three years. He was succeeded by Lamiscus or Lamissio, so called from the word *lama*, signifying in their language a *fish-pond*; for his mother, who was a harlot, is said to have thrown him, and six other males, of whom she was delivered at the same time, into a fish-pond. Lamissio was luckily saved by Agilmund, who passing that way, and observing the children, stopped his horse, and stretching out his spear to them, one of them grasped it, and was saved. The king, not doubting but he would one day prove a brave man, ordered him to be brought up with great care, calling him *Lamis-shon*, that is, *the son of a fish-pond*. He is said to have gained a victory over the Amazons, and to have behaved, on several other occasions, with such resolution and intrepidity, that, upon the death of Agilmund, the Lombards proclaimed him king. He no sooner found himself vested with this dignity, than, determined upon revenging the death of his predecessor, he marched against the Bulgarians; and though his men gave way at first, yet being animated by the words and example of their new king, they gained a complete victory. Lamissio was succeeded by Leta or Lechu; and he, after a reign of near forty years, by Ildeoc or Hildehoc, as was Ildeoc by Gudeoc. In the reign of the latter, Odoacer, king of Italy, having killed Feletheus, king of the Rugians, dwelling beyond the Danube, and either put to the sword, or carried into captivity, the whole nation, the Lombards settled in their country, then destitute of inhabitants.

During

*Agilmund
their first
king.*

*Lamissio
succeeds
him, and
defeats the
Bulgarians.*

*Their king
Tatus
gains a
great vic-
tory over
the Heruli.*

During their residence in Rugiland (for so the country of the Rugians is called by our historian) their king Gudeoc died, and was succeeded by his son Claſſus, after whom reigned Tatus; in whose time the Lombards, leaving Rugiland, settled in the champaign country bordering on the Danube, where a war breaking out between them and the Heruli, the latter were defeated with great slaughter, their king Rodulphus being slain with the flower of their nation. The victorious Lombards divided the rich plunder; but Tatus their king took for his share only the standard of Rodulphus, called bandum, with the helmet he used to wear in battle. Not long after this event Tatus was slain by Wacho, son to his brother Zuchilo. Aildichus, the son of Tatus, endeavoured to revenge his father's death, and vindicate the just claim he had to the crown; but was in several encounters defeated by Wacho, and obliged to take refuge among the neighbouring Gepidæ. Wacho is said to have subdued the Sueves: he had three wives, Ranicunda, daughter of the king of the Thuringians; Austrigofa, daughter of the king of the Gepidæ, and Salinga, daughter of the king of the Heruli. By the latter he had Walterius, who succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned about seven years.

*Adoinus
defeats the
Gepidæ.*

After Walterius came Adoinus, in whose reign a war being kindled between the Lombards and the Gepidæ, a bloody battle was fought, in which the latter were totally defeated. The signal victory gained on this occasion by the Lombards, was chiefly owing to Alboinus, the king's son; for the young prince having engaged and killed with his own hand Thorismund, the son of Turisind, king of the Gepidæ, the enemy, who had fought with great resolution and intrepidity, hearing the king's son was killed, fled with precipitation. The victorious Lombards, upon their return, begged their king to indulge his son, as a reward for his gallant behaviour, in the honour of dining with him; which was deemed no less glorious among the Lombards, than a triumph among the Romans. The king answered, that, by an ancient and immemorial custom among the Lombards, that honour and mark of distinction was not to be granted, even to the princes of the blood royal, till they had publicly appeared in the armour of some foreign prince killed in battle with their own hand. In consequence of this declaration, Alboinus, attended only by forty resolute young men, repaired to the court of Turisind, to demand the armour of that prince's son, whom he had killed in the above mentioned battle, being resolved, if any violence was offered him, to sell his life dear. The king re-
ceived

ceived him in a most obliging manner, entertained him at his table, and, admiring his courage and intrepidity, complied with his demand, and dismissed him not only unmolested, but loaded with rich presents. After he had publicly appeared in the armour of Thorismund, he was, at a grand entertainment, allowed to sit at table with the king his father.

In the reign of Audoinus, the Lombards were, by the emperor Justinian, allowed to settle in Pannonia^c. Such is the account given by Paulus Diaconus of the various migrations, wars, and conquests of the Lombards, from their first leaving Scandinavia to their settling in Pannonia. In the main, he agrees with Prosper Aquitanus, who wrote before his time; with Erchempetus, who flourished after; and likewise with Procopius, who lived in the reign of the emperor Justinian, whose secretary he was, and consequently well acquainted with the Lombards. The latter writer, in speaking of the war between the Lombards and the Heruli, says, that the Lombards had been formerly obliged to pay tribute to the Heruli^f, of which circumstance no notice is taken by our historian. The names of the various countries, in which the Lombards are said by Paulus Diaconus to have settled, have occasioned great debates among the later historians and geographers, and several conjectures have been offered; but all we know with any foundation is, that the countries mentioned by that writer lay between the mouth of the Vistula, where the Lombards from Scandinavia are supposed to have stopped, and Pannonia, where they settled in Justinian's time.

Audoinus dying, the brave Alboinus was proclaimed king by the Lombards. Upon his accession to the crown, he married Clodisvinta, daughter to Clotharius, king of the Franks, by whom he had but one daughter, named by some Alpifunda, and by others Albisvincla. About the same time died Turisind, king of the Gepidæ, and was succeeded by his son Cunimund, who, to revenge the death of his brother Thorismund, made war upon the Lombards. Alboinus, entering into an alliance with the Hunns, then known by the name of Avars, took the field, and, in the first battle that was fought, killed the king of the Gepidæ with his own hand, put their army to flight, and, pursuing his victory, cut such numbers in pieces, that they ceased to be a nation, as we have related already. Alboinus, having caused the deceased king's head to be struck off, made a cup of his

Yr. of Fl.
2874-
A. D. 526.

The Lombards, under the conduct of Audoinus, settle in Pannonia.

Alboinus kills the king of the Gepidæ with his own hand.

^c Paul. Diac. de Gest. Longob. lib. i. & ii. Goth. lib. ii. cap. 14.

^f Roccus. Bell.

skull, called, in the language of the Lombards, *schala*, which he used in all public entertainments. However, having taken, among many other captives of great distinction, the late king's daughter, Rosamunda, he married her upon the death of his former wife Clodisvinta.

*Sends a
body of
Lombards
to the assist-
ance of
Narses
against the
Goths.*

By this victory Alboinus gained great fame and reputation, not only among the Gothic nations, whose bards celebrated his prowess and valour in their poems, but likewise among the Romans; insomuch that Narses, who had been sent by Justinian to drive the Goths out of Italy, courted his friendship, and, entering into an alliance with him, solicited his assistance to put in execution the commission he had received. Alboinus furnished him with a choice body of men, who, crossing the Adriatic gulph, landed in Italy, and, joining the Romans, distinguished themselves in that battle, in which Totila was killed. The war being ended, they were sent home loaded with rich presents, and continued faithful allies to the Romans, whom they assisted on all occasions, so long as they inhabited Pannonia.

*Whether
Narses be-
trayed
Italy to the
Lombards.*

In the mean time Justinian dying, Narses, who governed Italy with an absolute authority, and had acquired immense wealth, was by the Italians accused to the emperor Justin II. the successor of Justinian, and to the empress Sophia, of aspiring to the sovereignty of the country. In consequence of this charge, he was recalled, and Longinus sent to succeed him. As he was an eunuch, the empress is reported to have said, that his employment at Constantinople should be to distribute, in the apartment of her women, the portion of wool which each was to spin. Narses, enraged at this severe and insolent reflection, "I will begin (said he), such a web, as she shall never be able to finish;" and immediately dispatched messengers to the Lombards, inviting them into Italy. With the messengers he sent presents to Alboinus, with whom he was well acquainted, and some of the best fruits Italy afforded, as baits to allure him and his subjects to attempt the conquest of so fertile a country.

Alboinus, extremely pleased with the opportunity that offered of invading Italy, a country with which his Lombards were already well acquainted, began, without delay, to make the necessary preparations for his intended expedition. In the first place, he solicited the assistance of the Saxons, his old friends and allies, promising to share with

^s Paul. Disc. Longob. &c Gest. cap. 17.
cap. 1. 5, 6, & seq.

^a Idem ibid. lib. ii.

them his future conquests. The Saxons joyfully closed with his proposals, and provided him twenty thousand men, with their wives and children¹. He likewise received powerful succours from other nations, namely, from the Gepidæ, then his subjects, from the Bulgarians, Sarmatians, Pannonians, Sueves, and Noricans². Having thus collected a numerous and formidable army, before he departed, he entered into a strict alliance with the Hunns, the most powerful of his neighbours, leaving Pannonia to them, upon this condition, that, if the expedition he was going upon should not succeed, the Lombards should be allowed to enter upon their former possessions. Having concerted such other measures as he thought necessary for so great an undertaking, he proceeded with his whole nation, their wives and children, carrying with them all their moveables, and whatever they had of value; and, leaving Pannonia, took their route towards Italy. They began their march in the month of April, just after Easter, which fell that year on the first day of the month, in the first indiction, in the third year of Justin II. the ninth of John III. bishop of Rome, and in the year of the Christian æra 568; Alboinus, with his army, and the promiscuous multitude that followed it, arrived, by the way of Istria, on the borders of Italy, which he entered without the least opposition, and advancing through the province of Venetia, to the city of Aquileia, found the whole country abandoned, the inhabitants having fled to the neighbouring islands in the Adriatic. He no sooner appeared before Aquileia, than the gates were flung open by the few inhabitants who had courage to stay, the rest having, upon intelligence of his approach, fled with their most valuable effects, following the example of their patriarch Paulinus, who, carrying with him all the utensils of his church, had taken refuge in an island. From Aquileia Alboinus advanced to Forum Julii, now Friuli, which likewise surrendered. In this city he passed the winter, cantoning his troops among the neighbouring villages, where they were plentifully supplied by the natives with all sorts of provisions. During the winter, Alboinus reduced the city of Friuli, and its territory, to a dukedom, conferring the title of duke on his nephew Gisulphus, whom he appointed to guard and govern those territories, which were, in a manner, the gates of Italy, through which every invader must first force his passage. Thus Friuli was erected into a duchy, and has continued so ever since.

Yr. of Fl.
2916.
A. D. 568.

The Lombards set out for Italy.

Enter Italy, and make themselves masters of several cities.

¹ Paul Diac. de Gest. Longob. lib. ii. cap. 1. 5, 6, & seq. ² Anonym. apud Camil. Pel. lib. ii. cap. 12.

*The first
dukes in
Italy.*

Alboinus, as soon as the season allowed him to take the field, moved forward, and, without the least opposition, reduced Trivigi and Oderzo. From thence he marched to Monte Selce, Vicenza, Verona, and Trent, which surrendered to his arms upon the first summons. In each of these cities he left a strong garrison of Lombards, under the command of an officer, whom he distinguished with the title of duke; but these dukes were only officers and governors of cities, and bore that title no longer than the prince thought fit to continue them in their command or government. Such likewise were the first dukes in Gaul, as Paulus Æmilius properly observes¹. Alboinus left Padua and several other cities behind him, either because they lay too much out of his way, or because they were strongly garrisoned, and it would have taken up too much of his time to besiege them. Thus ended the second campaign of the Lombards in Italy. The third proved no less successful: when they entered Liguria upon the return of spring, the inhabitants were so terrified at their approach that, leaving their habitations, they fled, with all the effects they could carry off, to the most remote and inaccessible parts of the mountains; so that the cities of Brescia, Bergamo, Lodi, Como, and the other towns of the Liguria, quite to the Alps, being almost destitute of inhabitants, received them, without attempting to make the least resistance. Alboinus then advanced to Milan, the capital of Liguria, which, after a short siege, surrendered, most of the inhabitants having retired, with Honoratus their bishop, to Genoa. Upon the reduction of Milan, the Lombards, with joyful acclamations, proclaimed and saluted Alboinus king of Italy, raising him upon a shield in the midst of the army, according to the custom of their nation, and presenting him with a lance, which, among them, was the ensign of royalty. From this time historians date the beginning of the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, which lasted for upwards of two hundred years.

Yr. of Fl.
2918.
A. D. 570.

*Alboinus
proclaimed
king of
Italy.*

Alboinus, now vested with royal authority, marched from Milan to Pavia; but meeting with a vigorous resistance, as the place was well garrisoned, and furnished with great plenty of provisions, he left part of his army to push on the siege, and with the rest reduced Piacenza, Parma, Modena, and the other inland cities both in Æmia and Tuscany. He then marched into Umbria, and reduced Spoleto, which he made the metropolis of Umbria: erecting the city and its territory into a dukedom, he appointed

¹ Paul. Æmil. de Reb. Franc. cap. 6.

Feroaldus, whom he dignified with the title of duke, governor of that district. The governors of the other cities of consequence were honoured with the same title, as were the cities with that of duchies, which most of them retain to this day ^m. From Umbria Alboinus returned to the siege of Pavia, which at length surrendered, after it had been defended with great resolution for three years and some months. The king, enraged against the inhabitants, had vowed to put them all to the sword; but we are told, that as he was entering the city on horseback, his horse fell under him in the middle of the gate, and could not by any means be raised, till at the persuasion of one of his followers, he revoked the cruel vow he had made; when his horse starting up, he proceeded to the palace built by Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, whither the people, to whom he had promised pardon, crowded to see him, and to swear allegiance to their new prince. As Pavia was a city of great strength, and conveniently situated, Alboinus and his successors chose it for the place of their residence; whence it became the metropolis of the kingdom of the Lombards.

*Pavia
surrenders;*

*and be-
comes the
metropolis
of the king-
dom of the
Lombards.*

Alboinus, now master of great part of Italy, comprehending Venetia, Liguria, Æmilia, Hetruria, and Umbria, resolved to establish peace and good order throughout the countries he had already subdued, before he made any farther conquests; but he was in the mean time slain by the treachery of his wife, in the fourth year of his reign. This princess, called Rosamund, was the daughter of Cunimund, king of the Gepidæ, whom Alboinus had killed with his own hand in battle. Though Alboinus insulted the memory of his conquered enemy, so far as to use his skull for a drinking cup, yet, upon the death of his first wife, he married his daughter, and was, by her contrivance, murdered on the following occasion: as the king was one day carousing at Verona with his chief favourites, and principal officers, in the height of his mirth he sent for the queen, and filling the detested cup, commanded her to drink merrily with her father. Rosamund, struck with horror, hurried out of the room; and highly incensed against her husband for thus barbarously triumphing over the misfortunes of her family, resolved at all events to revenge the inhuman insult. She immediately discovered her intention to Helmichild, the king's schilpor, as the Lombards called him, that is, *shield-bearer*; a youth of great intrepidity. Helmichild peremptorily refused to imbrue his hands in the blood of his sovereign, or to be in any degree accessory to

*Yr. of Fl.
293.
A. D. 575.*

*Alboinus
murdered.*

^m Paul. Diac. lib. iii. cap. 7.

his death; and in this resolution he persisted, till he was by a shameful stratagem, forced by the queen to a compliance: for she, knowing that he carried on an intrigue with one of her ladies, placed herself one night in her bed, and receiving the youth, indulged him as if she had been his own mistress, in his amorous desires; then discovering herself to the deceived lover, she told him, that he must now either put the king to death, or be put to death by him. Helmichild, convinced that, after what he had done, his safety depended upon the death of the king, engaged in the treason, which he otherwise abhorred. One day, therefore, while Alboinus was reposing in his chamber after dinner, Helmichild, with some others, whom he had made privy to his design, breaking in suddenly, fell upon the king with their daggers. Alboinus, starting up at their first coming in, seized his sword, which he had always by him; but having attempted in vain to draw it, the queen having previously fastened it in the scabbard, he defended himself for some time with a footstool; but was at length overpowered, and dispatched with many wounds.

His character.

Such was the end of Alboinus, the first king of the Lombards in Italy, and one of the greatest princes of the age in which he lived. He was both a warlike and prudent prince; no less skilled in the arts of government than in those of war. His friendship was courted by all the princes of those times, especially by the emperor Justinian, who was glad to enter into an alliance with him while he was in Pannonia. Accordingly he assisted Narfes, as we have hinted above, in his wars with the Goths, and so long as that great man continued in favour at court, was willing to serve the Romans on all occasions. The little opposition he met with in the reduction of Italy, was in a great measure owing to the new form of government, introduced by the exarch Longinus, sent by Justin the Younger to succeed Narfes, who had driven the Goths quite out of Italy, and had governed those provinces with great reputation, as the emperor's lieutenant, for thirteen years.

Rosamund, the wife of Alboinus, flies to the exarch with the treasure of the Lombards.

But to return to Rosamund: she had promised to marry Helmichild as soon as he had dispatched the king her husband, and to bestow upon him, with her person, the kingdom of the Lombards. She married him accordingly; but was so far from being able to bestow upon him the crown, that they were both obliged to save themselves by flight, the Lombards being exasperated against them for the death of a prince, whom in a manner they adored, and unalterably determined to bring to condign punishment the authors of so barbarous a murder. Rosamund, therefore, with her
new

new husband, and her daughter Albisvinda, withdrew in the night-time, and fled to Longinus the exarch, residing at Ravenna, taking with her all the jewels and treasure of her late husband. Longinus received her with the greatest marks of friendship and kindness, and assured her of his protection. She had not been long in Ravenna, when the exarch, judging a favourable opportunity now offered to make himself king of Italy by means of Rosamund, and her treasure, imparted his design to her, and declared his intention to marry her, provided she would dispatch Helmichild.

Rosamund, extremely pleased with the proposal, which flattered her ambition, resolved to get rid of the person whom she had married for the sake of her revenge. Accordingly having prepared a strong poison, she mixed it with wine, and gave it to her husband, as he came out of the bath, and called for drink, according to his usual custom. Helmichild had not half emptied the cup, when, by the sudden and strange operation he felt, he suspected what it was; and with his sword pointed at the queen's breast, compelled her to drink the rest. The poison had the same effect on her as on her husband; for in a few hours they both died. Longinus abandoning, upon her death, all thoughts of making himself king of Italy, sent the treasure of the Lombards to Constantinople, together with Albisvinda, the queen's daughter by Alboinus.

Her deserv'd end.

In the mean time the Lombards, having paid the last duties to their deceased king, assembled in Pavia, the metropolis of their kingdom; and there proceeded to the election of a new prince, which fell on Clephis, a man of great distinction among them. He rebuilt Imola, which had been ruined by Narses, made himself master of Rimini, and extended his conquests to the very gates of Rome: but as he treated not only the Romans, but his own subjects, with great cruelty, he was murdered, with his wife Messana, by one of his people, after a short reign of eighteen months. His cruelty inspired the Lombards with such an aversion to royal power, that upon his death they resolved, to change their form of government; and accordingly, for the space of ten years, they chose no king, but lived subject to their dukes, that is, to the governors of the cities; for each city, as we have hinted before, was governed by some person of distinction, dignified with the title of duke. These dukes had hitherto acknowledged the royal authority, and were appointed and removed at pleasure; but upon the abolishing of kingly power, each became sovereign in his own city, and its district. This division of the countries they

Clephis chosen king, and soon after murdered.

The Lombards governed by dukes.

had subdued in Italy into so many petty states, put a stop for the present to their conquests, prevented them from ever making themselves masters of all Italy, and finally occasioned their total ruin; for though the royal authority was afterwards restored among them, yet as they had been free for some time, they proved less obedient, and more liable to quarrel among themselvesⁿ.

Yr. of Fl.

2933.

A D. 255.

*The royal
authority
restored
among
them.*

Though the Lombards, during the interregnum, were attended with success in their wars with the Romans (for they made themselves masters of several cities; namely, Sutri, Bomarzo, Orta, Todi, Amelia, Perugia, and Lucceoli); yet they soon perceived, that their kingdom, thus divided, could not long subsist: therefore assembling in Pavia, they resolved to submit once more to the authority of one man, and accordingly chose Autharis, the son of Clephis, for their king, in the year 585. This prince, by his valour and prudence, so established the kingdom of the Lombards, that, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Roman emperors, it continued for the space of near two hundred years; but of the exploits of the dukes during the interregnum, and the wars of Autharis, and his successors, till the entire destruction of their kingdom by Charlemagne in 774, we shall speak at large in a more proper place.

The Bulgarians.

The Bulgarians.

THE name of the Bulgarians began to be first heard and dreaded by the Romans in the reign of the emperor Zeno, about the year 485. Ennodius, the most ancient writer who mentions them, tells us in the panegyric, which he composed on Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths, that they were a warlike and numerous nation, enured to the toils of war, ever ready to prefer death to slavery, and never known to have been put to flight, till they engaged this hero^s. They dwelt, in ancient times, near the Volga, on the north side of the Caspian sea; whence their country was called Volgaria, and they Volgari; which names, in process of time, were changed into Bulgaria and Bulgari^p. Paulus Diaconus calls those countries Bulgaria Magna, which are known at present by the names of Astracan and Casan^q. Some writers assert them to be of Gothic, and some of German extraction; but, as their language differs widely from the languages of both these nations, others, with far greater appearance of truth, conclude them descended from

*Their ancient
seats,
languages,
origin, &c.*

^p Paul. Diac. lib. i. cap. 14.

p. 296, 297.

^q Vide Diocl. de Regn. Slav. p. 288.

^r Paul. Diac. Miscel. lib. xix. p. 616, 617.

^s Ennod. in Panegy. Theodor.

neither,

neither. They spoke anciently, says Diocleates, in his history of the kingdom of the Slavi, the Slavonian language, as they still do, with some variation in the dialect. As therefore the Goths, Alans, Vandals, and Gepidæ, are thought to have been originally the same people, because the same language was common to all, these nations must, on the contrary, be allowed to be different, whose languages differ. Now, no two languages, says Rudbeckius, can be conceived more unlike than the Slavonian spoken by the Bulgarians, and the German and Gothic. The Bulgarians, therefore, were not sprung either from the Goths or the Germans, but ought to be reckoned among the nations inhabiting Asiatic Scythia; for they came first from thence; and to trace them farther back would be a vain and fruitless attempt.

From Asiatic Scythia, and the countries lying north of the Caspian sea, they advanced, in quest of a more fertile country, to the Tanais, and from thence, in the reign of the emperor Zeno, to the banks of the Danube, having at that time Bladinus for their king. They were not impeded by that river; but, passing it, broke into Thrace, with a design to settle in that country: but Theodoric the Ostrogoth, afterwards king of Italy, and at this time general of the Roman troops quartered in that province, marching against them, put them to flight, and obliged them to repass the Danube. Those who invaded Thrace had one Libertem for their leader, who was wounded in the engagement. Some years after, that is, in 499, the eighth of the emperor Anastasius's reign, they again made an irruption into Thrace, committing dreadful ravages. Against them the emperor dispatched Aristus, commander of the troops in Illyricum, at the head of fifteen thousand men, attended by five hundred and twenty waggons, loaded with arms and provisions. Aristus, confiding in his strength, engaged the Barbarians on the banks of the Zarta or Zurta; but was totally defeated, with the loss of all his baggage, and four thousand men, among whom fell the counts Nicostratus, Innocentius, and Aquilinus, with some of the most experienced officers of the army.

Three years after this expedition, they invaded Thrace again; and, having plundered that province, with great part of Illyricum, carried off an immense booty, the Roman troops being employed against the Saracens, who, under the conduct of Badicarim, committed shocking cruelties in Palæstine,

Yr. of Fl.
2833.
A. D. 485.

*They break
into
Thrace.*

Yr. of Fl.
2847.
A. D. 499.

*They in-
vade
Thrace
again.*

† Diocleat. de Regn. Slavor. p. 288. * Marc. Chron. Jorn.
Reg. cap. 48. Paul. Djac. Hist. Miscel. lib. xv. p. 449.

Arabia, and Phœnice. They appear to have continued quiet; perhaps by some agreement with the empire, from this time to the year 539, the twelfth of the emperor Justinian the Great; when, under the conduct of the two kings, Vulger and Droggo, they passed the Danube, and ravaged Mœsia. The commanders of the Roman troops quartered in that and the neighbouring provinces, having collected their forces, marched against them; but were defeated with great slaughter. In consequence of this victory, the Barbarians, roving about uncontrolled, took an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives, destroying with fire and sword what they could not carry off: but, in the mean time, Acum, by nation a Hunn, an officer of great experience, whom Justinian had sent against them, having cut off their retreat, obliged them to hazard a battle in a

Yr. of Fl. 2887. **A. D.** 539 *very disadvantageous situation. The Bulgarians fought with great resolution and intrepidity; but, great numbers being cut in pieces, and both their kings killed, they were forced to resign their booty, and betake themselves to a precipitate flight. Acum, having thus delivered the Roman provinces from the Barbarians, set out on his return to Constantinople with Constantine, who had commanded under him; but, in passing through Thrace, both generals were surpris'd by a party of Bulgarians, and taken prisoners; so that Justinian was obliged to ransom them with an immense sum^t. In the following year 540, the Bulgarians, not discouraged by the losses they had sustained, returned, and, entering Thrace, plundered and laid waste the open country: but Mundus, whom Justinian had appointed governor of Illyricum, coming upon them unexpectedly, routed them with great slaughter, and, having taken a great number of prisoners, sent them to the emperor at Constantinople, who incorporated some of them among his troops, and ordered the rest to be transplanted into Armenia and Lazica^u. For this and the above-mentioned victory, the emperor took the surname of Bulgarius, which, among his other titles, is still to be seen on his coins.*

*They are
de ceated by
the Romans,
and their
two kings
killed.*

No farther mention is made in history of the Bulgarians, till the reign of Constantine III. surnamed Pogonatus, which began in 668. In his time they passed the Danube, and, entering the Roman territories, committed great devastation in the provinces bordering on that river. Constantine, having raised a powerful army, dispatched it against them; but as the Romans, confiding too much in

^t Theoph. p. 184.

^u Theoph. ad Ann. Justinian. 13.

their

their own strength, and despising the Barbarians as an undisciplined multitude, were marching carelessly, the Bulgarians attacked with such vigour, that, after a faint resistance, they fled, and, retiring into the fortified places, left the enemy at full liberty to ravage at pleasure the open country. At length the emperor, preferring a shameful peace to an expensive and doubtful war, agreed to pay them a yearly pension, upon condition, that they should not, for the future, infest the Roman territories, but join, when required, the emperor's forces against all other Barbarians, who should attempt to disturb the peace of the empire *. About this time Alczeus, one of the princes or chiefs of the Bulgarians, abandoning his own country, for what reason we are not told, entered Italy with a body of his countrymen; and, arriving at Pavia, without offering the least violence to the people in the countries through which he passed, offered his service to Grimoaldus king of the Lombards, declaring at the same time, that he was willing to live, with his people, in what part soever of his dominions he should be pleased to allot him. Grimoaldus received him in a most friendly manner; and thinking he might prove very serviceable to his son Romualdus, duke of Benevento, threatened at that time by the Greeks, who were masters of Naples, he sent Alczeus and his Bulgarians to him, requiring him to allow them settlements in the dukedom of Benevento. Romualdus, in compliance with his father's request, allotted them several cities, and among the rest Sepinum, Bajanum, and Ifernina; but at the same time obliged Alczeus to relinquish the title of duke, and content himself with that of gastaldus, either to shew that he had not given him those places in seignory and property, or because he did not think it proper that one of his subjects should be distinguished with the title of duke, since he had no other himself. The dukedom of Benevento being thus divided into several counties, all subject to the duke of Benevento, those who were appointed to govern them, had no other title but that of gastaldi, which is the same with the title of comes or count *. Thus the Bulgarians came to settle in the dukedom of Benevento, where for several ages they inhabited the country now known by the name of Contado di Molise. Paulus Diaconus, who wrote above a hundred and fifty years after they had settled there, says, that though in his time they had learnt the Italian lan-

They defeat the Romans.

Yr. of Fl.
3026.
A. D. 678.

Constantine III. agrees to pay them an annual pension.

Some Bulgarians settle in the dukedom of Benevento.

* Cedren. ad Ann. Const. 10. Niceph. cap. 3. * Paul. Diac. lib. v. cap. 11. Cujac. lib. i. de Feud. tit. i. parag. 3.

guage, nevertheless they had not yet lost the use of their own (O).

To return to the Bulgarians who remained on the banks of the Danube: Constantine, as we have related above, had concluded a peace with them, and agreed to pay them an annual pension; indeed most authors are of opinion, that he allowed them to settle in Lower Mœsia, from them afterwards called Bulgaria, which name that country still retains. Other writers suppose them to have settled there

Yr. of Fl. several years before Constantine's reign, though they do
 3035.
 A. D. 687. not take upon them to fix the precise time. However that be, Justinian II not only refused to stand to the articles of the treaty, which his father had concluded with the Bulgarians, but entering their country in a hostile manner, made himself master of several forts, and obliged the inhabitants either to submit to him, and pay unreasonable contributions, or to abandon their dwellings, and take refuge in the woods

Justinian II invades their country; but is defeated by them.

(O) What Paulus Diaconus writes on this head is worthy of observation; the Bulgarians, says he, retained their own language, though at the same time they spoke the Latin, *quamvis etiam Latine loquerentur*. By the Latin tongue our historian did not mean, as some have imagined, the language of the ancient Romans, but another then current in Italy, and commonly called Italian; for the ancient Latin, about the end of the 9th century, when Paulus Diaconus flourished, was only made use of in writings; another, called Italian, being then commonly spoken, to which the mixture, variety, and confusion of several languages with the Latin, had given rise. The Latin tongue, even in the time of the emperor Justinian, who died in 566, began to be strangely corrupted, and to bear a great resemblance to the Italian; for • Fornerius tells us, that he had perused a public instrument,

which had been drawn up in Ravenna in the reign of Justinian, and was written in a kind of Latin, which bore a great affinity to the Italian. In the tenth century, the Italian alone was spoken in Italy; but that Italian came much nearer the Latin, than the language which is used now by the Italians, both in common speech, and in writing; but though the current language was then very different from the Latin, yet it was called Latin by the writers of that and the two following centuries, because it was spoken by the ancient inhabitants, who were styled Latins or Romans, and by that name distinguished from the Greeks, the Lombards, and the other nations settled in Italy. Hence not only Paulus Diaconus, but authors who flourished long after his time, by Latin meant the Italian, as the learned Camillo Pellegrino justly observes (1),

(1) Camill. Pell. in Diss. de Duc. de Benevent.

and marshes. The Bulgarians, finding themselves reduced to great difficulties, dispatched ambassadors to the emperor, suing for peace; but he refusing to agree to any terms but those of an entire submission, animated with despair, they resolved to make a last effort in defence of their liberties. Accordingly, having assembled all their forces, they fell unexpectedly upon the emperor, put his army to flight, and having seized on all the passes, obliged him to restore the prisoners, and booty he had taken, and confirm the treaty his father had made with them, before they would permit him to retreat ¹. In the year 713, Philippicus being then emperor, the Bulgarians, upon what provocation we know not, breaking unexpectedly into Thrace, advanced to the very gates of Constantinople, and having pillaged the country, returned home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty. In 719, Anastasius II. who had been deposed and confined to Thessalonica, by Theodosius III. having made his escape, fled to Tribelin, king of the Bulgarians; and having prevailed upon that prince to espouse his cause, he obtained a considerable army, with which he marched into Thrace, and approached the imperial city. Anastasius believed himself, and had assured the Bulgarians, that the inhabitants, at his approach, would open the gates, and receive him; but the citizens making a vigorous resistance, and the emperor Leo raising at the same time a numerous army, the Bulgarians, greatly provoked against Anastasius, seized him, and delivered him to Leo, by whom he was put to death ².

From this time the Bulgarians continued quiet till the year 750, the ninth of the reign of Constantine, surnamed Copronymus, who ordered some forts to be built on the borders of the provinces, which joined the country of the Bulgarians. Of this encroachment they complained to the emperor, and demanded a confirmation of the former treaties. The emperor received the ambassadors in a manner altogether unsuitable to their character, and dismissed them with a disdainful answer; which so incensed the Bulgarians, that they made a sudden irruption into the Roman territories, and penetrating, without opposition, as far as the long wall, destroyed the country, and returned home loaded with booty. The emperor, upon the arrival of his troops from the East, marched against them in person, and entering their country, began to lay it waste; but the Bulgarians, who carefully watched all his motions, attacking him as he was marching through a narrow pass, named Be-

Yr. of FL
3098.
A. D. 750.

¹ Theoph. Cedren. ad Ann. Const. 10. ² Idem ad Ann. Leon. 5.

*Constantine
Coprone-
mus put to
flight by
them.*

regaba, put him to flight, and pursued him, with great slaughter to the very gates of Constantinople ^a.

In the year 763 another war was kindled between the same emperor and the Bulgarians, the occasion of which is variously related by authors; but the most probable opinion is, that Constantine, wanting a pretence to quarrel with them, and to retrieve the reputation he had lost in the late hostilities, pretended to be incensed against them for putting to death in a sedition all the princes of the blood royal among them, and raising to the throne Telefis, a person of a mean descent. What gave rise to this rebellion we are not informed; but Constantine, pretending to revenge it, raised a powerful army, and, marching into the country of the Bulgarians, gave them battle on the borders of Thrace. The engagement lasted eight hours; but in the end the Romans gained a complete victory: after which the emperor, instead of improving it, returned to Constantinople with the booty and prisoners he had taken, and entered the city in triumph. The Bulgarians, upon the retreat of the emperor, assassinated their new king, either mistrusting him, as if he entertained a private correspondence with the Romans, or because his behaviour in the battle was such as shewed him unworthy of the dignity to which he had been raised ^b.

Yr. of Fl.
3111.
A. D. 763.

*He gains a
great vic-
tory over
them.*

The Bulgarians, discouraged by the loss of the battle, in which the flower of their youth was cut off, sent ambassadors to Constantinople to implore peace; which was granted upon such disadvantageous terms, that they resolved to observe them no longer than a favourable opportunity offered of renewing the war. Accordingly, two years after, great part of the emperor's forces being employed in the East against the Saracens, they invaded the Roman dominions with a body of twelve thousand men; but Constantine, marching in person against them, and coming upon them when least expected, cut them almost off to a man, and then returned in triumph to Constantinople. This the emperor styled his noble war, because not one Christian was killed in it; but the victory was obtained by treachery, the emperor being privately informed by some Bulgarians of the designs, and all the motions, of their countrymen. These Elerich, king of the country, discovered by the following device: he wrote to Constantine, pretending a desire to resign the crown and lead a private life at Constantinople; for which purpose he intreated the emperor to send him a safe-conduct, and at the same time to inform him what

Yr. of Fl.
3123.
A. D. 775.

*Cuts
twelve
thousand of
them in
pieces.*

^a Theoph. ad Ann. Const. 19.

^b Idem ad Ann. Const. 22.

friends the Romans had among the Bulgarians, that he might repair with them to Constantinople, being unwilling to trust his person or design to others. Constantine, not suspecting any deceit, sent him a list of names of those who maintained a private correspondence with him; which Elerich no sooner received, than he caused them all to be put to death. The emperor, finding himself thus deluded, tore his garments and his hair in the transports of his passion, vowing insatiable revenge. He spent the winter in warlike preparations, and early in the spring took the field, with a design to cut off the whole nation of the Bulgarians; but being seized on his march with a violent fever, he was obliged to return to Achadiapolis, whence he was conveyed to Strongylum, where he died ^c.

He was succeeded by his son Leo III. who upon his accession to the throne, concluded a peace with the king of the Bulgarians, whose daughter Irene he had married. In the third year of his reign, Elerich, being dethroned by his own subjects, fled to Constantinople, where he was received by the emperor with extraordinary marks of kindness and esteem. During his residence in that metropolis, he was, at his own request, instructed in the principles of the Christian religion; which he no sooner embraced than he was created a patrician by Leo, and married to a relation of the empress ^d. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the son and successor of Leo, in the year 791, the eleventh of his reign, attacked the Bulgarians, who, according to their custom, had broken into the Roman provinces: but with what success the emperor was attended in this war is uncertain; for Cedrenus writes that he gained a signal victory; Zonaras, that it was a drawn battle; and some declare that the Romans were worsted, and lost the flower of their army.

Elerich, king of the Bulgarians, being driven from the throne, embraces the Christian religion.

Be that as it may, in the following year he marched against the Bulgarians, encouraged by some astrologers, who promised him certain victory; but depending upon their promises, and omitting the proper means to obtain it, he was totally defeated. In the battle, besides a great number of common soldiers, some of the best officers of the army lost their lives, together with the most considerable men in the empire, and Pancratius, who, by his lying predictions, had given occasion to the overthrow. Two years after, Cardanes, king of the Bulgarians, sent ambassadors to the emperor demanding a tribute, and threatening, if it was refused, to come as far as the Golden Gate of Constantinople, and take it by force; to such a low ebb was the

Yr. of Fl.
3140.
A. D. 792.

The Bulgarians gain a great victory over Constantine IV.

Theoph. ad Ann. Const. 34.

^d Idem, ad Ann. Leon. 2.

empire then reduced ! Constantine, however, exerting himself on this occasion, replied, that, as the king of the Bulgarians was advanced in years, he would save him the trouble of so long a journey, by coming in person to wait upon him. Accordingly he marched against him at the head of a considerable army, at sight of which the Barbarians, struck with a panic, fled in the utmost confusion ; but Constantine, instead of pursuing and taking advantage of the consternation they were in, returned to Constantinople *. In the year 806, the seventh of the emperor Nicephorus, the Bulgarians, surrounding a party of Romans, put them all to the sword, and seized eleven hundred pounds weight of gold, which they were escorting to Strogmon for the payment of the army.

The Bulgarians surprised the city of Sardica.

They afterwards made an irruption into the Roman provinces, under the conduct of Crumus, their king ; and having surprised Sardica, put the whole garrison, consisting of six thousand men, to death. Nicephorus marched against them in person ; but the Barbarians retiring at his approach, he returned to Constantinople. However, in the following year he mustered all the forces of the East and West, and marched at the head of them into Bulgaria, which he ravaged with fire and sword. Crumus, alarmed at the approach of so formidable an army, sued for peace, which he offered to conclude upon terms highly honourable to the empire ; but Nicephorus rejecting them with scorn and indignation, pursued his ravages, burning the towns and villages, and putting such of the inhabitants to the sword as fell into his hands, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. He not only raged against the living, but likewise against the dead, not suffering those who were slain to be buried, but ordering their bodies to be exposed to the dogs and wild beasts. In the mean time Byzantium, his chief favourite, forsaking him, fled with the imperial robe, and a hundred pounds weight of gold, to the enemy ; a defection which was considered by the superstitious multitude as an unlucky omen.

Crumus, sensibly affected by the calamities of his subjects, sent another embassy to the emperor, offering to agree to any terms, on condition he would put an end to his ravages and quit the country ; but Nicephorus, deaf to all proposals, received the ambassadors with great haughtiness, and dismissed them with scorn. Crumus, actuated by despair, and the thirst of revenge, in the first place secured and fortified all the passes through which the emperor was

Yr. of Fl.
3159.
A. D. 811.

* Theoph. & Cedren. ad Ann. Const. 5.

to retire; then, animating his men to revenge the blood of their wives and children inhumanly massacred by the emperor's orders, he attacked the Roman camp. Having forced it notwithstanding all opposition, he cut off almost the whole army, with the emperor himself, a great number of patricians, and all his chief officers. Saturacius, the emperor's son, was dangerously wounded, but escaped in a litter to Adrianople. All the arms and baggage fell into the enemy's hands. The body of Nicephorus being found among the slain, Crumus ordered his head to be struck off, and, after having exposed it to public view, inclosed the skull in silver, and used it ever after in all grand entertainments, instead of a cup^f.

The emperor Nicephorus killed by them, and his whole army cut off.

In the beginning of the reign of Michael, who succeeded Nicephorus, a peace was concluded between the Romans and Bulgarians; and, some of the latter were allowed to settle in the Roman provinces: but the friendship that subsisted between the two nations was of short duration; for, in the second year of Michael's reign, they came to an open rupture, on the following occasion: some Romans, who had been taken prisoners by the Bulgarians in the late war, having found means to make their escape, returned home. These Crumus demanded, threatening the empire with war, if his demand was not immediately complied with. The emperor, who was naturally averse to war, and several persons of distinction at court being of the same opinion, were for granting the king of the Bulgarians his request; the empire not being at that time in a condition to cope with him in the field; but Nicephorus, the patriarch, and Theoctistus, a person in great esteem for his virtue and wisdom, urging that they ought to trust to the assistance of Heaven, and not gratify the pride and insolence of the Barbarians, the emperor, following their advice, received the Bulgarian ambassadors in the most condescending manner; but at the same time told them, that he could not, by any means, comply with their request, and deliver up into captivity such of his subjects as, having once escaped that deplorable condition, had fled to him for protection. In consequence of this answer Crumus, having levied a considerable army, entered the Roman territories, and not only ravaged the open country, but reduced several fortified places, being assisted by an Arabian, well skilled in the art of framing military engines, who had been formerly employed by the emperor Nicephorus, but being ill treated by him, had

They conclude a peace with the Romans, but soon break it.

^f Cedren. Zonar. in Niceph. p. 132.

fled to the Bulgarians, and taught them the use of all sorts of battering engines.

*They take
Mesembria;*

Besides several other cities, he made himself master of Mesembria, a place of great importance in the neighbourhood of Mount Hæmus, and put the garrison to the sword. In the mean time the emperor, having assembled a very numerous army, leaving Constantinople, put himself at the head of it, and marching into Thrace, came up with the enemy in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. After several skirmishes, in which the Romans had the advantage, the emperor was forced by the soldiery to venture a battle. Both armies engaged with the utmost fury, and the victory

*Yr. of Fl.
3161.*

A. D. 813.

*and gain a
complete
victory
over the
emperor
Michael.*

continued long doubtful; but at length the Romans were utterly defeated. Michael was so sensibly affected by this misfortune, that, resigning the purple to Leo, he retired to the monastery of Pharos, and took the monastic habit. The Bulgarians, elated with the great victory they had gained, pursued their ravages without control, advancing almost to the gates of Constantinople. Leo, who had succeeded Michael, endeavoured at first to restrain them by fair means, and for that purpose sent ambassadors to Crumus, with proposals for an accommodation; but the Bulgarian, deaf to all overtures, sent them back without even granting them an audience. Leo, who was an active and warlike prince, provoked at the arrogance of the Barbarian, collected all the forces of the empire, and marching into Thrace, offered the enemy battle; which Crumus not declining, a bloody engagement ensued. Great numbers fell on both sides; but the Romans, after a most obstinate resistance, were put to the rout. The Bulgarians, instead of pursuing the enemy, began to plunder the camp in great disorder; a circumstance which being observed by Leo from a neighbouring eminence, where he had remained during the battle, with a body of reserve, he came down unexpectedly upon the enemy, renewed the fight, and having rallied his other troops, obtained a complete victory. Great numbers of the enemy were slain and taken prisoners. Among the former some reckon the king himself; and add, that the emperor slew him with his own hand: but others say that he was only wounded, and that, falling from his horse, he would have been either killed or taken prisoner by the Romans, who had already surrounded him, had not his guards, with unparalleled valour, rescued him out of their hands.

*Yr. of Fl.
3162.*

A. D. 814.

*Leo gains a
complete
victory
over them.*

The Bulgarians were so dispirited by this overthrow, that they made no inroads into the empire for some years after.

Crumus was succeeded by Mortagon, in whose time Thomas, revolting from Michael II. who had succeeded Leo, and keeping him closely blocked up in Constantinople, the king of the Bulgarians, commiserating his condition, resolved to march to his assistance; and, lest he should in the mean time come to any agreement with the rebels, he privately acquainted him with his design. The emperor, either to prevent the ravages and disorders, which he was certain the Barbarians would commit, or suspecting the sincerity of the king, or, what the writers of those times think most probable, apprehending that a reward, answerable to such a friendly and seasonable assistance, would too much exhaust his treasury, in improving which he at least equalled the most covetous of his predecessors, returned the king of the Bulgarians thanks for his generous offer; but declined accepting it. Mortagon, however, accustomed to war and depredations, undertook the expedition, and, entering Thrace, encamped at a place called Cedoctus, at a small distance from Constantinople. Thomas, hearing of the approach of the Bulgarians, raised the siege, and marched with all his forces to meet the enemy. A battle ensued, in which the rebels were defeated with great slaughter; but Mortagon, instead of pursuing the fugitives, returned with the booty he found in the enemy's camp^b.

The Bulgarians assist the emperor Michael II.

The Bulgarians continued quiet, no doubt in virtue of some treaty between them and the Romans, from this time to the year 877, the 8th of Leo V. when a war broke out on the following occasion: a great trade had been carried on for some time between the two nations, and the public mart was kept at Constantinople, whence, by the interest of Zantzas, father to Zoe, the emperor's concubine, it was removed to Theffalonica. This removal was procured by Zantzas, at the request of the Constantinopolitan merchants; and those very merchants were, by the great authority he had at court, appointed officers and receivers of the customs; an employment which enabled them to give great trouble to the Bulgarian merchants, whom they oppressed with new and unlawful impositions. Of this oppression Simeon, king of the Bulgarians, complained to the emperor; but he, who was in all things governed by Zantzas, refusing to redress these grievances, Simeon, who wanted only a pretence for a rupture, without any farther declaration of war, entered the Roman territories at the head of a powerful army, and advanced as far as Macedon, ravaging the country as he proceeded, with fire and sword.

Yr. of Fl. 3225. On the borders of that province he was met by the army, which Leo had sent against them, under the conduct of A. D. 877. Procopius Crenites, and Curticius an Armenian. The two armies no sooner came in sight of each other, than they engaged. The Romans stood their ground some time; but both their generals being slain, they were utterly defeated. In the pursuit great numbers were taken prisoners, and treated in a most barbarous manner by the insolent conqueror, who first led them in triumph round his camp, and then, having caused their noses to be cut off, sent them, thus defaced, to Constantinople.

Under the conduct of their king Simeon, they cut off a Roman army.

Simeon defeated by the Hungarians.

Leo, exasperated at this outrage, prevailed upon the Ungri, or Hungarians, to break into the country of the Bulgarians on one side, while he invaded it on the other. Simeon marched first against the Hungarians, who were committing dreadful ravages; but in the battle that ensued, the flower of his army was cut off, he himself having, with great difficulty, made his escape, and taken refuge in a fortress named Drista; so that the Hungarians pursued their ravages without control, desolated the country, and took an incredible number of prisoners, whom they sold to the emperor. Leo, before the Hungarians began hostilities, or his own troops took the field, had sent to Simeon one Constantinacius, with proposals for an accommodation; but the king of the Bulgarians, imagining that the emperor had no other view but to deceive and amuse him, had thrown the ambassador into prison; but finding his army cut off by the Hungarians, and being informed at the same time that the Roman army, under the conduct of Nicephorus Phocas, was in full march to enter his country, he not only set Constantinacius at liberty, but dispatched ambassadors to Leo, imploring peace in a most submissive manner. The emperor, not thinking it prudent to reduce so warlike a nation to despair, granted him his request, ordering Phocas, who was then upon the point of entering Bulgaria, to return home, with the forces under his command¹. But Simeon no sooner found the danger removed, than he confined Leo's ambassadors, and, falling unexpectedly upon the Hungarians, routed them with great slaughter.

He gains a great victory over them, and ravages their country.

He then entered their country, and committed horrid cruelties, putting all to the sword who fell into his hands, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. Leo, unable to march to the assistance of his allies at so short a warning, sent envoys to the king of the Bulgarians, complaining of the breach of the treaty just concluded, and re-

¹ Cedren. p. 189.

quiring him to withdraw his troops immediately from the country of the Hungarians. Simeon, elated with his success, replied, that he would listen to no terms, till all the Bulgarians, who had been taken in the late war, were released. To this demand the emperor consented, unwilling to engage in a new war: but the prisoners were no sooner returned, than Simeon made fresh demands, still more unreasonable than the former; which provoked the emperor to such a degree, that he resolved to attack the Bulgarians with the whole strength of the empire, and utterly extirpate, if possible, that perfidious nation. A powerful army was accordingly raised, and sent into Bulgaria, under the command of Catacalon, and Theodosius, a patrician; but Simeon, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut most of them in pieces, with Theodosius, and a great number of officers of distinction. This disaster obliged the emperor to consent to a peace upon the best terms he could obtain*; which the Bulgarians seem to have observed during the remaining part of Leo's reign.

Yr. of Fl.
3245.
A. D. 897.

*He puts the
Romans to
flight with
great
slaughter.*

Upon that prince's death, they sent to Alexander, his brother and successor, to renew the treaty concluded in the late reign: but Alexander, instead of cultivating the friendship of that warlike nation, dismissed the ambassadors in an ignominious manner; at which Simeon, justly provoked, invaded the Roman dominions with a powerful army, and, meeting with no opposition, after having ravaged Thrace, advanced to the very gates of Constantinople, which he hoped to surprise; but the inhabitants making a vigorous resistance, after several unsuccessful attempts, Simeon was obliged to drop the enterprize, and retire to Hebdomon, at a small distance from the imperial city. From thence he sent envoys to Constantine, who had succeeded Alexander, with proposals for an accommodation; which were received with great joy by the governors of the young prince, who was then under age. While the negotiations were carrying on, Simeon was admitted to dine with the emperor in the palace of Blachernæ, and, when the entertainment was over, dismissed with rich presents. Cedrenus supposes a peace to have been concluded; but Zonaras writes, that Simeon would not agree to the terms that were offered. Be that as it may, in the following year, the king of the Bulgarians broke again into Thrace, and advancing as far as Adrianople, laid siege to that city.

In the mean time the empress Zoe, mother to the young prince, having got the whole power into her own hands,

* Curopalat. in Leon. p. 168.

*A powerful
army sent
against the
Bulgari-
ans.*

and, by the advice of the senate, concluded a peace with the Saracens, who had invaded the eastern provinces, resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against the Bulgarians. With this view she assembled a numerous army; but of the ill success that attended her arms, we have spoken at large elsewhere. The flower of the Roman army was cut off; and Simeon, elated with this unexpected fortune, resolved to return before Constantinople: but two strong detachments from his army being defeated at a place called Catafyrtes by the imperial troops, he thought proper to drop the enterprize, and retire, with the immense booty which he had obtained. Even in this encounter, the Romans lost a considerable number of men, and some officers of great reputation, among whom was Nicolas, the son of Constantine Ducas, who commanded in chief, and to whose valour the success of the day was chiefly owing.

Yr. of Fl.
3270.
A. D. 922.

*They gain
another
victory,
and take
Adrianople.*

Five years after this event, Simeon, taking advantage of the intestine broils and factions into which the empire was rent by the usurpation of Romanus, made new inroads into the Roman territories. One of his parties advanced as far as Catafyrtes, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, where they were encountered by Leo, son-in-law to Romanus, and put to flight. Simeon afterwards sent into Thrace a very large army, commanded by Chaganus and Minicius, with orders to march directly to Constantinople. Romanus, receiving timely notice of their design, dispatched Leo, his brother Pothus Argyrus, and John, against them, with all the troops he could assemble. The two armies met in the plains of Pegæ, at a small distance from Constantinople, and there a bloody battle ensued, in which the Romans gave way, and were pursued with great slaughter by the Bulgarians. Leo and Pothus took refuge in a neighbouring castle; John saved himself on board a small vessel; but most of the other officers and soldiers were either cut in pieces, taken prisoners, or drowned in endeavouring to get on board the fleet, which was riding at a small distance from the field of battle. Among the latter were Alexius the admiral, and several other officers of the navy. The Bulgarians, now masters of the field, ravaged the country without molestation, burnt the imperial palace of Pegæ, and closely besieged Adrianople. Leo, surnamed Moroleon, from his rash and inconsiderate temper, defended the place with great gallantry, and made several successful sallies; but the inhabitants being constrained by famine to surrender, Simeon basely caused Leo to be tortured to death¹.

¹ Glycas, in Constant, p. 143. Zonar. Cedren. ubi supra.

The king of the Bulgarians, encouraged by this success, made great preparations during the following winter, and early in the spring took the field, with a design to besiege Constantinople itself. In his march he laid waste Macedon and Thrace, and reduced most of the forts in those provinces, leaving garrisons in some, and levelling others with the ground. At length he approached the imperial city, and encamped at Blachernæ, whence he dispatched a messenger to the emperor, requiring that the patriarch, and some other persons of distinction, might be sent to treat of an accommodation, since he was willing, he said, to put an end to such a destructive and expensive war. The emperor complied with his request, and, upon the delivery of hostages, the conferences were opened: but, some time after, Simeon desired an interview with the emperor himself, that is, with Romanus, who had caused himself to be acknowledged the colleague of Constantine. Romanus, well pleased with this proposal, went first to the place appointed, attended by his guards, and the chief nobility. Simeon came soon after, and the two princes met on the ninth of December, in the year 923. Romanus, in a pathetic speech, put the king of the Bulgarians in mind of the account he was one day to give to the Eternal Judge for the Christian blood he had already shed; expostulated with him, upon his delighting in the slaughter of those who professed the same religion which he had embraced; exhorted him to join those, with whom he was already united by the same faith, and terminating such unnatural wars, turn his arms against their common enemy the Saracens. He told him, that, if he was prompted by the desire of riches to commit such devastations, the treasures of the empire should be opened to him, provided he sheathed his sword, and put an end to the shedding of Christian blood. Simeon was so affected by this speech, that he accepted the terms offered by the emperor, signed the treaty, and, having received many rich presents from Romanus, returned home, not suffering his men to commit the least disorder in the provinces through which they passed^m.

They besiege Constantinople.

An interview between the emperor and the king of the Bulgarians.

A peace concluded.

Yr. of Fl.
3274.
A. D. 926.

Simeon is overthrown by the Chrobati, and dies.

Simeon, having thus concluded a peace with the Romans, turned his arms against the Chrobati, a neighbouring nation; but he was overthrown by them, with the loss of his whole army. He did not long outlive this misfortune, but died of grief a few days after. He left three sons behind him, namely, Michael, whom he had by his first wife, and Peter and John, by a second marriage. He had

^m Zonar. Cedren. ubi supra.

obliged his eldest son, whom he disliked, to take the monastic habit some years before his death. He was, therefore, succeeded by Peter, to whom, as he was yet under age, George Sufurbulus, his mother's brother, was appointed guardian. The neighbouring nations no sooner heard of the death of Simeon, than they resolved to fall jointly upon the Bulgarians, by whom they had been incessantly harassed during the late king's reign. At the same time a dreadful famine raged in Bulgaria, the corn having been consumed by incredible multitudes of locusts. Sufurbulus therefore, fearing the Romans, encouraged by their present calamities, might league with the neighbouring nations against them, advised the young prince to invade their dominions first with the whole strength of his kingdom, which, he said, would make way for an advantageous treaty, and prevent them from joining their other enemies. Pursuant to this advice, Peter made an irruption into Macedon at the head of a powerful army; but when he heard, that Romanus was marching against him, he dispatched a monk to the emperor, with proposals of peace, which he desired might be strengthened and confirmed by a more strict alliance, if the emperor thought fit to give him his grand-daughter in marriage.

Peter, his son and successor, marries the grand-daughter of the emperor Romanus.

This overture was very acceptable to Romanus; so that after several negotiations and conferences between the ministers of the two princes in the city of Mesembria, not only a peace, but a marriage was concluded between the young king of the Bulgarians, and Mary the daughter of Christopher, the emperor's son. The articles being ratified, Peter repaired to Constantinople, where he was splendidly entertained by Romanus, and, with great solemnity, married to his grand-daughter by Stephen the patriarch. The king of the Bulgarians had scarce returned home, when a conspiracy was discovered, carried on against him by John his brother, and several other persons of distinction. All the accomplices were put to death; but the king contented himself with confining his brother to a castle, whence, with the assistance of the emperor's ambassadors, he made his escape to Constantinople. Soon after, Michael his brother, quitting the monastic habit, claimed the crown, and was joined by great numbers of Bulgarians; but he dying, his followers, abandoning their native country, broke into the Roman dominions, and, ravaging Macedon and Greece, advanced as far as Nicopolis, which city they took, and there settled. Upon the death of Romanus, the king of the Bulgarians

rians sent deputies to Constantinople, to renew with his successor Nicephorus Phocas his alliance with the empire, delivering his two sons Borises and Romanus as hostages; but the king dying soon after, they were sent home, where, with much difficulty, they suppressed a powerful faction, headed by the four sons of one of the chief lords of that country.

In the year 970, the Russi or Rossi, who inhabited the present Podolia, broke into Bulgaria, under the conduct of their king Spendosthabus; and, having ravaged the country, and burnt several towns, retired with an immense booty. In the course of the ensuing year they pursued their ravages, and, having put the Bulgarians to flight, who attempted to oppose them, and, in the pursuit, taken Borises and Romanus, the two sons of Peter, prisoners, they resolved to settle in Bulgaria, finding it a country far more pleasant and fertile than their own. In this resolution they were confirmed by Calocyrrus, a Roman fugitive, who engaged to resign Bulgaria to them, to enter into a strict alliance with their nation, and to pay them annually a considerable sum, provided they raised him to the imperial throne. The Rossi, well acquainted with the late revolutions of the empire, and the low ebb to which the Roman power was reduced, thought it would be no difficult matter to effect what Calocyrrus proposed. Accordingly, having secured the assistance of the Patzinacæ, a Sarmatic nation, with the Huns or Hungarians, and armed such of the conquered Bulgarians, as they thought they might safely trust, they entered Thrace with an army of three hundred and eight thousand men, and, having ravaged that province, invested Adrianople, where they were soon after defeated, and most of them cut in pieces, by Bardus Sclerus, with a body of twelve thousand Romans. Such of the Rossi as escaped the general slaughter, returned into Bulgaria; whence they were afterwards driven back to their ancient habitations by John Zimisces, then emperor: but of the war which that prince made on the Rossi, till they consented to abandon Bulgaria, we have spoken at large in our Constantinopolitan history.

The Bulgarians, being thus delivered from the yoke under which they had groaned some years, submitted to Zimisces their deliverer: but their submission lasted no longer than his life; for no sooner did they receive the news of the emperor's death, than, revolting from the Romans, they vested with supreme power four brothers, David, Moses, Aaron, and Samuel, called Cometopoli, because they were the children of an eminent count among them. Not one

Yr. of Fl.
3319.

A D. 971.

*Bulgaria
subdued by
the Rossi;*

*who are
driven out
by John Zimisces emperor, to whom the Bulgarians submit.*

They revolt, and are governed by four brothers.

of

of Peter's family was left, whom they could prefer. His two sons Borises and Romanus had been taken prisoners by Zimisces in his war with the Rossi, and brought to Constantinople, whence they both made their escape upon that prince's death; but Borises, in passing through a wood, was killed by a Bulgarian, who mistook him for a Roman. Romanus indeed was alive, but an eunuch, and consequently incapable of ascending the throne. Of the four brothers, whom we have just mentioned, David died soon after he was vested with the sovereign power; Moses was killed in the siege of a place called Serræ; and Aaron, being suspected of favouring the Romans, and keeping a private correspondence with them, was murdered by Samuel, with all his children, Bladisthlabus excepted, who was preserved by Kadomer the son of Samuel.

They commit great ravages in the Roman provinces.

Samuel, who was a warlike prince, and a man of a restless temper, having thus got the whole power into his own hands, made frequent inroads into the Roman territories, returning home with immense booty, and incredible numbers of captives. While Basilus, the successor of Zimisces, was engaged in a civil war with Bardas Sclerus, who had assumed the purple, Samuel, seizing that opportunity, overran not only Thrace and Macedon, but likewise Thessaly, Greece, and Peloponnesus, in which provinces he committed shocking ravages, burnt several cities, took others, and among the rest Larissa, the inhabitants whereof he transplanted, with their whole families, into Bulgaria, incorporated such of those who were able to bear arms among his troops, and employed them against the Romans. Basilus therefore, incensed against the Bulgarians, had no sooner put an end to the civil war than he resolved to employ the whole strength of the empire against them. Pursuant to this resolution, having assembled all his forces, he left Constantinople, without acquainting even his own generals with his design. He entered Bulgaria through the country lying near Rhodoptes and the river Eurys, leaving Leo Melissenus behind him to secure the defiles, while he, by a short cut through woods and marshes, advanced to Sardica, by the Bulgarians called Triaditza, with a design to lay siege to that important place; but, as he was making the necessary preparations for the attack, Stephen, the commander of the western forces, and an inveterate enemy to Leo Melissenus, coming to him in the dead of the night, assured him, that Leo intended to usurp the sovereign power, and with that design was marching, with all the troops under his command, to the imperial city. The emperor, alarmed at this information, and at the same time apprehending the enemy

The emperor Basilus invades their country;

enemy might seize on the passes abandoned by Leo, and cut off his retreat, immediately ordered the army to march. They no sooner began to move, than Samuel, rushing from the neighbouring mountains, where he had remained the whole time, fell with great fury upon them in their retreat, and turned it into a precipitate and disorderly flight. All their baggage was taken, with the imperial robes and diadem; great numbers of the soldiers, and some officers of distinction, were cut in pieces; but the emperor, with much difficulty, escaped to Philippopolis, where he found Leo carefully attending his duty, and guarding the post which had been committed to his care. The emperor, though exasperated against Stephen, the author of so much mischief, contented himself with reviling him in the most severe terms, till he began to defend what he had done; then Basilus, no longer able to command his temper, leaped from his seat, and, seizing him by his locks and beard, pulled him down to the ground.

Yr. of Fl.

3321.

A. D. 973.

but is obliged to return with great loss.

During the two following years the emperor was diverted, by intestine broils, from pursuing the war against the Bulgarians; and Samuel, their king, taking advantage of these disturbances, harassed, with daily incursions, the neighbouring provinces: but tranquility was no sooner restored to the empire, than Basilus made vast preparations both by sea and land, with a design entirely to subdue that restless and turbulent nation. In the first place, he made a progress into Thrace and Macedon; and, having visited the frontiers on that side, and left a strong garrison in Thessalonica, under the command of Gregorius Taronitas, to restrain the Bulgarians, returned to Constantinople, to hasten the military preparations. In the mean time Samuel, approaching Thessalonica at the head of a numerous army, made himself master of the place, after having, by a stratagem, killed the governor, and taken his son prisoner. Elated by this success, he crossed the Peneus, and, having over-run all Thessaly, Bœotia, and Attica, penetrated into the very heart of Peloponnesus, ravaging all the provinces through which he passed. The emperor dispatched the flower of his army against him, under the command of Nicephorus Uranus, who, leaving his heavy baggage at Larissa, passed with incredible expedition the Pharsalian plains, and the river Apidanus, arrived at the Spercheus, and encamped on the banks of that river opposite to Samuel. The river was then so swelled, that Samuel, believing the Romans could not pass it, lay with great security on the other side: however,

The Bulgarians make new inroads into the empire.

Yr. of Fl.

3327.

A. D. 979.

*They are
utterly de-
feated by
Uranus.*

Uranus having discovered, with indefatigable pains, a ford, passed the river in the dead of night, and, falling upon the Bulgarians while they lay asleep, without the least apprehension of danger, made a dreadful havock before they had time to assume their arms. Samuel and his son Romanus were dangerously wounded, and must unavoidably have fallen into the conqueror's hands, had they not kept themselves concealed the whole day among the dead, and in the night stolen away to the mountains of Ætolia, along the tops of which they travelled to Mount Pindus, and thence into Bulgaria. Upon his return, he found his daughter enamoured to such a degree of Afotes, the son of Gregory, late governor of Thessalonica, who had been taken prisoner, that she declared she was determined to destroy herself, unless she was allowed to marry him. Samuel complied with her desire, and, as soon as the nuptial solemnity was over, sent his new son-in-law, with his wife, to reside at Dyrrachium, appointing him governor of that important place; but he had not been long there when, hearing that the emperor's gallies were cruising on the coast, he embraced that opportunity to return to Constantinople, where both he and his wife were kindly received and preferred by the emperor, he to the dignity of magister, and she to that of zofa, whose province it was to take care of the imperial wardrobe. Afotes brought letters with him to the emperor from Chryselius, one of the chief officers in Dyrrachium, wherein he promised to deliver the city into the hands of the Romans, on condition the emperor would confer the dignity of a patrician on him and his two sons; but, so far as we can conjecture from Cedrenus, whose text is strangely corrupted in this place, the delivering up of the city was prevented by the death of Chryselius. However, the emperor became master of the place not long after, but in what manner we are not told.

*Basilus in-
vades their
country,
and takes
several
fortresses.*

In the following year the emperor entered Bulgaria in person, by the way of Philippopolis; and, having taken several forts and castles, detached from Mosynopolis part of his army, under the command of Theodorocranus, a patrician, and Nicephorus Xiphias, protospatharian, against the Bulgarian cities beyond Mount Hæmus. By these were reduced the Great and the Little Peristhlaba, with Pliscoba, and several other fortified places. Next year Basilus in person made a second inroad into Bulgaria, by the way of Thessalonica, took some cities, burnt a great number of villages, and laid the country waste. The city of Berœa was

surrendered to him by Dobromerus, governor of the place, whom the emperor honoured with the title and rank of proconsul. The city of Servia, which was defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of Nicolas, made a long and vigorous resistance; but was taken at last by storm. From Servia the emperor returned to Constantinople, carrying with him a great number of captives, and among the rest Nicolas, governor of the place, whom, for his gallant behaviour, he generously raised to the rank of a patrician; but Nicolas, preferring the service of his master to all the honours the emperor could confer upon him, made his escape to Samuel, and jointly with him laid siege to Servia. The emperor no sooner received intelligence of this enterprise, than he marched thither in person, obliged the Bulgarians to retire, and, attacking them in their retreat, took Nicolas a second time prisoner, and sent him to Constantinople, where he was, by the emperor's order, kept under close confinement. From Servia Basilus led his army into Thessaly, and repaired such castles as had been dismantled by the Bulgarians, recovered those that were still held by them, and reunited that province to the empire. Early in the spring he entered Bulgaria again, and laid siege to Boudyna, which held out for the space of eight months, but was in the end taken by storm.

As the autumn was already far spent, the emperor, having left a strong garrison in Boudyna, marched back with the rest of his troops to Constantinople. When he had proceeded on his return, as far as the river Axius, he found Samuel, with all the forces he had been able to assemble, encamped on the opposite bank; but Basilus, having discovered a ford, and passed the river in the night, fell early next morning on the enemy, before they could put themselves in a posture of defence, and routed them with great slaughter. Samuel's army being thus defeated and dispersed, Romanus, the son of the late king Peter, and brother of Borises, surrendered to the emperor the city of Scopia, of which he was governor, and was on that account rewarded with the dignity of patrician. Samuel, no longer able to keep the field, placed strong guards in all the defiles, to prevent the emperor from penetrating farther into Bulgaria. However, Basilus, determined upon the entire reduction of the country, forced, not without great loss of men, several passes; but, in the streights of Cimba Longus, he would have been cut off with his whole army, had not Nicephorus Xiphias, governor of Philippopolis, marching with a strong detachment through by-ways, and over a steep mountain, unexpectedly assailed the enemy's rear, and obliged

*Their army
utterly de-
feated.*

*They are
defeated
anew.*

*Samuel,
king of the
Bulgari-
ans, dies of
grief.*

*The Bul-
garians cut
off part
of the Ro-
man army.*

*Gabriel
murdered
by Bla-
disthlabus,
who suc-
ceeds him.*

liged them to abandon their post. Then Basilus, entering the streights without opposition, pursued them with great slaughter, though they retired in good order, and often, facing about, skirmished with the Romans. In one of these skirmishes the king narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Romans; but was rescued by the valour and conduct of his son, when he was already surrounded on all sides, and conveyed safe to the castle of Prilapus, though closely pursued by a body of Roman horse. On this occasion the emperor is said to have taken fifteen thousand prisoners, whom he treated with great inhumanity; for he caused their eyes to be put out, and to every hundred assigning a guide, who had one eye left, sent them in that condition to Samuel. The king of the Bulgarians, already broken with age, and worn out with misfortunes, was so shocked at this dismal spectacle, that he fell into a swoon; and, though he returned to his senses, yet he died in two days of grief.

Samuel was succeeded by his son Gabriel, whom he had by a captive of Larissa. In the beginning of his reign the emperor, pursuing the conquest of Bulgaria, reduced a strong castle named Matzucius, and then invested Strumpitza, a place of great strength. During the siege he detached Theophylact, one of his generals, with a body of chosen men, to reduce the fortresses among the mountains, and open a way through the woods. Theophylact made himself master of several places; but being afterwards surprised by the Bulgarians in a narrow pass, where he could not draw up his men, he was cut off, with the whole body under his command. The emperor, to whom Strumpitza had submitted after a vigorous resistance, hearing of this misfortune, thought proper to retreat; accordingly he marched back to Mosynopolis, and thence to Thessalonica. On his route he took the castle of Prilapus, Stypeius, Melencius, and Budena; and burnt Buteliana, the royal palace of the Bulgarian kings. During the winter Gabriel was killed, while he was hunting, by Bladisthlabus, the son of Aaron, whose life he had formerly preserved. Bladisthlabus, being acknowledged king by the Bulgarians, immediately acquainted the emperor with the death of Gabriel, and his own promotion, acknowledging himself at the same time a subject and vassal of the empire; but Basilus, suspecting his sincerity, returned early in the spring into Bulgaria, and made himself master of several strong castles and fortified towns, in one of which he took some of the principal men among the Bulgarians.

Meanwhile Bladisthlabus sent a new deputation to the emperor, offering to submit to such terms as he should think proper to prescribe. At the same time the emperor received letters from the Bulgarians owning themselves his subjects and vassals; but Basilus being informed that neither the king nor his subjects were sincere in their declarations, and that they had made an attempt upon Dyrrachium, hoping to surprise that important place, entered Bulgaria once more. Having laid waste the countries of Ostrobuz, Gofens, and Pelagonia, he advanced to Acris, the place where the Bulgarian kings usually resided, which he reduced; and then, leaving part of his army in Pelagonia to curb the Bulgarians, he marched with the rest to reduce the neighbouring provinces; but he was scarce departed, when Ibatzes, a man of great distinction among the Bulgarians, remarkable for his valour and experience, having drawn the Romans left by the emperor into an ambuscade, cut them off, with their commanders, almost to a man. In consequence of this disaster Basilus, marching back in great rage, laid several cities in ashes, ravaged the open country with fire and sword, and having taken a great number of prisoners, ordered their eyes to be put out, and in that condition to be sent to Bladisthlabus. On the other hand the Bulgarians, making frequent sallies from the woods, destroyed great numbers of men; insomuch that, his army being greatly diminished, he returned earlier than usual to Constantinople. On his march he besieged the castle of Pernicus; but the garrison making a vigorous resistance, he lay before it eighty days, assailing it almost every day with his whole army; but being constantly repulsed with great loss, he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, and retire. However, thinking he could not, without forfeiting his reputation, give up the war, till he had entirely subdued Bulgaria, after having so often invaded it in person, he allowed his army but a short respite; and then taking the field again, laid siege to Castoria, a fortified town in Pelagonia.

Basilus reduces several fortresses;

In the mean time the king of the Bulgarians, having collected all the forces he could muster, began to march towards the frontiers of the empire, in order to oblige the emperor to abandon Bulgaria, and hasten back to the defence of his own dominions. Basilus accordingly, breaking up the siege of Castoria, marched against Bladisthlabus, who, not willing to put the whole to the issue of an engagement, retired at his approach. Basilus detached Constantine Diogenes in pursuit of the enemy, who put many to the sword, took the horses and baggage of the king, with one

and puts their king to flight, who is killed soon after.

*The chief
men among
the Bulg-
arians
submit.*

one of his kinsmen, and returned loaded with booty. The emperor afterwards took by storm the castle of Satana, where he found a great quantity of corn, which he ordered to be removed, and then set fire to the place. Having ended the campaign he returned to Constantinople. He was no sooner gone than the king of the Bulgarians invested Dyrrachium; but the garrison making a vigorous resistance, he was slain in an assault. The Bulgarians, who had hitherto defended their country with unparalleled valour, and maintained their liberties against the whole strength of the empire, in a war which had lasted more than twenty years, being now quite dispirited by the loss of their king, sent deputies to the emperor, with offers of a total and unlimited submission. Basilus received them in the most obliging manner, and repairing into Bulgaria, was met on the confines by the governors of thirty-six castles, which they surrendered. Their example was followed by most of the chief men of Bulgaria, and even by the wife of the deceased king, who coming to the emperor with three of her sons and her six daughters, renounced all claim to dominion. She had three other sons by the king, but they had taken refuge on the tops of the Ceraunic mountains, from which they were soon after obliged by famine to come down and surrender themselves. Basilus received them with great humanity, raised Profranus, who appears to have been the eldest, to the dignity of magister, and the other five to that of patrician. To the mother and the daughters he allowed a maintenance suitable to their rank, and ever treated them with the utmost respect.

At Achris, where the Bulgarian kings usually resided, he was received by his new subjects with loud acclamations. There he seized on the immense treasure of the Bulgarian princes, and found, among other things of great value, several crowns enriched with pearls, and a great quantity of gold, which he bestowed as a reward upon his soldiers. There remained now but one man in the whole country capable of raising disturbances, who had not submitted to the emperor. This was Ibatzes, a person nearly allied to the royal family, who during the course of the war, had given several instances of his courage and implacable hatred to the Romans. He, refusing to submit, seized on a castle standing on the top of a mountain very difficult of access; and having fortified himself, declared, that he was resolved to defend himself to the last extremity; but in what manner he was seized in his castle and brought to the em-

* Cedren. p. 207, &c. Zonar. p. 350.

peror, we have related at large in our Constantinopolitan history. And now Basilus, absolute master of all Bulgaria, took a progress through the country, receiving the submissions of his new subjects, and causing several castles to be demolished, lest the Bulgarians should attempt to shake off the yoke. Then leaving Bulgaria, he repaired to Athens, and ascribing the success that had attended his arms to the protection of the Virgin Mary, he enriched her church in that city with many presents of great value. From Athens he returned to Constantinople, which he entered in triumph through the Golden Gate, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, the widow of the late king of the Bulgarians, with all the princes and princesses of the blood-royal, walking before him. This conquest and final reduction of Bulgaria, which had been often attempted in vain by other emperors, was effected by Basilus in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and of the Christian æra 1017.

Yr. of Fl.
3365.
A D. 1017.
*Bulgaria
entirely
subdued.*

The Bulgarians bore the yoke patiently till 1032, when they revolted from Michael IV. under the conduct of Deleanus; and being joined by the Dyrrachians, who had likewise rebelled, defeated the imperial troops, and even laid siege to Thessalonica. But they were utterly defeated by the emperor, and their country entirely reduced. From that time the Bulgarians continued subject to the emperors of Constantinople, whom they powerfully assisted both against the Latins and the Turks, and were, on that account, allowed to choose a king of their own nation, who nevertheless owned himself a vassal of the empire. In 1206, John, king of Bulgaria, marching against Baldwin, the first emperor of the Latins in Constantinople, while he was besieging Adrianople, routed his army with great slaughter, relieved the city, and having taken the emperor himself prisoner, carried him to Ternova, at that time the capital of Bulgaria. There he caused his hands and feet to be cut off, and ordered him, thus maimed, to be thrown into a neighbouring valley, where he lay in the utmost agony for three days, and then expiring, was devoured by the wild beasts, and birds of prey. In 1275, Stephen, the fourth king of Hungary, vanquished in a great battle Cea, prince of Bulgaria, and having cut his whole army in pieces, obliged the Bulgarians to acknowledge him for their king. Hence Stephen and his successors were styled kings of Hungary and Bulgaria, which title passed, with the kingdom of Hungary, to the princes of the house of Austria. With the assistance of the Greek emperors they shook off the Hungarian yoke, and in 1369, under the conduct of Saismenos their king, attempted the recovery of Adrianople,

Yr. of Fl.
1744.
A.D. 1396.

*Bulgaria
reduced to
a province
of the
Turkish
empire.*

taken by the Turks; but were totally defeated by Amurath I. who had no sooner settled his affairs in Asia, than, provoked against the Bulgarians for their late attempt, he turned his arms against them. Entering Bulgaria with a numerous army, he made himself master of several fortresses, and obliged Sasmenos to purchase a peace, by ceding the far greater part of his kingdom, and promising to hold the rest as his vassal and tributary: but Bajazet, who succeeded Amurath, invading Bulgaria without the least provocation, made an absolute conquest of the whole country in 1396, and reduced it to a province of the Turkish empire, in which state it has continued ever since.

We shall now, in compliance with our plan, proceed to the history of the Ostrogoths in Italy, from Theodoric to their expulsion by Narfes; of the exarchs of Ravenna, till driven out by the Lombards; and of the Lombards in Italy, to Desiderius their last king, taken prisoner by Charlemagne. These three different histories will afford us matter for the following chapter.



C H A P. LXXXVI.

The History of the Ostrogoths in Italy, the Exarchs of Ravenna, and the Lombards in Italy.

S E C T. I.

The History of the Ostrogoths in Italy, to their Expulsion by Narfes.

*Theodoric
lawful
king of
Italy, and
acknow-
leged as
such by the
emperors
Zeno and
Anastasius.*

IN the foregoing chapter, we brought Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths into Italy, and placed him on the throne of Odoacer. We shall now give the reader a succinct account of this excellent prince's reign, whom we must not consider as an intruder or usurper, but as the lawful sovereign of the countries he possessed, especially of the kingdom of Italy; for, when he first imparted to Zeno his design of invading that country, the emperor not only approved of the undertaking, but encouraged him to it, and, recommending to his protection the senate and people of Rome, dismissed him loaded with rich presents. During
the

the course of the war, Theodoric sent distinct accounts of all that passed to the emperor, who was greatly pleased with the success that attended his arms; for, when he was informed, that Theodoric only wanted Ravenna to be entire master of Italy, he advised him to lay aside the Gothic dress, and assume the royal diadem, mantle, and other ensigns of majesty*. Upon the reduction of Ravenna, which happened in the second year of the reign of Anastasius, the successor of Zeno, he was by the new emperor acknowledged as a just and lawful prince: though the Goths, upon the death of Odoacer, proclaimed him again king of all Italy†, without the consent and approbation of the emperor, yet Anastasius approved of what they had done, as is manifest from the letters he wrote to him, and from Theodoric's answer, which have been transmitted to us by Cassiodore. Besides, when Theodoric undertook the conquest of Italy, the western empire was at an end; Spain was possessed by the Vandals, the Visigoths, and the Sueves; Gaul by the Franks and Burgundians; Britain by the Saxons; and Italy left a prey to the Heruli, the Rugians, and other barbarous nations.

While the last mentioned country, which, for so many ages, had given law to the world, thus groaned under the yoke of the Barbarians, the emperors of the East being unable to afford it the least relief, Theodoric, with their consent and approbation, undertook the great work; and having, at his own expence, and with the troops of his own nation, expelled the tyrant, he was, with loud acclamations, received by the people as their king and deliverer. The only person who had then any claim to Italy was the emperor of the East; and both Zeno, and his successor Anastasius, acknowledged Theodoric king of that country, not only allowing him to wear the royal ensigns, but transferring to him all their claims and rights.

He delivers Italy from the Barbarians.

Theodoric, though he was master of all Italy and Sicily, and likewise of Rhætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, Liburnia, Istria, and great part of Suevia, Pannonia, and Gaul, and governed Spain, as guardian to his young nephew Amalaric, yet he did not assume the title of emperor, but contented himself with that of king, either out of respect to the emperors of the East, or because he esteemed the title of king, denoting an independent authority, more honourable than that of emperor; or perhaps because Odoacer, whom he succeeded, had assumed no other. Be

* Jorn. de Reb. Get. p. 698.
Consulib. p. 300.

† Pagi in Dissert. Hypat. de

*He retains
the same
laws and
magis-
trates.*

that as it may, Theodoric having no enemy to contend with after the death of Odoacer, sheathed his sword, and applied himself wholly to the establishing of good order throughout his new dominions. He retained the same laws, the same magistrates, the same polity, and the same distribution of provinces. Military honours, for the most part, he conferred on the Goths; but preferred the Romans only to civil employments. Hence the Romans, that is, the ancient inhabitants of Italy, were extremely pleased with his government; and Gelasius, bishop of Rome, wrote a letter, congratulating him upon his happy administration. He distributed the Goths among the fortified places, with their captains, who commanded in time of war, and governed them in time of peace. The Romans were governed by the same magistrates they had obeyed under the emperors; but with this difference, that by the emperors were sent a consularis, a præses, a corrector, into each province, to whom, in all suits, recourse was to be had from the most remote parts: whereas the Goths sent, besides the above mentioned magistrates, others of an inferior rank to every small village, who, by administering justice on the spot, delivered the people from the great trouble and expence they had been at in the Roman times, when the power of deciding controversies was vested in the supreme magistrate alone. The Goths were no less scrupulous in the choice of these inferior magistrates than of the great officers, employing only persons of known integrity, and acceptable to the people, and allowing no appeals to other tribunals, but in cases of manifest injustice. Of these inferior magistrates some were called cancellarii, others canonicarii, and comites referendarii^u.

*He contents
himself
with the
taxes paid
to the em-
perors.*

As Theodoric made no alteration in the laws, magistrates, or form of government, except that which we have just mentioned, so he contented himself with the same tributes and taxes which had been levied by the emperors; but was far more generous than they had ever been to remit them on occasion of any public calamity. Thus he remitted to the inhabitants of Campania the tribute they usually paid, upon their representing that they had suffered much by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius. The letter or order which he sent on this occasion to Faustus, consularis or governor of Campania, has been transmitted to us by Cassiodore. In that letter he tells Faustus, that the inhabitants of Campania, having suffered greatly, had petitioned him for relief; that he was ready to grant them their request, provided he

^u Grot. in Proleg. ad Hist. Goth. p. 46. .

was rightly informed of the misfortune, and knew how to judge of the damage they had sustained. He commands him to send some person of known integrity into the territories of Nola and Naples, to view the lands, and take an estimate of the loss, that he might be enabled to make a proportionable allowance out of the tribute^v. It was probably on this occasion that the Neapolitans erected, in their great forum or market-place, a statue to Theodoric, which is said to have afterwards presaged the end of the government of the Goths in Italy (M). In like manner Theodoric exempted the inhabitants of Sipontum, in Puglia, from all taxes for the space of two years, upon their representing that their lands had been laid waste by the Vandals of Africa, who were constantly making descents on the coast of Italy^x.

He not only pardoned, but preferred to the first employments, several Italians, or, as they were still called in his time, Romans, who had defended Odoacer to the last; but such as had declared for him, and afterwards revolted to the enemy, he punished according to the Roman law, taking from them the power of making testaments: but in the third year of his reign, he was prevailed upon by Laurentius and Epiphanius, the one bishop of Milan, the other of Pavia, to publish a general pardon. Upon his becoming master of Italy, he did not treat the natives as these of the other Roman provinces were treated by the Barbarians, who conquered them. These stripped the ancient pro-

^v Cassiod. Var. lib. iv. ep. 50.

^x Ibid. lib. ii. ep. 37.

(M) This statue was made of small pebbles of various colours, and so artfully cemented, that they represented Theodoric to the life. While he was still living, the head of the statue fell, and broke to pieces; and soon after Theodoric died. He was succeeded by Athalaric his grandson, in the eighth year of whose reign the belly of the statue suddenly fell off itself; and a few days after news were brought to Naples of the death of Athalaric. Not long after, the genitals dropped off; and an account was brought of the unhappy and undeserved end of

Amalasuntha, the daughter of Theodoric, and mother of the late king. But when Justinian declared war against the Goths, the thighs and feet of the statue fell to the ground; from which event the Romans concluded, that the empire of the Goths in Italy was at an end, and that they would be soon driven out, as it happened. This presage, says Procopius, from whom we have borrowed the whole account, greatly encouraged the emperor's troops, and gave them certain hopes of victory (1).

(1) Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. i.

*He allows
the natives
to enjoy
their estates
and pos-
sessions.
His religion
and piety.*

prietors of their lands, estates, and possessions, dividing them among their chiefs, and giving to one a province, with the title of duke; to another a frontier country, with the title of marquis; to some a city, with the title of count; to others a castle or village, with the title of baron¹. But Theodoric, who valued himself upon governing after the Roman manner, and observing the Roman laws and institutions, left every one in the full enjoyment of his ancient property; for the feudal tenures, dukedoms, and counties were not introduced into Italy by the Goths, but by the Lombards, as we shall relate hereafter. As to religion, Theodoric held, as all the Goths did, the tenets of Arius; but allowed his subjects to profess, without molestation, the faith of the council of Nice; and he gave full liberty to the Goths themselves to renounce, if they pleased, the doctrine of Arius, and embrace the catholic faith. He suffered none to be chosen for the government of the church, but persons of known probity². A great schism arising in his time, he used his utmost endeavours to restore the church to its former tranquility; an aim which in the end he effected, by causing a council to be assembled. Several edicts, both of Theodoric, and his successor Athalaric, have been transmitted to us by Cassiodore, prohibiting and annulling all simoniacal elections and ordinations of bishops³. Thus the ecclesiastical polity was never better observed, nor more deserving men preferred to the government of the church, than in the time of Theodoric, and the Gothic kings his successors, though they maintained the tenets of Arius, their nation having been first instructed in the Christian religion by Arian teachers, sent by the emperor Valens.

*His equity
and justice.*

Theodoric, though an Arian, is much commended for his piety by Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, a most zealous stickler for the faith of Nice, as are the Goths in general by Salvianus, the catholic bishop of Marseilles, who ascribes their errors, not to them, but to those who first instructed them⁴. Theodoric is no less commended by all the writers of those times for his equity, moderation, and the tender regard he had for the welfare of his subjects, than for his piety and religion. He performed what he promised to the natives of Italy, when he first took upon him the title of king, namely, that his conduct and behaviour should be such, that they should all wish they had fallen sooner under the go-

¹ Loyseau de Sign. cap. 3. Cod. de Agric. & Cens. lib. ii. Connan. in Com. Jur. Civ. lib. ii. tit. c. Leo Ostiens. in Chron. Conf. Gloss. in Notis, cap. 6. num. 532.

² Cassiod. lib. viii. ep. 14. ³ Idem, lib. ix. ep. 15. ⁴ Salvian. de Gubern. Dei, lib. v. v. yernment

verament of the Goths. He not only appointed persons of learning, known integrity, and unblemished characters, to administer justice, but often heard causes himself, pronouncing sentence according to the strictest rules of justice and equity. He took upon himself the trouble of settling the prices of all necessary commodities, and affizing weights and measures: in imposing tributes, he had a particular regard to the condition and circumstances of those who were to pay them; and was ever willing to remit them upon any remonstrance that appeared reasonable. If his soldiers at any time wronged the country-people on their march, he never failed to repair the losses they had sustained. He paid ready money, not only for the necessary provisions of the army, but for the materials which he employed in building ships, and fortifying his camps. To the poor he was very liberal and generous, and, in some degree, made it his chief study, as Cassiodore assures us, to relieve the widows and orphans^c. His moderation, temperance, chastity, called by Ennodius sacerdotal modesty, and other eminent virtues, are celebrated both by that writer, and by Cassiodore, with such encomiums that, if they were not greatly prejudiced in his favour, we must conclude him to have been one of the best and greatest princes that ever swayed a sceptre. Procopius himself, though a Greek, and secretary to the emperor Justinian, who was at war with the Goths, and finally drove them out of Italy, could not forbear admiring and extolling the royal virtues of Theodoric^d.

His moderation, temperance, &c.

As to the actions of his reign, his first care, after he became sole master of Italy, was to repeople Liguria, in some places destitute of inhabitants, who had been carried into captivity by the Burgundians, as we have related in the history of that people. As the other provinces of Italy, exhausted by long wars, and frequent irruptions of the barbarous nations, could not spare any of their inhabitants, Theodoric resolved to ransom, at his own expence, all the Ligurians, who were kept captives among the Burgundians. Accordingly he dispatched Epiphanius to Gundebald their king, by whom, he well knew, that prelate was held in the greatest veneration, with a sufficient sum for the redemption of the prisoners. But Epiphanius, with his Christian eloquence, and pious exhortations, persuaded Gundebald to release, without ransom, such of the Ligurians, as, through fear or famine, had delivered themselves up to the Burgundians; but for those who had been taken in battle, the king insisted upon a small sum, by way of ransom, lest he should offend his sol-

His generosity in ransoming his captive subjects.

Salvian. de Gubern. Dei, lib. v. ^d Procop. Bell. Goth. p. 67.

diers, by remitting what was their due, and taking from them the price of their lives and fortunes. This Epiphanius joyfully paid, Avitus, bishop of Vienna, and Syagria, a lady of great piety, generously contributing towards it. The holy prelate, on his return, passed with his captives through Geneva, where he prevailed upon king Godigisles to follow the example of his brother Gundeald, and set at liberty, without ransom, all the captives belonging to him and to the royal family. With this numerous multitude Epiphanius returned in triumph to Theodoric, who generously relieved the most indigent, and sent them all back to their respective habitations*.

Yr. of Fl.

2341.

A. D. 493.

*War between him
and Anastasius.*

While Theodoric was thus wholly employed in establishing good order throughout his dominions, and promoting the welfare of his new subjects, a war broke out between him and the emperor Anastasius on the following occasion: Mundo, by nation a Goth, flying from the Gepidæ, withdrew to the deserts beyond the Danube; and having assembled a considerable number of robbers and others, who, for their crimes, had been obliged to abandon their native soil, made himself master of a tower named Herta, on the banks of that river. From thence he made frequent incursions into the neighbouring countries, and the rich booty he carried off drawing great numbers of abandoned people to him, he assumed the title of king, and caused himself to be acknowledged as such by his followers. His arrogant conduct enraged the emperor, who ordered Sabinianus, son to the great commander of that name, and general of the troops in Illyricum, to march against him. Mundo had either submitted to, or entered into an alliance with Theodoric, then master of Pannonia and great part of Illyricum. Hearing, therefore, that Sabinianus was marching against him with ten thousand men, and a great number of waggon's loaded with arms and provisions, he had recourse to Pitzia, one of Theodoric's generals, then residing at Sirmium. Pitzia, without loss of time, marched in person to his assistance, at the head of two thousand foot and five hundred horse; and joining Mundo's forces, engaged the Romans in the neighbourhood of Margus, now Galombecz, in Servia, cut most of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to take refuge, with their general, in the castle of Nato^f. Mundo, owning himself indebted to Theodoric for his preservation, submitted, and became his subject.

The Romans defeated.

Anastasius, to be revenged on Theodoric, sent the following year a fleet, with eight thousand men on board, and

* Ennod. in Vit. Epiph. p. 366—369.

^f Jorn. Rer. Goth.

cap. 58. p. 599. Marc. Chron. Ennod. de Theod. p. 309.

der the command of Romanus, to ravage the coasts of Italy. These, landing in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, were soon driven on board their ships by the Goths; but nevertheless they carried off a considerable booty, and returned with it to Anastasius, who, in this war, acted more like a pirate than a prince^g; but Theodoric, who had formed a design of conquering Gaul from the Franks and Burgundians, and reuniting it to the empire of Italy, being convinced that he could not put this project in execution so long as he was at variance with the emperor, wrote letters to Anastasius, wherein he expressed his desire of renewing the peace, and living in friendship with the empire^h. He soon after dispatched ambassadors to Constantinople, by whose means a peace was concluded between the two princes. However, Theodoric was, for some time, diverted from pursuing his favourite scheme by the troubles and divisions that arose in Rome about the election of a bishop to that see; for, upon the death of pope Anastasius, two persons were chosen by two different factions to succeed him, namely, Symmachus supported by Faustus, and Laurentius by Festus. As the patrons of the two competitors were persons of great authority in the senate, and interest among the people, their division and obstinacy occasioned a kind of civil war in Rome, and several persons on both sides lost their lives in the quarrel. At length both parties had recourse to Theodoric, who, following the example of the late emperors, had fixed his residence at Ravenna. That prince, after having heard with great patience and attention the contending parties, prudently ordained, that he should be acknowledged as lawful bishop who had been first elected, and had had the greatest number of voices. Thus Symmachus, who had been first chosen by a great majority, was confirmed in his see.

A peace concluded between Anastasius and Theodoric.

But some of the partizans of Laurentius not acquiescing in such an equitable decision, Theodoric, to heal the divisions of the church, was obliged to summon a council, and, to appease the troubles in Rome, to take a journey thither in person. He made his entry with such pomp and magnificence as had not been seen for many ages, and was received by the senate and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy. He was welcomed in the senate by the celebrated Boetius, who, on that occasion, made an eloquent speech, displaying the eminent virtues of Theodoric. Which the king answered in a modest manner, declaring, that he should ever have the greatest respect for that august

Theodoric goes to Rome.

^g Jornan. de Reg. cap. 48. p. 655.

^h Cassiod. lib. i. ep. 1.

body, and omit nothing that could contribute to their grandeur. From the senate he proceeded to the circus, and made a speech to the people, wherein he expressed his sincere desire of their welfare and prosperity, confirmed all the privileges they had enjoyed under the emperors his predecessors, and assured them of his protection. He spent several days in viewing the antiquities of the city, which he could not sufficiently admire. He declared, that though he expected to see wonderful things, the stateliness and magnificence of the public buildings had far surpassed his expectation. He was grieved to see the walls in some places quite ruined, and contributed large sums for the repairing of them, and of some other decayed buildings. On the day of his entry he made a grand entertainment for the senate, and gave a largess of corn to the people. Before he left Rome he composed the affairs both of the church and state; and declared, upon his departure, that he was sorry he could not fix his residence in such an august city, the safety of the state obliging him to reside, as his predecessors had done, at Ravenna, where he was near at hand, and ready to restrain the irruptions of the Barbarians, who, on that side, broke into Italy. He was scarce returned, when intelligence was brought him, that the Bulgarians had made an irruption into Pannonia, and, advancing as far as Sirmium, had surprised that city. He forthwith dispatched Pitzia with a considerable army against them, who, in one campaign, recovered Sirmium, and drove them entirely out of Pannonia. To the government of that province Theodoric raised Colosseus, by the title of comes or count. Theodoric, having thus settled his affairs at home, resolved to attempt the execution of the project which he had formed from the very beginning of his reign; which was, as we have hinted above, to drive the Burgundians and Franks out of Gaul, and reunite that country to Italy. His design was to begin with the Burgundians, and, after having reduced them, to attack the Franks; but as the Burgundians were then a powerful nation, and masters of all the passes in the Alps, Theodoric, entering into an alliance with Clovis king of the Franks, prevailed upon him to invade the Burgundians on one side, while he attempted to enter their country on the other. Of the conduct of Theodoric in this war we have spoken in the history of the Franks, and therefore shall only add, that he acquired the city of Marseilles and its territory, with all the countries lying between the Durance, the Alps, the Mediterranean, and the Lower Rhone.

*His war
with the
Burgun-
dians;*

Some

Some years after, a war breaking out between Clovis and Alaric king of the Visigoths in Gaul, Theodoric, putting himself at the head of his army, marched to the assistance of the latter; but Clovis in the mean time having killed Alaric in battle, and defeated his army, the king of the Ostrogoths, jealous of the growing power of the Franks, ordered the troops to join him from all parts, and, entering Gaul, obliged the Franks, who had laid siege to Carcassone, to abandon the enterprize and retire. In the following year the Franks besieged the city of Arles; but the siege was raised, and the Franks were defeated with great slaughter, by the army which Theodoric had sent to the assistance of his countrymen, under the conduct of count Hibba. A peace was soon after concluded between Theodoric and Clovis, the principal article of which was, that the Franks should keep the countries which they had taken from the Visigoths¹.

and Clovis king of the Franks.

Amalaric, the grandson of Theodoric, was at this time king of the Visigoths; but as he was under age, Theodoric, who was his guardian, exercised the same authority in the young prince's dominions, as he did in his own. In virtue of this peace the Ostrogoths continued masters of the province they held before, lying between the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Rhone, and the Durance, and appropriated to themselves the city of Arles for the charges they had been at during this war. These countries Theodoric transmitted to his posterity; but could make no farther conquests in Gaul, being opposed by the Franks, who were become very powerful in that country.

He is guardian to Amalaric king of the Visigoths;

Amalaric, the grandson of Theodoric by his daughter Theodegotha, had succeeded his father Alaric in the kingdom of the Visigoths; but as he was only five years old when his father was killed by Clovis, his subjects, scorning to be governed by an infant, revolted, and raised to the throne Gaselic, the son of Alaric by a concubine. Theodoric, who was guardian to the young prince, being informed of this revolt, dispatched Hibba, or Ilba, into Gaul, with a numerous army, to expel the usurper, and restore Amalaric to the throne. Upon his approach Gaselic fled into Spain; and from thence, hearing that Hibba was marching after him, crossed the streights, and took refuge in the court of Trasimund king of the Vandals in Africa, who, either commiserating his condition, or thinking it high time to give a check to the overgrown power of the Ostrogoths, received him in a friendly manner, though he

whom he restores to the throne.

¹ Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. i. cap. 12.

had

had married the sister of Theodoric. After he had continued some time in Africa, he passed from thence privately into Gaul; where, having gained over some of the leading men among the Visigoths, he discovered himself, and being supplied with money by Thrasimund, levied an army, and re-entered Spain; but being vanquished in battle by Hibba, about twelve miles from Barcelona, he escaped into Gaul, and there died of grief, four years after he had been declared king.

*He forces
the Ale-
mans to
pay tri-
bute.*

The king of the Ostrogoths having settled the affairs of his grandson in Spain, turned his arms against the Alemans; but all we know of this war is, that he obliged them to submit to an annual tribute^k, and subdued the inhabitants of Suevia; for in one of his letters he acquaints them, that he had appointed Fridelad to be their governor, and strictly enjoined him to restrain thefts and robberies, which were very frequent at that time.

*An account
of the phi-
losopher
Boetius.*

Hitherto Theodoric had governed with such prudence, equity, and moderation, that he deserved to be proposed as a pattern to all princes; but some think that these, and his other eminent virtues, were sullied by his putting the celebrated Boetius, and his father-in-law Symmachus to death. Boetius was a patrician, had been at least twice consul, and was descended from one of the most ancient and illustrious families of Rome; for some derive his pedigree from the celebrated Manlius Torquatus. His family had been ennobled in latter times by his great-grandfather Anicius, and by several persons who had discharged, with great reputation, the first employments both civil and military. We are told, that strangers came to Rome from distant countries, to behold the splendor and magnificence of the Anician family, which had engrossed, if Zosimus is to be credited, almost the whole wealth of Rome^l: but Boetius was still more remarkable for his morals and learning, than for the splendor and antiquity of his family. In his younger years he resided at Athens, where the study of philosophy had been restored, and spent in that university near eighteen years. He examined, with great application, the grounds of the different sects and opinions; and, to all the rest, preferred the sect of the Peripatetics, to which he entirely devoted himself. Till his time the name of Aristotle, the founder of that sect, was scarce known to the Latins; but the works of that great philosopher being translated by him, and illustrated with learned comments in the Latin tongue, the Peripatetic philosophy began to be, and has been ever

^k Agath. p. 302.

^l Zof. p. 245.

Since, in great estimation. Besides Aristotle, Boetius translated into the Latin tongue several other Greek writers, such as Pythagoras, Ptolemy the astronomer, Nicomachus, Euclid, Plato, and Archimedes. He not only excelled all his contemporaries in profane learning, but likewise in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures; and was, according to Cassiodore^m, the greatest divine, as well as the greatest philosopher of his time. The book he wrote of the Trinity against Nestorius and Eutyches, sufficiently shews how well he was versed in the Scriptures. With regard to his morals, he is highly commended by all the writers of those times. He was impartial in the administration of justice, and employed the great power he had at court in protecting the innocent, relieving the needy, and procuring the redress of such grievances, as gave just occasion of complaint.

His espousing, against the great men at court, the cause of those who were unjustly accused or oppressed, gained him many enemies, who at length effected his ruin, by suborning three infamous men to accuse him of high treason. These were Basilus, Opilio, and Gudentius, of whom the former had been, for his misdemeanor, dismissed the king's service, and the other two, for their crimes, condemned to banishment. They accused Boetius of attempting to raise the power of the senate above that of the king, and preventing an informer from bringing an impeachment of treason against the senators. Theodoric, though well acquainted with the infamous characters of the accusers, yet upon their deposition ordered, without farther enquiry, the person, of whom he had hitherto entertained the highest opinion, to be put under arrest; and soon after confiscated his estate, and banished him to Pavia, where he wrote his celebrated book *De Consolatione*. Symmachus, father-in-law to Boetius, a man of extraordinary parts and learning, and who had, with an unblemished character, discharged the first employments, was likewise banished to Pavia, as privy to the supposed treason of Boetius. They had not been long there, when, to the great surprize of the world, an order came from Ravenna for their execution, their enemies at court having persuaded the king, who was advanced in years, and grown jealous of his power, that he would never be safe while they were alive. They were accordingly beheaded in Pavia. The cruel and unjust sentence was scarce put in execution, when Theodoric, reflecting on his rash conduct in an affair that required the utmost circumspec-

Is accused of high treason.

He is beheaded at Pavia with Symmachus.

^m Cassiod. lib. ii. ep. 4.

tion,

*Theodoric
repents.*

tion, was affected with such sorrow, that his grief equalled, if not exceeded, the injustice of the sentence. Not long after, the head of a large fish being served up while he was at supper, the injustice of the sentence he had lately pronounced occurring to his mind, he fancied the head of the fish to be the head of Symmachus, threatening him in a ghastly manner. Being seized with horror and trepidation, he was carried from the table to his bed-chamber, where he died a few days after of grief, this being the first and last wrong any of his subjects had ever received at his hands ^a.

Yr. of Fl.

5874.

A. D. 526.

He dies.

His issue.

His death happened on the second of September, in the year 526, the thirty-fourth of his reign, and seventy-second of his age. He had three daughters by Audefreda, the sister of Clovis, namely, Ostrogotha, Theodogotha, and Amalasuntha. Ostrogotha was married to Sigismund, king of the Burgundians, by whom she had Sigeric, who, after his mother's decease, was put to death by his father Sigismund, in the year 522, as we have related in the history of the Burgundians. Theodogotha was married to Alaric II. king of the Visigoths, who, in 507, was killed in the battle of Vouglé, as we have related in their history; but he left a son behind him by Theodogotha, called Amalaric, whose dominions Theodoric governed to the day of his death, as guardian to the young prince his grandson. Amalasuntha, the youngest of the three princesses, was married in 515, to Eutharic Cillica ^o. Eutharic was the son of Viteric, and grandson of Beremund, descended from the family of the Amali, who leaving Scythia, as we find in Jornandes, came into Gaul; and being honourably entertained by Vallia, king of the Visigoths, he settled there. His grandson Eutharic, from Gaul, removed into Spain, where he became well known to the officers of Theodoric, who governed that kingdom during the minority of Amalaric. Theodoric, hearing him much commended, expressed a great desire to see him; which satisfaction he no sooner had, than being struck with his engaging behaviour, and extraordinary qualifications, he resolved to give him in marriage his daughter Amalasuntha, especially as he was of Theodoric's own family, and consequently by his birth not unworthy of such a match. The nuptials were accordingly celebrated with the utmost magnificence, and two years after he was raised to the consulship by his father-in-law; on which occasion the emperor Anastasius presented him with the tunica palmata, and adopted him for his son; an honour which the late

^a Procop. Hist. Goth. p. 232.

^o Fast. Cassiod. ad Ann. 513.

emperors used to confer on persons of distinguished merit. Eutharic went to Rome, to enter upon his office, and was received by the senate and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy, every rank and degree of people in that great metropolis endeavouring to outdo each other in honouring a prince whom they expected to see in a short time on the throne. On the other hand, Eutharic made it his chief study to oblige both the senate and people, discharging his office with great attention, and diverting the city with magnificent shews, having for that purpose procured out of Africa such wild beasts as had never before been seen at Rome. From Rome Eutharic returned to his father-in-law at Ravenna, where, by his generosity, condescension, and obliging behaviour, he gained the affections both of the Romans and Goths.

Every one expected to find in Eutharic a second Theodoric; but, to the great grief of all the nation, Eutharic died before his father-in-law, leaving behind him a son, named Athalaric, ten years old; so that Theodoric had at his death two grandsons, the children of two of his daughters, namely, Amalaric, king of the Visigoths, and Athalaric, the son of Amalasuntha. To the former Theodoric, at his death, delivered up all the countries in Gaul and Spain belonging to the Visigoths, which he had governed with the same authority as his own, ever since the death of Alaric II. The latter, though the son of the younger daughter, he appointed to succeed him in the kingdom of Italy, and in all his other dominions. Theodoric, says Jornandes, being advanced in years, and near his end, assembled the chief men among the Goths, and in their presence declared Athalaric, the son of Eutharic by his daughter Amalasuntha, his successor, commanding them to obey him as such, to respect the senate and people of Rome, and, above all, to cultivate the friendship of the emperor of the East.

*He declares
Athalaric
his heir.*

Theodoric was no sooner dead, than Amalasuntha, mindful of his last advice, wrote in the young prince's name, both to Justin then emperor, and to the Roman senate, acquainting them with his accession to the throne. In the letter to the emperor, the young prince, after telling him that his grandfather had, before his death, appointed him his heir and successor, goes on thus: "You formerly honoured in your august city my grandfather with the dignity of consul; you sent into Italy to my father the tunica palmata, and to attach him the more to your person, you adopted him for your son, though he was almost of the

*Amalasun-
tha writes
in her son's
name to the
emperor
and people
of Rome.*

same age with yourself. The name of son will suit me better than it did him. I shall acknowledge so great a favour, by causing your name to be no less respected, and your authority to be no less obeyed, in my dominions, than they are in your own. With this view I have dispatched ambassadors, hoping you will honour me with your friendship, upon the same conditions upon which your glorious ancestors granted theirs to my grandfather ¹. From this letter it is manifest, that the kings of the Ostrogoths acknowledged in the emperors of the East a superiority of rank, but not of jurisdiction; and consequently that Zeno, when he sent Theodoric to drive Odoacer out of Italy, renounced in his behalf whatever claim the empire of the East had to that country. At the same time Amalasuntha dispatched envoys to Rome with letters from the young prince, both to the senate and people, acquainting them, that his grandfather was dead; that on his death-bed he had declared him his heir and successor; and that he had been acknowledged both by the Goths and Romans, that is, the Italians, who had sworn obedience to him. He desires them to follow the example of his other subjects, saying, that he had sent count Sigismer, and others, to receive their oath of allegiance, and at the same time to bind himself by the like tie to maintain sacred and inviolable all the rights, privileges, and immunities which had been granted them by his grandfather. He closes his letter to the senate, by encouraging them to ask boldly whatever they thought might contribute to the safety and splendor of their illustrious and venerable body. In his letter to the people, he promises to cherish the Goths and Romans alike, and to maintain them equally in the possession of their rights and privileges, making no other distinction, than that the Goths should undergo the toils and dangers of war, while the Romans enjoyed profound peace within the walls of their own city. In the end of his letter, he informs them, that by the mutual oaths of the prince and people, the memory of Trajan's excellent government was renewed, who, at his entering upon the consulship, swore himself, and received the oaths of the senate and people ².

She governs with great prudence.

Such was the beginning of the reign of Athalaric, or rather of Amalasuntha. She retained the same form of government, the same laws, the same magistrates, and the same disposition of provinces, not suffering the least alteration to be made during the minority of her son, and governing with such prudence, that Theodoric was scarce missed,

¹ Cassiod. lib. viii. ep. 1.

² Idem, lib. viii. ep. 2, 3, either

either by the Goths or Romans. Her chief care was to bring up her son after the Roman manner, and to have him, from his tender years, instructed by the ablest men of those times in religion, virtue, and learning. She was herself well versed in all the branches of literature, and consequently a great encourager of learned men; as appears from the letters she wrote to the senate in the king's name, expostulating with them for neglecting to pay the public professors their salaries in proper time, and commanding them to be discharged punctually for the future.

Amalasuntha was so far from invading the rights and properties of her subjects, that, on the contrary, she restored to the children of Boetius and Symmachus the estates, which had been confiscated in the preceding reign. She took great care to secure the Romans against the avarice and rapaciousness of the great men among the Goths, who, beholding Italy as a conquered country, were for enriching themselves at the expence of the natives. To her nephew Amalaric she resigned that part of Gaul which, with respect to Italy, lay beyond the Rhone; but retained what lay on the other side of that river. To the Visigoths she remitted the impositions, which had been imposed by Theodoric, and restored the treasure of the kings of the Visigoths, which, by her father's order, had been conveyed from Carcassone to Ravenna^a. In the mean time Justin having taken his nephew Justinian for his partner in the empire, Amalasuntha no sooner heard of his promotion than she, congratulated the new emperor upon his accession to the imperial dignity, and entreated a continuance of that friendship and alliance, which had long subsisted between the two nations^b. What she desired was readily granted, as is manifest from the good understanding that subsisted between the two princes as long as Athalaric lived, and from the coins stamped at this time by the king of the Ostrogoths, on one side of which is to be seen the image of Justinian, and on the other the name of Athalaric^c.

*Her justice
and equity.*

While Amalasuntha thus governed with the greatest justice, equity, and prudence, the great men among the Goths, disdaining that their young prince should be brought up after the Roman manner, began to exclaim against learning, as an enemy to valour, and altogether unbefitting the king and leader of an active and warlike nation. The princess disregarded these groundless complaints; but having one day chastised her son, and he happening to go,

*The Goths
dissatisfied
with Ama-
lasuntha.*

^a Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. i. cap. 13.
^b Vide Baron. ad Ann. 527.

^c Cassiod. lib. viii.

with the tears yet in his eyes, into a room, where some Gothic lords were assembled, they took from thence occasion to complain more loudly of the queen (so she is called by most writers), as if she designed to remove her son, and reign in her own right: they exclaimed, with more violence than ever, against the learned education of the young prince; alleged the example of his grandfather, who, though utterly ignorant of letters, was a warlike and victorious prince; and concluded, that his grandson must be brought up in the same manner, if he wished to be attended with the same fortune. They therefore desired Amalasuntha to dismiss the pedants her son had about him, and give him such companions of his own age, as might, by their conversation, make the customs of his nation familiar to him, and incline him to govern according to their own laws. This measure they demanded with so much warmth and importunity, that, apprehending greater evils, she complied with their request. And now the youth, free from restraint, and seduced by wicked companions, abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery. To his other vices he added ingratitude to the best of mothers, whom he unnaturally abandoned to a faction, which had the arrogance to command her to retire from court; but the queen, exerting her authority, arrested three of the ringleaders of the party, and confined them to the most remote parts of Italy. These, maintaining a private correspondence with their friends and relations, never ceased, by their means, to excite the people against her; insomuch that Amalasuntha, apprehending the faction might in the end prevail, wrote to the emperor Justinian, begging leave to take refuge in his dominions. The emperor complied with her request, offering her a noble palace at Epidamnus, now Durazzo, for her habitation; but the princess having in the mean time caused the three ringleaders of the faction, whom she had banished, to be put to death, and no new disturbances arising upon that execution, she did not accept of the emperor's offer; but remained at Ravenna, governing the dominions of her son with her usual prudence and equity.

*She causes
some of
them to be
put to
death.*

*She designs
to deliver
up Italy to
Justinian.*

In the mean time Athalaric having, by his debaucheries, and riotous life, contracted a lingering distemper, Amalasuntha, apprehending that, upon his death, she would be in great danger, most of the chief men among the Goths being highly incensed against her, resolved to save herself, by delivering Italy into the hands of the emperor; and accordingly began to treat with his ambassadors about the manner of putting her design in execution; but her mea-
sures

tures were defeated by the untimely death of her son, which happened in the eighth year of his reign, and threw her into new difficulties. Her design for giving up Italy to Justinian was not yet ripe for execution; on the other hand, she was well apprised, that the Goths would not suffer her to reign after the death of her son, but would choose a new king in his room. Having therefore long deliberated with herself how she should act at so critical a conjuncture, she resolved in the end to give them a sovereign, hoping that the person, so advanced by her favour, would be contented with the title, and, out of gratitude, suffer her to enjoy the supreme power without control.

Yr. of Fl.
2881.
A. D. 533.

Athalaric dies.

With this view, she cast her eyes on Theodotus her cousin, the son of Amalafriada, sister to king Theodoric, and consequently descended from the illustrious family of the Amali. He was a man of great learning, as appears from the letter which Amalasuntha wrote to the senate, acquainting them with his accession to the throne, well skilled in the doctrine of Plato, thoroughly versed in theology, and a perfect master of the Latin tongue *; but totally unacquainted both with civil and military matters, timorous, indolent, covetous to the greatest degree, destitute of all honour and probity, and capable of committing the vilest actions, when stimulated by his own passions, or by those of others. He had lived hitherto in Tuscany, where he had large possessions; but not satisfied with them, he had not only encroached upon his neighbours, but seized on some lands belonging to the crown. These Amalasuntha had obliged him to restore, and likewise restrained him, by her authority, from injuring his neighbours; an interposition which had rendered him her implacable enemy; insomuch that he privately agreed with the ambassadors, who had been sent from Constantinople to the bishop of Rome, to betray Tuscany to the emperor, upon his paying a certain sum, and raising him to the dignity of senator. However, Amalasuntha, imagining, that so signal a favour, as her advancing him to the throne, would reconcile him to her interest, offered to take him for her colleague, on condition he suffered her to enjoy and exercise her former power. This condition Theodotus promised upon oath to fulfil, and was thereupon declared by the queen her colleague †. The letters, that were written on this occasion to the Roman senate by the queen, in commendation of Theodotus, and by Theodotus, in praise of the queen, are extant in

Amalasuntha takes Theodotus for her colleague. His character.

* Cassiodor. lib. x. ep. 3.
cop. lib. i. cap. 4.

† Jorn. Rer. Get. p. 143. Pro-

Cassiodore 7. He acknowledges himself entirely indebted to her for his new dignity; and extolling her kindness, adds, that he is at a loss how to make a suitable return for such a high and undeserved favour.

She is confined by him to an island in the lake of Bolsena;

Yr. of Fl.
2882.
A. D. 534.

and there put to death.

Justinian resolves to make war upon the Goths.

But the unhappy princess was soon sensible of her mistake in assuming for her colleague a person, who had been formerly her declared enemy, and was destitute, as she must have known, of honour and probity: for he had scarce mounted the throne, when, unmindful of the promises he had made, and solemnly confirmed with an oath, he suffered himself to be wholly governed by the friends and relations of those who had been put to death by the princess for their crimes; and, because she took the liberty to remind him of his engagements, he caused her to be conveyed from Ravenna into Tuscany, and confined her to an island in the middle of the lake of Bolsena. As he had reason to believe, that the emperor, who had a great value and regard for Amalasuntha, would resent this treatment, he obliged her to write to him, that no injury or injustice had been done her. This letter he sent to Constantinople, with one which he wrote himself, filled with heavy complaints against Amalasuntha. The emperor was so far from giving credit to what Theodotus urged against her, that he openly espoused her cause, and wrote a most affectionate letter, comforting her in her distress, and assuring her of his protection; but before the letter reached her, the unhappy princess was, with the consent, if not by the order, of Theodotus, barbarously strangled in the bath by the friends of those, whom, in the reign of her son, she had deservedly punished for raising disturbances in the state. Some writers tell us, that the unhappy queen was dispatched by Theodotus at the instigation of the empress Theodora, who, jealous of the love the emperor shewed her, began to apprehend he might one day forsake her for the queen of the Goths². Be that as it may, Justinian enraged against Theodotus for the murder of a person for whom he had the greatest esteem and veneration, and being at the same time desirous of reuniting Italy to the empire, resolved to make war upon the Goths, his troops being just then returned from Africa, which they had reduced by expelling the Vandals.

Justinian, to facilitate the enterprize, used his utmost endeavours to induce the Franks to join him, acquainting them with the motives that had urged him to undertake that war. "The Goths (says he in the letter which he

¹ Cassiodor. lib. x. ep. 3. & 4.

² Procop. Anecd. 71.

wrote

wrote to their princes) "have not only seized on Italy, which belongs to us, but without the least provocation, offered us such insults as we cannot in honour receive. This is what induces us to take arms against them; and it is but just that you should lend us what assistance you can against a nation that bears as great an enmity to you as to us, the more as we are both of the same persuasion, and equally abhor the doctrine of Arius, which they profess." To the letter the emperor added, says Procopius, a large sum, promising to the princes of the Franks, especially to Theodebert, a considerable subsidy, to be paid as soon as they should begin hostilities. The Franks received the money, and, entering into an alliance with the emperor, engaged to assist him to the utmost of their power; but instead of performing their promise, while Justinian's arms were employed against the Goths, Theodebert, who was deemed the head of the royal family of the Franks, being the son of Theodoric, or Thierry, the eldest son of Clovis, seized on several cities in Liguria, on the Alpes Cottiae, and great part of the province of Venice, for himself. Of this treachery Justinian afterwards complained by his ambassador Leontius to Theodebald, the son and successor of Theodebert^b: but to leave that treacherous nation, and return to Justinian. Having resolved to make war upon the Goths, and drive them, if possible, out of Italy, he named Mundus and Belisarius for his generals. Mundus, then commander of the troops in Illyricum, was ordered to march into Dalmatia, which was subject to the Goths, and attempt the reduction of Salonæ, in order to open a passage into Italy. Belisarius was to make a descent upon Sicily; for which purpose a fleet was equipped, on board of which were four thousand legionaries, three thousand Isaurians, three hundred Mauritanians, and two hundred Hunns.

The treachery of the Franks.

Belisarius was vested with the supreme command, and with absolute authority. His instructions were to pretend a voyage to Carthage, but to make an attempt upon Sicily; and if he thought he could succeed in the attempt, to land there: otherwise, to sail directly for Africa, without discovering his intentions. Mundus without difficulty reduced Salonæ; and Belisarius, landing without opposition in Sicily, subdued that island with more expedition than he himself expected. Palermo held out for some time, the Goths, who depended upon the strength of the place, which was deemed impregnable by land, defending it with great resolution; but Belisarius attacking it by sea, the garrison

Yr. of Fl.
2883.
A. D. 535.

Sicily reduced by Belisarius.

^a Procop. Anecd. 71. lib. i. cap. 5.

^b Idem, lib. iv. cap. 24.

was forced to surrender; so that Belisarius entered the city on the last of December of the year 535. Being now master of Sicily, he passed over to Reggio, which opened its gates to him. From Reggio he pursued his march to Rome, the provinces of Abrutium, Lucania, Puglia, Calabria, and Samnium, immediately submitting to him. The city of Naples endured a siege; but Belisarius's troops having entered it through an aqueduct, it was in the end taken and plundered^e.

*Theodotus
proposes
terms for
an accom-
modation.*

Theodotus, who was an entire stranger to military affairs, and had a great aversion to war, alarmed at the unexpected success of the emperor's arms, began secretly to treat of peace with an ambassador sent by the emperor for that purpose. In a private conference the king agreed to renounce all pretensions to the island of Sicily; to send the emperor yearly a crown of gold weighing three hundred pounds; to supply him with three thousand men when required; to put no senator or ecclesiastic to death, or confiscate their estates, without the emperor's consent, nor to advance any to the dignity of senator or patrician, but petition him to confer such honours on those who deserved them. In all proclamations Justinian's name was to be first mentioned. Whenever a statue was erected to Theodotus, another was to be raised to the emperor, and placed on the right-hand. No coin was to be stamped with the image of Theodotus alone, but that also of Justinian, which was always to hold the most honourable place. These proposals, which evidently betrayed the meanness of his spirit, were sent by Theodotus to Constantinople; but apprehending the emperor, not satisfied with them, might pursue the war, he dispatched an express to the ambassador, now as far on his journey as Albania, recalling him for farther orders and instructions. These imported that he would resign the kingdom to Justinian, and content himself with a pension suitable to his quality; but he obliged both the emperor's ambassador, and Agapetus bishop of Rome, whom he sent on his own behalf, to bind themselves by a solemn oath not to mention this proposal till they found the emperor would not accept of the former. The emperor rejected, as was expected, the first proposals with indignation; whereupon the ambassadors shewed him the second signed by the king, who, in his letter to the emperor, told him, among other things, that being unacquainted with war, and engaged in the study of philosophy, he preferred his quiet to a kingdom. Justinian, transported with joy, and imagining the

*He offers to
resign the
kingdom to
Justinian.*

war already ended, answered the king in the kindest terms, extolling his wisdom, and adding to what he demanded the greatest honours of the empire. The agreement being confirmed by mutual oaths, lands were assigned to Theodotus out of the emperor's domain, and orders dispatched to Belisarius to take possession of Italy in his name.

In the mean time a body of Goths entering Dalmatia with a design to recover Salonæ, Mundus sent his son, with a small party, to observe their motions; but the youth unadvisedly engaging a detachment from their army far superior in number to his own, was slain, and most of his men cut in pieces. To revenge the death of his son, Mundus marched against the enemy with all the forces under his command, engaged them, and put them to flight; but his men falling into confusion in the pursuit, the Goths rallying, renewed the fight, killed Mundus himself, and, in their turn, put the Romans to flight. Upon this defeat the Romans, abandoning Salonæ and all Dalmatia, returned home; which retreat Theodotus no sooner understood than, elated with so small an advantage, he refused, with great haughtiness, to comply with the articles of the treaty which he had lately signed; and because the late emperor's ambassador, a man of great address and experience, expostulated with him for his breach of faith, he replied, that it was not an unusual thing to put even ambassadors to death, when they did not shew that respect which is due to crowned heads. Peter answered, that it was his duty to execute his master's orders; and that he would utter what he had been enjoined to say, whether pleasing or displeasing. Theodotus placed a strict guard over the ambassador, at which insult Justinian being highly provoked, dispatched Constantianus, an officer of great valour and experience, into Illyricum, with orders to raise forces in that province, and enter Dalmatia.

The Romans defeated, and Dalmatia recovered by the Goths.

At the same time he wrote to Belisarius, commanding him to pursue the war with the utmost vigour. Constantianus, having, pursuant to his orders, raised an army with great expedition in Illyricum, entered Dalmatia, made himself master of Salonæ, and obliged the Goths, with their general Grypus, to abandon that province. Belisarius now drew near to Rome, having reduced all the provinces that compose the present kingdom of Naples. The chief men among the Goths, finding their king took no step to avert the impending ruin of their nation, assembled without his consent; and, not despairing of being able to conclude a peace with Belisarius, dispatched an embassy to him, representing the injustice of the war, the just claim they had

The Goths again driven out of Dalmatia.

to Italy, and the moderation and equity with which they had hitherto governed that country. As the ambassadors laid great stress on Theodoric's taking Italy, not from the Romans, but from the Barbarians, to whom it was become a prey, and on their kings being encouraged to that enterprise by the emperor himself, Belisarius, disliking the conditions they offered, answered morosely, that Theodoric had been sent indeed by Zeno to rescue Italy out of the hands of the Barbarians, but not to keep it for himself, since it was the same thing to the emperor, so long as it was not restored to the empire, whether it was held by the Goths or the Heruli: that whoever detains the goods that are not his own, against the will of the owner, is no less guilty than he who takes them by force. He concluded, that he would listen to no terms, nor sheath his sword, till Italy was reunited to the empire to which it belonged^d.

*Theodotus
deposed,
and Vitiges
chosen in
his room.*

The Goths, finding Belisarius unalterably determined upon driving them out of Italy, and, on the other hand, amazed at the cowardice and stupidity of their prince, who made no warlike preparations, as if he either intended to betray Italy to the emperor, or, despairing of success, had laid aside all thoughts of defending it, assembled at Regeta, a place about thirty-five miles from Rome; and, having with one consent deposed Theodotus, chose and proclaimed Vitiges king in his room. Vitiges was not descended from an illustrious family among the Goths; but had distinguished himself by his valour in several wars, especially in that which Theodoric had waged with the Gepidæ. Jornandes writes, that he had been formerly armour-bearer to Theodoric^e. Upon his accession to the throne he married Matresuenta, the daughter of Amalasuntha, and grand-daughter of Theodoric, who despising him on account of his birth, though in every other respect worthy of the crown, is said to have maintained a private correspondence with the Romans, and was even suspected of attempting to betray him into their hands^f; for she had been averse to the match from the very beginning, and was, in a manner, forced by the king to give her consent.

Theodotus, who was then at Rome, hearing the Goths had chosen a new king, fled from thence towards Ravenna; but Vitiges dispatched Optaris after him, with orders to bring him back dead or alive. Optaris had been ill treated by him; therefore, pursuing him with great expedition, he soon overtook him, and putting him to death,

^d Procop. lib. i. cap. 7, 8, 9.
lib. ii. cap. 10.

^e Jorn. p. 144.

^f Procop.

brought

brought back his head to the king. Such was the end of this cowardly, ungrateful, and covetous prince, after he had reigned about three years². He left a son named Theudigifcluf, whom Vitiges caufed to be firft imprifoned, and afterwards murdered. And now the new king, having no competitor, applied himfelf wholly to the means of re-eftablifhing the affairs of the Goths. He began with writing a circular letter, wherein he exhorted his countrymen to exert their ancient courage, and defend, with their ufual bravery, the countries which belonged to them by right of conqueft. From the place where he was chofen he marched to Rome; but not thinking himfelf ftrong enough to defend that city againft Belifarius, who was advancing towards it, he refolved to remove to Ravenna, where he might with more eafe, reinforce his army, and make the neceffary preparations for taking the field. Upon his departure he obliged the pope, the fenate, and the people, to take an oath of fidelity; and then, leaving four thoufand Goths for the defence of the city, he fet out for Ravenna with feveral fenators, whom he took with him as hoftages. Being arrived at Ravenna he afsembled the Goths from all parts, and having raifed a confiderable army, encamped under the walls of that city.

In the mean time Belifarius, having garrifoned Naples, Cumæ, and other ftrong places in Campania, approached Rome. The inhabitants, dreading the treatment which the Neapolitans are faid to have met with, when their city was taken by affault, and awed by the reputation of fo renowned a general, refolved, notwithstanding the oath they had fo lately taken, to open their gates to the emperor's army. Accordingly, they difpatched Fidelius to invite Belifarius to take poffeffion of their city, affuring him, that he fhould meet with no oppofition. Belifarius no fooner received this invitation, than he advanced to the gates of the city; which being opened, he entered Rome on the ninth or tenth of December of the year 537, and taking poffeffion of it in the emperor's name, reunited it to the empire, fixty years after it had been taken by Odoacer, and thirty-four after it had fubmitted to Theodoric. The Gothic garrifon, finding they could not make head at the fame time againft the emperor's army and the citizens, retired by the Porta Flaminia, while Belifarius entered by the Porta Afinaria. Leudaris, governor of the city, who ftaid behind, was fent, together with the keys, to the emperor. Belifarius, now mafter of the city, applied himfelf to the repairing of the walls and other fortifica-

Yr. of FL
2885.
A. D. 537.

*Theodotus
murdered.*

*Belifarius
enters
Rome.*

² Vide Baron ad Ann. 534, 537.

tions,

tions, filled the granaries with corn, which he caused to be brought from Sicily, and stored the place with all manner of provisions, as if he were preparing against a siege; precautions which gave great uneasiness to the inhabitants, who chose rather that their city should lie open to every invader than be liable to the many miseries and calamities attending a siege. While Belisarius was thus employed at Rome, Pitzas, governor of Samnium, submitting, delivered up great part of that country, with the city of Benevento. Narnia, Spoleto, and Perugia revolting from the Goths, received Roman garrisons, as did most cities in Tuscany^b.

*Several
other cities
submit to
him.
Vitiges
raises a
powerful
army.*

In the mean time Vitiges did not lay idle at Ravenna; but, having raised an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, resolved to march directly to Rome, and engage Belisarius, or, if he declined engaging, to besiege the city; but apprehending that the Franks, who were in confederacy with the emperor, might fall upon him at the same time, with the consent and approbation of the great men among the Goths, he dispatched ambassadors to their three kings, Theodebert, Childebert, and Clotarius, offering to cede whatever the Ostrogoths held in Gaul, and besides to pay them a considerable sum, provided they would join him against the emperor. The Franks, notwithstanding their alliance with Justinian, agreed to the proposal, and signed the treaty, the articles whereof were immediately executed by Vitiges, who paid them the sum proposed, and ordered Martias, who commanded a chosen body of Ostrogoths in Gaul, to deliver up to the Franks the cities he held there, and return with the forces under his command into Italy. The three princes divided equally among them both the money and the cities; but when they were to execute on their side the articles of the agreement, they declared, that the engagements they had lately entered into with Justinian not allowing them to make open war upon the Romans, they could not, by any means, send an army of Franks to the assistance of the Ostrogoths; but they would cause a body of troops, raised in the countries which they had subdued, to join them. Accordingly they sent, not immediately, but the following year, ten thousand Burgundians, subdued by them a few years before, who, upon their entering Italy, declared, pursuant to their private instructions, that they came as volunteers, without even asking leave of the kings of the Franks, to whom they paid no regard^c. Thus early the Franks began to sport with the most solemn treaties,

*He gains
over the
Franks.*

^b Procop. lib. i. cap. 15.
cap. 12.

^c Procop. lib. iii. cap. 13. & lib. ii.

and elude them with quibbles and equivocations, as their descendants are well known to do at this day.

Vitiges was no sooner joined by Martias, and the troops returned from Gaul, than he began his march to Rome, and pursued it with great expedition, not attempting to reduce any of the towns on the road, which, he knew, were well provided and fortified. Belisarius, being informed of his march, dispatched messengers to Constantianus in Tuscany, and to Bessas, the Goth, but of the emperor's party, in Umbria, ordering them to join him with all possible expedition with the troops under their command; for his army consisted only of five thousand men, the rest being employed in garrisoning the many towns that had submitted. At the same time he wrote to the emperor, acquainting him with the danger he was in, and pressing him to send into Italy, without loss of time, the necessary supplies. Constantianus joined him, pursuant to his orders, and soon after Bessas, who, falling in with part of the enemy's vanguard, killed a considerable number, and put the rest to flight. Belisarius had built a fort upon a bridge about a mile from Rome, and placed a strong garrison in it, to dispute the passage with the enemy: but the garrison, seized with a panic at the approach of so numerous an army, abandoned their post in the night, and fled into Campania; so that Vitiges early next morning passed over great part of his army, and marched on, without opposition, till he was met by Belisarius, who, knowing nothing of what had happened, came very early, attended by a thousand horse, to view the ground near the bridge. He was greatly surprised, when he beheld the enemy advancing in order against him. However, lest he should heighten their courage by his flight or retreat, he stood his ground, and received the enemy at the head of his small body, exposing himself, without his usual prudence and discretion, to the greatest dangers. Had he been killed, Rome must have fallen; and therefore he is deservedly blamed for thus exposing his own person, since on him the safety of all depended; but this perhaps is the only occasion, on which his conduct favoured of rashness and temerity. Being known by some fugitives, they all aimed at him alone; a circumstance which made his own men the more solicitous to defend him: so that the whole contest was, for some time, about his person. At last the Goths were driven back to their camp, which the Romans attempted to force; but they met with such a vigorous resistance, that they soon abandoned the enterprize, and retired with precipitation to a neighbouring eminence, whence they were forced by the enemy, put to flight, and pursued

*Vitiges
marches to
Rome.*

*A bloody
encounter
between
him and
Belisarius.*

pursued to the very gates of the city. Here they were in greater danger than ever; for those within, fearing the enemy should, in that confusion, enter with them, refused to admit them. The general himself cried out earnestly, telling them who he was, and commanding them to open the gates; but as they had been informed by those who first fled that he was slain, and they could not distinguish him, his face being covered with blood and dust, they gave no attention to what he said. In this extremity, having encouraged his men, who were now driven into a narrow compass, to make a last effort, he put himself at their head, and attacked the enemy with such fury, that the Goths, imagining fresh troops were sallying out upon them, began to give ground, and being vigorously pursued by Belisarius, retired to their camp. Upon their retreat, Belisarius, not thinking it adviseable to pursue them, entered the city, where he was received with loud acclamations.

Rome besieged by Vitiges.

A few days after this skirmish, Vitiges, approaching the city, invested it on all sides; and, in order to distress the garrison and inhabitants for want of water, ordered the aqueducts, which had been built by the Roman emperors at an immense charge, to be destroyed. On the other hand, Belisarius omitted nothing for the defence of the city: the useless multitude he sent out; took care to have those who remained supplied with all necessaries; to prevent tumults, he listed a great number of artificers, who, together with his soldiers, were to watch night and day on the ramparts; he placed Moors in the night, with dogs, round the ditch, to give the alarm when the enemy approached; and fortified the aqueducts where they opened into the city. The citizens of Rome, concluding from these circumstances that Belisarius was resolved to defend the city to the last extremity, began to assemble in a tumultuous manner, and rail at the general as one, who, without the least regard to the public calamities, was obstinately bent upon defending a place altogether untenable. Vitiges, being acquainted with the discontent and complaints of the citizens, he, in order to heighten them, and drive the inhabitants, if possible, to open rebellion, dispatched ambassadors to the senate, assuring them of his favour and protection, and at the same time offering a safe retreat to Belisarius.

The senate and people would have willingly hearkened to the king's proposals; but being awed by the presence of Belisarius, they dared not express their real sentiments; so that the ambassadors were dismissed without an answer. Hereupon Vitiges resolved to pursue the siege with the utmost vigour; and even in the course of it, shewed himself an

an able commander, both in contriving his military engines, and disposing the attacks. Belisarius made a no less vigorous defence, repulsing the enemy in their repeated attacks, and sallying frequently out upon them with such success, that, in seven months, Vitiges is said to have lost above forty thousand men; a loss which provoked and incensed him to such a degree, that he caused the Roman senators to be massacred, whom, in the beginning of the war, he had carried to Ravenna. In the mean time a small, but seasonable, supply of sixteen hundred horse arrived from the emperor, consisting of Hunns, Sclavonians, and Antæ, dwelling beyound the Danube. As these were all archers on horseback, they did great execution; for we are told that, in three sallies, under the conduct of Belisarius, and their two leaders Martinus and Valerianus, they killed about four thousand Goths.

The siege pursued with great vigour.

The Romans, elated with this success, were for putting the whole to the issue of a general engagement. This step Belisarius opposed with all the arguments his reason and long experience could suggest; but he was forced, by the importunities both of the soldiers and citizens, to gratify them, and venture a battle. Having, therefore, exhorted them to render successful, by their valour, that scheme, which he had been forced upon by their temerity, he marched out with his small army, and fell upon the Goths with such resolution, that the Romans at first promised themselves certain victory; but being in the end overpowered with numbers, they were obliged to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. The Romans lost on this occasion several brave officers, among the rest Principius and Tarmutus, of whom the former was killed in the field of battle; and the latter, being rescued out of the enemy's hands by his brother Ennes, and carried by his men into the city on a target, died two days after of his wounds. The Romans, now satisfied with their own experience, that it was not safe to engage the enemy's whole army, contented themselves with sallying out in small parties, in which sallies they were generally attended with success.

The Romans, having obliged Belisarius to give the enemy battle, are defeated.

In the mean time Belisarius received advice, that a supply of money to pay the army was already landed in Italy. In order, therefore, to facilitate the conveyance of it into the city, he marched out at the head of his army, as if he designed to try the fortune of a second battle. The Goths, being of that opinion, united into one body, and abandoned the place, through which he had appointed the treasure and its convoy to pass; by which means it was brought safe into the city. By this stratagem one evil was successfully removed;

Rome afflicted with a famine and plague.

Belisarius receives supplies from the emperor.

The deplorable condition of the Goths.

moved; but the besieged laboured under others more fatal and pernicious, a famine and a plague, which made a dreadful havock in the city; insomuch that the citizens, no longer able to bear their calamities and misfortunes, would have forced the Roman general to venture a second battle, had he not, with great confidence, assured them, that he daily expected large supplies from the emperor; that a great army was in full march to join them; that a powerful fleet was already arrived, such a fleet as no Roman eye had ever beheld; for it covered the shores of Campania and the Ionian gulph. To give weight and authority to what he said, he dispatched Procopius the historian to Naples, with orders to head the troops, which he pretended were already arrived in that city: and indeed a considerable supply did at length arrive at Naples, at Otranto, and other ports, consisting of three thousand Isaurians, eight hundred Thracian horse, and thirteen hundred horse of other nations. These, in their march through Campania, were joined by five hundred men newly raised in that country, and marching close to the shore, arrived at Ostia; whence they marched to Rome, which they entered by the Ostian gate, while the enemy's forces were employed against Belisarius, who had sallied out with the greatest part of the garrison at the Flaminian gate, on the opposite side of the city, to give his supplies an opportunity of entering without loss or opposition.

The Goths, hearing of the arrival of these troops, and their numbers being said to be far greater than they really were, began to despair of ever being able to reduce the city, especially as they laboured under as great hardships as the besieged themselves, the famine and plague making a dreadful havock in their army, which was now greatly reduced. They therefore began to think of abandoning the enterprize, and retreating upon the best terms they could obtain. Accordingly, they sent three deputies into the city to treat with Belisarius; but all they could obtain was a cessation of arms for three months, during which time they might send ambassadors to the emperor, who should be allowed to return home unmolested, even after the expiration of the truce. No farther mention is made of the ambassadors; but as the siege was continued after the expiration of the truce, it is plain from thence that they did not succeed in their negotiations at Constantinople.

During the truce, Belisarius sent out of Rome as many of his forces as he could spare, under the command of John, an officer of great experience, with orders to intercept the enemy's convoys as soon as the truce should be expired,

pired, and attempt such places as they thought they could reduce without great loss. These, entering Picenum, which supplied the army before Rome with provisions, ravaged that province with fire and sword; and approaching Rimini, killed Ulitheus, uncle to Vitiges, and made themselves masters of that city. Vitiges had, in the mean time, made several attempts upon Rome; but though all his efforts, and the many stratagems he practised, were defeated by Belisarius, he still pursued the siege with great obstinacy, till news were brought him of the reduction of Rimini; which alarmed him to such a degree, as that city was but a day's journey from Ravenna, that he immediately broke up the siege, after it had lasted a year and nine days, and by day-break retired in good order. Belisarius did not let slip so favourable an opportunity of annoying the enemy; but falling upon their rear as they were passing the bridge on the Tiber, cut great numbers in pieces, while others, struck with a panic, threw themselves into the river, and were drowned^k.

Rimini taken by the Romans.

Yr. of Fl.
2886.
A. D. 538.

The Goths raise the siege of Rome.

From Rome Vitiges marched directly to Rimini, being resolved, at all events, to force that important place out of the enemy's hands. Belisarius, not doubting but that was his design, took care to provide the place with supplies of every kind, dispatching Ildeger and Martinus with a thousand horse, and ordering them to draw the foot out of Ancona, and march with them to Rimini. His orders were executed with such expedition, that Vitiges, on his arrival, found the town in a condition to hold out for a long time. However, he invested it on all sides, and began to batter it with a great number of engines; but being repulsed with great loss in several attacks, he resolved to reduce it by famine. Belisarius, in order to make a powerful diversion, sent a strong detachment, under the conduct of Mundilas, to surprise Milan; which he took without opposition; and, in a short time, conquered all Liguria, the enemy's forces being employed before Rimini. Vitiges, hearing that Milan had fallen into the enemy's hands, dispatched Uraia, his sister's son, at the head of a strong detachment, to recover that important place, and the rest of Liguria. Uraia, being joined by the ten thousand Burgundians, of whom we have spoken already, sent by Theodebert, king of the Franks, laid close siege to Milan, and in a short time reduced it to the last extremity.

Vitiges besieges Rimini.

The Romans take Milan.

While Vitiges was thus busied in the siege of Rimini, and Uraia in that of Milan, Belisarius, leaving a small gar-

^k Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. i. cap. 17—29, & lib. ii. cap. 1—10. Jorn. p. 144.

Narſes arrives in Italy with freſh ſupplies.

riſon in Rome, marched towards the former place, with a deſign to cut off the communication between the Goths before Rimini and thoſe in Auximum, now Ofimo, a ſtrong town which they poſſeſſed. On his march he made himſelf maſter of Tudera and Cluſium; and at the latter place received intelligence, that the celebrated Narſes was arrived from Conſtantinople in Picenum, with a reinforcement of five thouſand Romans, and two thouſand Heruli. They were all commanded by Narſes, and, under him, the Romans by Juſtin, the general of Illyricum, and by Narſes the Armenian. The Heruli were headed by three of their countrymen, Viſigandus, Aloethes, and Phanatheus. Upon this intelligence, Belifarius marched into Picenum, and the two armies joined at Firmum, now Fermo, where a council of war was held, wherein they deliberated, whether it was moſt expedient for the emperor's ſervice to beſiege Auximum, or relieve Rimini. If they marched to Rimini, Belifarius apprehended, that the enemy from Auximum would haraſs and lay waſte the neighbouring country, which had ſubmitted to the Romans. On the other hand, it was thought unreaſonable to ſuffer the beſieged to periſh for want of aſſiſtance. As Narſes had a great kindneſs for John, who was ſhut up in the place, he earneſtly preſſed Belifarius to deliver him from the imminent danger both he and the gariſon were in. Belifarius at firſt reſuſed to comply with his requeſt; but a meſſenger reaſonably arriving with letters from John, wherein he declared, that unleſs he was relieved in ſeven days, he ſhould be obliged to ſurrender, Belifarius agreed to march to his relief. Having, therefore, left a thouſand men at Firmum, under the command of Aratius, to awe the gariſon of Auximum, he divided his army into three bodies, whereof one was embarked in a great number of veſſels, another marched along the ſhore under the conduct of Martinus, and the third was conducted by Belifarius himſelf, and by Narſes, over the mountains. This diviſion of the forces had the deſired effect; for Vitiges, ſeeing a great fleet appear, and at the ſame time two armies, which, from the many fires they made in the night, he concluded to be very numerous, raiſed the ſiege, and fled in ſuch haſte, that the greateſt part of the baggage was left behind. The confuſion of the Goths was ſo great, that had not the gariſon been rendered extremely feeble for want of ſuſtenance, they might have eaſily cut them off in their diſorderly retreat, and at once terminated the war¹.

Rimini relieved.

¹ Procop. lib. ii. cap. 10—13.

After this success, jealousies began to arise between Belisarius and Narses, which were carried to such a height, that the latter, refusing to obey the former, required that the army might be divided, that each of them might command a separate body, and act independently of one another, it being reasonable that they should both have their share in the glory of conquering Italy, and reuniting it to the empire. This demand gave great uneasiness to Belisarius, who apprehending that the separating of the army might prove very prejudicial to the emperor's service, alleged many reasons against it; but finding Narses obstinate, he produced the emperor's letter, wherein Justinian declared, that he had not sent Narses into Italy to command the army, but to serve under Belisarius, and, with the rest of the officers, to obey and execute his orders in all things relating to his service, and the welfare of the state. Narses, laying hold of the last words of the letter, endeavoured to prove, that what Belisarius proposed was repugnant to the good of the state, and consequently that he was not obliged to obey his orders.

*Misunder-
standing
between
Belisarius
and Narses.*

This animosity between the two generals caused such a division in the army, that Belisarius having undertaken the siege of Urbinum, John, with several of the chief officers, and great part of the forces, encamped at a distance from him, and before he began to batter the place, withdrew with Narses in the night, and returned to Rimini. However, Belisarius, thinking he could reduce the place without them, prepared for an assault; but as he was marching up to the walls, the besieged, to the great surprize of the Romans, desired to capitulate, and, upon promise of indemnity, opened their gates, and submitted. This unexpected submission was owing to their want of water; for the only fountain the Goths had in the city suddenly failed, which unforeseen accident obliged them to accede to the best terms they could obtain. Narses, who lay idle at Rimini, greatly surprized at this sudden success, and considering the reduction of the place as a reflection upon himself (for he had been persuaded by John, that it was impregnable), in order to redeem his reputation, dispatched John, with part of the forces that had followed him, against the city of Cæsena; but the garrison making a vigorous resistance, John, retiring from before it in the night, surprized Forum Cornelii, now Imola, and by degrees reduced all Æmilia, the Goths, dispirited with so many losses, not daring to venture an engagement. From Urbinum Belisarius marched to Urbiventum, at a small distance from Rome. As the place was well fortified, and defended by a

*Belisarius
takes Ur-
binum;*

*and Narses
reduces
Imola.*

Urbivensium submit to Belisarius.

Milan closely besieged by the Goths.

Milan taken by the Goths, and the citizens massacred.

numerous garrison, under the command of Albilas, an officer of great reputation among the Goths, Belisarius, after several unsuccessful attacks, turned the siege into a blockade, with a design to reduce it by famine; which he did accordingly, after the besieged had for some time fed upon grass, and skins soaked in water. And now the season being far advanced, both Belisarius and Narses retired with their respective corps to winter-quarters ^m.

During this time Milan was closely besieged by the Goths and Burgundians. Mundilas, who commanded in the town, acquainted Belisarius with the deplorable condition to which the city was reduced, who ordered Martinus and Uliaris to march with a considerable body to their relief; but these two generals, advancing as far as the Po, encamped on the banks of that river, and, though earnestly solicited by their distressed friends to hasten to their assistance, continued there, excusing themselves to Belisarius, and pretending that the Goths and Burgundians in Liguria being too strong for them, they could not proceed farther, till they were joined by more forces. Upon the receipt of this letter, Belisarius ordered John and Justin to join them with all expedition; an order which they refused to obey, till they received the like from Narses; to whom Belisarius immediately wrote on that subject, desiring that the public might not suffer by their private contention. Narses, convinced of the reasonableness of this remonstrance, wrote to John, commanding him to obey the general's orders; but during these delays, the Romans in Milan being reduced by famine to the last extremity, Mundilas was forced by his own men to accept the terms offered by the Goths, who promised that the garrison should retire unmolested.

Thus was Milan surrendered to the enemy, who, in breach of the articles agreed on, made Mundilas and the garrison prisoners of war, demolished the city, put all to the sword who were able to bear arms, to the number of three hundred thousand, and, making the women slaves, bestowed them as a reward on the Burgundians. Reparatus, a prefect, and an officer of great distinction, was cut in pieces, and his mangled body thrown to the dogs. Bergantinus, with a few more, escaped; and, passing through Venetia and Dalmatia, brought the melancholy news of this disaster to the emperor at Constantinople. Martinus and Uliaris returned with shame and disgrace to Rome, while the Goths, encouraged by this success, pursued their good fortune, and reduced all Liguria. Belisarius acquainted the emperor

^m Procop. lib. ii. cap. 13, 14.

with what had passed, who, ascribing the loss of Milan to the disagreement between him and Narfes, recalled the latter, and confirmed the former in the supreme command, which he had conferred upon him in the beginning of the warⁿ. The recalling of Narfes was a great disappointment to Vitiges, who had promised himself many advantages from the disagreement of the generals; but finding his hopes defeated, and concluding, from the preparations Belisarius was making during the winter, that he intended to march against him early in the spring with all his forces, and besiege him in Ravenna itself, he was greatly perplexed what measures he should take to avert the impending storm, or to whom he should recur for assistance. He knew there was no depending upon the Franks, by whom he had been lately deceived, and who, he was convinced, would, under some pretence or other, elude the most solemn treaties and engagements.

He therefore had recourse to Vacis, or Varis, king of the Lombards, whom he endeavoured to interest in his behalf with the offer of a large sum; but finding him unalterably steady to the alliance he had lately concluded with the emperor, he was advised to send ambassadors to Cosroes, king of Persia, to persuade that prince to invade the Roman territories. Such an enemy would have made a powerful diversion, and obliged the emperor to lay aside all thoughts of extending his dominions in the West, since the security and defence of the eastern provinces were of far greater consequence both to his interest and reputation. Vitiges, pleased with this advice, found two Ligurian priests, who undertook and performed the journey to the Persian court. They even persuaded Cosroes to declare war against the empire, by remonstrating that, if he continued inactive, and suffered the Goths to be destroyed, and Italy reunited to the empire, the Romans, by that accession, would recover their ancient power, which they would not fail to employ against him, being still excited by the same ambition which had proved so fatal to his predecessors. Vitiges was overjoyed when, upon the return of the envoys, he understood that Cosroes was resolved upon a rupture.

*Vitiges
engages
Cosroes
in his
quarrel.*

However, he received no great advantage from it; for, though it put a stop to the progress of the emperor's arms in Italy, and obliged him to recall Belisarius, this did not happen till the unhappy Vitiges was taken prisoner, and almost all Italy brought under subjection to the emperor: for Belisarius, pursuing the war with great vigour while Vitiges

ⁿ Procop. lib. ii. cap. 25.

*Auximum
besieged by
Belisarius,
and Fæfulæ
by Cyprian.*

was negotiating with the Persian court, sat down with eleven thousand men before Auximum, the metropolis of Picenum, and at the same time sent a strong detachment, under the command of Cyprian, one of his lieutenants, to reduce Fæfulæ. The conquest of these places would have opened a passage to Ravenna, whither he intended to follow Vitiges, who had retired to that city from Rimini. As Auximum was strong by its situation on a high and steep hill, and defended by a numerous garrison, it made a vigorous defence; but Belisarius allowing the besieged no respite, they were, after some time, reduced to such distress, that they dispatched messengers to Vitiges, threatening to surrender, unless they were speedily relieved: upon which the king dispatched Uraia, with a strong body of Goths, to their assistance, assuring them that, in a short time, he himself would follow with his whole army. Uraia, having passed the Po, advanced into the neighbourhood of Auximum; but, finding all the avenues to the city strongly secured, he encamped at the distance of seven miles from the Romans.

*Yr. of Fl.
2887.*

A. D. 539.

*The Franks
invade
Italy,*

In the mean time the treacherous Franks, thinking both nations sufficiently weakened by their mutual hostilities, resolved to attack both, and decide the quarrel, by seizing on the country for which they disputed. Accordingly Theodebert, unmindful of the oaths he had taken both to the Romans and Goths, passed the Alps at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, and entered Liguria. As no hostilities were committed by them on their march through that country, the Goths concluded that they were coming to their assistance, and therefore supplied them with all the provisions they could spare. Thus they passed the Po without opposition, and, having secured the bridge, marched immediately to the place where a body of Goths were encamped, who, treating them as friends, admitted them into their intrenchments: but they were soon convinced of their mistake; for the Franks, falling upon them by surprise, drove them with great slaughter from their camp, and seized on their baggage and provisions. A body of Romans, that lay at a small distance from the Goths, under the command of John and Martinus, observing the sudden flight of the Goths, and concluding that they had been defeated by Belisarius, flew to join him, when the Franks, falling suddenly upon them, defeated them, as they had done the Goths. As the Romans were not able, in that confusion, to recover their camp, they fled into Tuscany, and dispatched a messenger to Belisarius with an account of their misfortune. The Franks, thus become masters of both camps,

*and fall
both upon
the Goths
and Ro-
mans.*

found

found in them a great quantity of provisions, and a considerable booty; but the provisions being soon consumed by their numerous army, and the country round entirely exhausted, they were forced, by the famine that began to rage among them, and the diseases that were occasioned by their unwholesome food, to resign all thoughts of advancing farther into the country, or making any conquests in Italy. At the same time Belisarius, fearing the Franks might at last be persuaded by the Goths to join them, wrote to Theodebert, expostulating with him in a friendly manner for his breach of faith, and telling him, that the emperor's affairs were not in such a desperate condition, as to render him incapable of resenting, in due time, insults of this nature. Theodebert, moved with this letter, but more with the opprobrious language of his men, who openly reviled him for suffering them to starve in a barren and impoverished country, decamped with those who were able to march; and passing through Liguria, where he destroyed Genoa, and several other places, returned home loaded with booty °.

They return home loaded with booty.

All this time the two garrisons of Auximum and Fesulæ held out with incredible resolution. The former, being reduced to the utmost extremity, resolved once more to solicit the king for relief; but not being able to send any messenger out of the town, which was closely invested on all sides, they corrupted with a large sum a soldier in the Roman army, who was placed near the walls, to prevent the inhabitants from cutting the grass that grew there, the only food they now had, to carry a letter to the king, wherein they acquainted him with the condition to which they were reduced. The king replied, that, without fail, they should be relieved in a few days; and, with soothing words, encouraged them to bear only a little while longer their hardships, which he might call his own, since he felt them no less than they. The besieged were so encouraged with this answer, that they rejected all the offers made by Belisarius: but finding the king did not come to their relief, they dispatched the same soldier to him a second time, acquainting him, that unless they were relieved in five days, they should be obliged to surrender. The king replied as he had done before, giving them hopes of speedy assistance. Belisarius in the mean time, who was well acquainted with the misery to which they were reduced, in order to discover what encouraged them to defend themselves with so much obstinacy, appointed some of his men to watch those, who

Auximum holds out with great obstinacy.

° Procop. lib. ii. cap. 25. Greg. Tur. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 32. Mar. Avent. Chron. ad ann. 539.

came out of the town to gather grass, and to take, if possible, some of them prisoners. They had the good fortune to surprise one, who, being brought before the general, confessed, that, by means of one of his men, they had corresponded with the king; who had assured them, that they should be speedily relieved. In consequence of this information the soldier, named Barcenfris, by nation a Bessian, was seized, and, upon confessing the fact, delivered up to be punished by his countrymen, who condemned him to be burnt alive. Belisarius, finding them still obstinate, marched in person, at the head of a strong detachment, to demolish an aqueduct, which was near the walls, and supplied them with water. The besieged, sallying out to defend it, though quite spent with famine and hardships, made great havock of his troops; but were, after a most obstinate dispute, driven back into the city. On this occasion Belisarius was in imminent danger of his life; but one of his guards saved him with the loss of his own hand. After all, the Romans found the aqueduct so strongly built, that they could not by any means destroy it; but Belisarius caused all the springs to be poisoned, hoping, by this infamous measure, to oblige them to surrender ^P.

Fæfulæ
surrenders: The garrison in Fæfulæ held out against Cyprian with no less obstinacy; but in the end, despairing of relief, surrendered upon terms. Cyprian, leaving part of his army in the town, with the rest brought the inhabitants before Auximum, where Belisarius exhibited them to the besieged, who, concluding from the surrender of that place, that the king was incapable of relieving them, desired to capitulate, offering to deliver up the town, on condition they might enjoy their lives and effects. This demand the general was inclined to grant; but the soldiers opposed it, declaring, that the wealth of the city was the due reward of their wounds, and the many toils and dangers they had undergone in the siege. At length it was agreed on both sides, that the soldiers should have one half, and that the other should be secured to the inhabitants, who were to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor. Upon these terms the gates were opened to the Romans, who took possession of the city in the emperor's name ^Q.

Ravenna
besieged by
Belisarius. Belisarius did not continue long at Auximum; but marched from thence with his whole army to Ravenna, which he invested on all sides, both by sea and land, to prevent the importation of provisions. The place was defended by a very numerous garrison, commanded by the king in

^P Procop. lib. ii. cap. 27.^Q Idem ibid.

person, who exerted all his courage and skill in the defence of the metropolis of his kingdom; but Belisarius pursuing the siege with incredible vigour, and great success, the kings of the Franks, especially Theodebert, alarmed at the progress of the emperor's arms, and not doubting but, if Italy were united again to the empire, he would fall next upon them, offered to assist Vitiges with an army of five hundred thousand men, on condition he would share the country with them. Belisarius, informed of this negotiation, in order to defeat the ambitious views of the Franks, sent ambassadors to Vitiges, to remind him of the perfidy of the Franks, of which he had seen a very fresh instance, and to assure him, that the emperor, on whom he might depend, was ready to grant him very honourable terms. The king, by the advice of the great men about him, rejected the proposals of the Franks, and appeared inclinable to come to an agreement with the emperor. In the mean time Belisarius, to bring the king to his own terms, bribed a citizen of Ravenna to set fire to a magazine of corn, which was the chief dependence of the besieged. This was done with such secrecy, that they knew not whether they ought to impute it to chance, or to design. They began to distrust each other, and some to conclude, that Heaven itself fought against them. At the same time Belisarius detached Thomas with a body of troops against the Goths inhabiting the Alpes Cottiae, who, at his approach, submitted, with Sifigis their leader. Of this circumstance Uraia receiving intelligence while on his march to the relief of Ravenna with four thousand men, he changed his resolution, and went to attack Thomas, hoping to surprise him; but John and Martinus, who lay encamped on the banks of the Po, suspecting his design, marched against him, and obliged him to retire into Liguria, where he continued, expecting better fortune.

Vitiges, upon his rejecting the offers of the Franks, had dispatched ambassadors to Constantinople, to conclude a peace with the emperor upon the best terms they could obtain. On their return with two senators, Dominicus and Maximinus, sent by Justinian to conclude a peace upon the following terms; that the country beyond the Po, with respect to Rome, should remain to the Goths; but that the rest of Italy should be ceded to the emperor; and the royal treasure of the Goths should be equally divided between him and the king. These conditions Vitiges and the Goths embraced with much joy; for they were already reduced to great misery: but Belisarius, incensed that he should be thus bereft of the glory of ending the war, and carrying

Terms proposed by the emperor.

Belisarius refuses to sign them.

Vitiges captive to Constantinople, peremptorily refused to sign the treaty, and pursued the siege with more vigour than ever, without regarding the complaints of his officers and soldiers, who were quite exhausted with the length and hardships of the service: he only obliged such of the officers, as were of opinion that the town could not be taken, to express what they said in writing, that they might not deny it afterwards.

*He is by the
Goths de-
clared em-
peror of
the West.*

The great men among the Goths, finding that Belisarius refused to obey the instructions he had received from Constantinople, and to sign the treaty, concluded, that he designed to revolt from the emperor, and conquer Italy for himself. On the other hand, being weary of Vitiges, and unwilling to submit to Justinian, who, they apprehended, would transplant them into Thrace, or some other barren country, they privately agreed among themselves to declare Belisarius emperor of the West; and accordingly dispatched a messenger, assuring him, that they were ready to swear allegiance to him. Belisarius abhorred in his heart the name of traitor; but nevertheless, to forward the surrender of the city, and finish the war, he pretended to accept of the offer, after having acquainted the chief officers of the army with all that passed, lest they should imagine, that he really designed to usurp the kingdom of Italy.

Yr. of Fl.
2888.
A. D. 540.

*He is ad-
mitted into
Ravenna.*

In the mean time Vitiges, having discovered the plot, and finding himself not in a condition to defeat it, commended the resolution of the Goths, and even wrote to Belisarius, encouraging him to assume the title of king, assuring him of his assistance. Belisarius pressing the Goths to perform their promise, ambassadors were dispatched from the chief men of the Gothic nation, requiring him, before they acknowledged him for their king, to swear, that he would treat the Goths with humanity, and maintain them in the enjoyment of all their ancient rights and privileges. This oath Belisarius took, and was thereupon proclaimed king of Italy, and admitted into Ravenna. He behaved with great moderation towards the Goths in the city, not suffering his soldiers to do them the least injury; but seized on the royal treasure, and secured the person of the king. The Roman army, when it entered Ravenna, appeared so inconsiderable, that the Gothic women could not forbear spitting in their husbands faces, and reviling them as cowards.

*He is re-
called by
Justinian.*

In the mean time Colrhoes invading the Roman dominions in the East with a powerful army, Justinian sent for

Belisarius to take upon him the management of the Persian war, which he thought of much more consequence than the other. It was believed that the jealousy, which, at the instigation of the court sycophants, the emperor began to entertain of Belisarius, induced him to recall this general. Procopius writes, that he was accused to the emperor by the other generals of aspiring to the sovereignty of Italy; that the emperor gave no credit to such calumnies; but nevertheless recalled him, because he wanted a general of his abilities to conduct the Persian war. Be that as it may, Belisarius, in compliance with the emperor's orders, began to prepare for his departure, to the great surprize of the Goths, who could not persuade themselves, that, to obey the emperor, he would relinquish a crown. They did every thing in their power to divert him from his resolution and intended journey, but to no purpose; for Belisarius, inviolably attached to the service of his master, having settled affairs in Italy, set out for Constantinople, carrying with him Vitiges, and his wife Matasuenta, several of the Gothic nobility, and the royal treasure. He was received by the emperor without the least tokens of distrust, who nevertheless did not ordain him a triumph, as he had done on his return from the conquest of Africa. The emperor treated Vitiges with all the respect due to his rank, and conferred on him the dignity of patrician. The king died two years after, and, upon his death, Justinian married Matasuenta to Germanus, his own nephew. The other great men among the Goths, whom Belisarius brought with him to Constantinople, attended that general to the Persian war. It is remarkable, that the emperor caused the royal treasure of the Goths to be exposed to the view of the senate; but would not shew it as he had done that which Belisarius had brought from Africa, to the people, fearing perhaps to heighten his general's reputation among the multitude, by whom he was already almost adored.

He returns to Constantinople with the king and the royal treasure.

Upon the departure of Belisarius, the chief men among the Goths dwelling beyond the Po, in a great assembly, resolved to raise one of their own nation to the throne. Accordingly, they applied first to Uraia, the nephew of Vitiges; but he, out of respect to his uncle, declined the burden; but at the same time advised them to make choice of Ildebald, at that time governor of Verona, a man of great address and experience in affairs both civil and military, and nephew to Theudis king of the Visigoths, who, in all

^s Procop. lib. iii. cap. 1. Jorn. de Reb. Get. p. 95. Marcell. ad Ann. 540.

likelihood,

*Ildebald
chosen king.*

likelihood, would espouse his cause. The Goths, pleased with the advice of Uraia, sent immediately for Ildebald, and proclaimed him king. The new prince undertook, and not without success, the re-establishment of the Gothic affairs in Italy. He had at first no more than a thousand men; but the Goths flocking to him from all parts, and with them great numbers of discontented Romans, his army in a short time amounted to a very considerable body. The Romans were incensed at the conduct of Alexander, who, from his clipping the coin, was nicknamed *Forficula*. He had been sent into Italy by the emperor to state the accounts of the army; in which office he enraged both the foldiers and officers to such a degree, that they became very ill affected to the service, and great numbers of them, finding themselves defrauded, not only of the rewards they expected, but even of the pay that was due to them, abandoned the emperor's service, and went over to the Goths. Besides, Bessas, John, and Constantianus, whom Belisarius had appointed to command the troops in Italy, disagreeing among themselves, nothing of any moment was undertaken.

*He gains a
victory
over the
Romans.*

However, Vitalis, governor of Venetia, having collected some forces, and taken into the emperor's pay a considerable body of Heruli, took the field, and marching against Ildebald, met him in the neighbourhood of Tervisium, where, in the battle that ensued, most of Vitalis's men were cut in pieces, and he, with the few that escaped, obliged to save himself by a precipitate flight. After this victory Ildebald subdued the whole province of Venetia; but he did not live long enough to improve his victory farther; for a contest arising between his queen and the wife of Uraia, the king, giving ear to the complaints of his wife, first accused Uraia of maintaining a private correspondence with the emperor, and afterwards, with the utmost treachery and ingratitude, caused him to be murdered. As by the murder of so worthy a man he incurred the displeasure of the whole nation, one of his guards, named Vilas, a Gepid, whom he had offended, resolved to seize this opportunity to revenge the injury. Accordingly, while the king was one day entertaining the nobility, Vilas gave him such a blow on the neck with his sword, that his head dropped on the table while he held the meat between his fingers^t.

*He causes
Uraia to be
murdered;
Yr. of Fl.
2889.
A. D. 541.*

*and is mur-
dered him-
self.*

*Eraric
chosen king.*

Ildebald being thus dispatched, the leading men among the Goths immediately chose Eraric, a Rugian, to succeed him. The Rugians were a Gothic nation; but their tribe

^t Procop. lib. ii. cap. 30.

differed in manners and customs from the Ostrogoths; whence the people and soldiery were with difficulty brought to acknowledge him for king, though they knew him to be a man of great valour and experience. In the beginning of his reign, with the consent and approbation of the Goths, he dispatched ambassadors to the emperor, to sue, as he pretended, for a peace, upon the same terms that had been formerly offered to Vitiges; namely, that the Goths should retain all the provinces beyond the Po, and the Romans possess the rest of Italy: but the ambassadors had private instructions to acquaint the emperor, that Eraric was ready to deliver up Italy to him, upon condition he would pay a certain sum, and raise him to the dignity of a patrician^u. This private negotiation was not known till after the king's death. However, the Goths, generally discontented with the government of their new king, resolved to depose him, and raise another to the throne. They cast their eyes on Totila, nephew to Ildebald, a person of extraordinary merit, who had eminently distinguished himself in war. He commanded at that time the Goths in Tervisum; and, upon intelligence of his uncle's death, had sent to Constantianus, governor for the emperor in Ravenna, offering, upon assurance of indemnity, to deliver up both the place and the garrison. Constantianus accepted the offer, and having promised upon oath to perform the articles, a day was appointed for the surrender of the place; but in the mean time a messenger from the chief men among the Goths arriving at Tervisum, acquainted Totila with the design they had formed of deposing Eraric, and raising him to the throne. Totila frankly discovered to them the agreement he had made with Constantianus; but told them at the same time, that he was willing to accept of their offer, provided they dispatched Eraric before the day appointed for the surrender of the place. Upon the return of the messenger the Goths fell immediately upon Eraric, and having murdered him after a short reign of five months, with one voice declared Totila king^w.

The emperor, informed of the death of Eraric, of the promotion of Totila, and of the distracted state of affairs in Italy, severely reprimanded his officers, who commanded in that country, ascribing the whole to their indolence and bad conduct. Upon this rebuke they assembled in Ravenna, where it was agreed in a council of war, that siege should be laid to Verona, at that time the chief city of the Goths; and, upon the reduction of that place, the whole

He is murdered, and Totila proclaimed king.

Yr. of Fl.

2890.

A. D. 542.

The Romans make an attempt upon Verona;

^u Procop. lib. iii. cap. 2.

^w Idem, lib. ii. cap. 3.

army should march against Totila, who was at the head of a small body in Picenum. Pursuant to this plan, the army, consisting of about twelve thousand men, marched under the command of eleven generals, of whom Constantianus and Alexander were the chief; and, arriving in the neighbourhood of Verona, encamped within seven miles of the city. Marcianus, a man of great interest in the country, and well affected to the emperor's service, had engaged a citizen of Verona to betray the place. A centinel, privy to the plot, was to open one of the gates in the night, and admit a party of Romans, who were to secure the gate, till the rest of the army arrived. This was a dangerous undertaking; for there was a strong garrison in the town, and the safety of those who were to be sent on the party, depended entirely on the fidelity of the centinel. The service was, therefore, to the great disgrace of the Roman name, declined by all the Romans, but with great joy undertaken by Artabanus an Armenian, who, advancing at the head of one hundred men, was admitted within the gate, which he secured with some of his party, while others killed the centinels on the walls, and made themselves masters of the adjoining houses. Artabanus immediately acquainted the generals with his success, requiring them to forward the march of the army; but the commanders, having advanced within five miles of the place, ordered the army to halt, till they had settled among themselves in what manner the plunder of so wealthy a city was to be divided. This object occasioned great disputes; so that the night was spent before they could agree.

*but are
disappoint-
ed.*

In the mean time the Goths, who, hearing that the Romans were masters of one gate, had escaped at another, and retired to a high rock not far from the city, discovering from that eminence the small number of Romans in the town, and the army still at a distance, returned into the city by the same gate through which they had retired, and, attacking the Romans, forced them to abandon the gate, and fly to the battlements, where they defended themselves with unparalleled valour. By this time the commanders, having agreed about the plunder of the city, approached the gates; but, finding them shut, they shamefully retired, though their companions, oppressed with numbers, earnestly called out for assistance. Artabanus therefore, and such of his men as were still alive, seeing themselves thus basely abandoned, and despairing of succour, leaped down from the walls. Those who fell on the stones were either killed, or rendered incapable of saving themselves by flight; but Artabanus, with a few more, having

having the good fortune to fall upon the ground, got safe to the camp, where he upbraided the commanders with their ill conduct, and want of courage. The Romans, after this disappointment, having passed the Po, marched to Faventia, now Faenza, where they were met by Totila at the head of his small army, consisting only of five thousand men. The Roman generals having called a council of war, Artabanes advised them not to despise the enemy, though far inferior to them in number, but to fall upon them before the whole body had passed the river Lamone, on which the town of Faventia stands. But the commanders disagreeing among themselves, as it generally happens when they are equal in power, Totila passed the river without opposition; so that the two armies approached each other in order of battle.

While they stood thus drawn up, waiting the signal, Valiaris, a Goth of a gigantic size, and proportionable strength, advancing before the ranks, challenged any Roman to single combat. Artabanes accepted the challenge, and, at the first encounter, ran him through the right side with his lance; but, imagining, as the Goth did not fall immediately, that the wound was not mortal, he gave him a second wound in the belly, when the head of Valiaris's lance, which stood upright, falling upon Artabanes's neck, unfortunately cut one of the arteries. *A single combat.* The brave champion, however, not apprehending any danger, rode back to the army; but, as the blood could not be stopped, he died three days after, to the great grief of all the emperor's true friends, who, from his experience, courage, and prudence, promised themselves great success. *The death of Artabanes.* He had served first with high reputation in the Persian army; but, being taken prisoner by Belisarius in the castle of Sisaurium, with all the Persians under his command, and sent to Constantinople, he offered his service to the emperor, who sent him, with the Persians he had formerly commanded, to his army in Italy, where he distinguished himself in an eminent manner. The single combat was succeeded by a general engagement, in which the Romans, confiding in their numbers, behaved at first with great bravery. But three hundred Goths, who had been ordered by Totila to pass the river at some distance, unexpectedly assaulting the rear, pursuant to their orders, they began to give ground, on all sides. Hereupon Totila charging them in front with fresh vigour, they first fell into great confusion, and then betook themselves to a precipitate flight. The Goths pursued them with great slaughter, took a great number of prisoners, and all their ensigns, and obliged the few, who had the good

The Romans defeated.

good fortune to escape, to take refuge, with their commanders, in the neighbouring towns ².

Totila, in order to improve this victory, marched to Florence, and invested that city; but a considerable army being sent from Ravenna to the relief of the place, he raised the siege, and retired to Micole, a town about a day's journey from Florence. The Romans, leaving a small garrison in the town, pursued them with the rest of their forces; and it was agreed that one of the commanders, marching with all possible expedition, should keep them in play till the others came up. The lot fell upon John; but unseasonable disputes arising among the commanders, and a report being spread that John was killed by one of his own men, the army halted; and in the mean time John being forced to engage the enemy with his own troops only, he was totally defeated. When intelligence of this defeat was brought to the army, seized with a sudden panic, they all dispersed, every one shifting for himself. Totila treated the prisoners he took in this and the former engagement with so much humanity, that, most of them entering into his service, his army was considerably increased ³.

The Romans defeated again.

Yr. of Fl.

2891.

A. D. 543.

Tuscany, and several other provinces, recovered by the Goths.

In the following year, the eighth of the Gothic war, Totila, taking the field early in the spring, reduced all the strong places in Tuscany. Marching from thence into Campania and Samnium, he dismantled the strong town of Beneventum, and undertook the siege of Naples; during which several detachments from his army took Cumæ, and recovered all Brutia, Lucania, Apulia, and Calabria, where they found considerable sums, which had been collected for the emperor. The Goths having seized on the tributes, and the money that had been levied to pay the army, the emperor's troops were reduced to great distress, began to mutiny, and refused to take the field; so that Constantianus lay idle at Ravenna, John at Rome, Bessas at Spoleum, Justin at Florence, and Cyprian at Perugia, the places to which they had fled after the late defeat. The emperor, informed of the bad situation of his affairs in Italy, ordered a considerable fleet to be equipped, and a great number of forces to be raised, committing both to the conduct of Maximinus, whom he honoured with the title of præfectus prætorio of Italy; but as he was a man entirely unacquainted with military affairs, naturally timorous and indolent, Justinian appointed Demetrius to command under him, who had formerly served under Belisarius as general of the infantry. Demetrius, in order to retrieve the reputation of the Roman arms in Italy, resolved to attempt the relief of

² Procop. lib. iii. cap. 9.

³ Idem. ibid. cap. 10.

Naples,

Naples, already reduced to extremity. With this view, leaving Maximinus on the coasts of Epirus, he failed with part of the fleet to Sicily: as he had but a small number of forces with him, he assembled a great many vessels, with a design to terrify the enemy, who would conclude, that so considerable a fleet had a proportionable army on board; but his heart failing him after he had put to sea, instead of sailing directly to Naples, he steered his course to Rome, in order to raise soldiers. The Romans refusing to serve against the victorious king of the Goths, he was obliged either to lie idle, or to attempt the relief of Naples with the few troops he had under his command.

He chose the latter expedient; but Totila receiving timely notice of his design, manned with incredible expedition a great number of light vessels, which, suddenly falling upon him as he was riding at anchor on the coast of Naples, took or sunk every ship of his fleet, and made all on board prisoners, except a few who escaped in their boats, among whom was Demetrius himself. The besieged being greatly dispirited by this loss, Conon, who commanded in Naples, dispatched a messenger to Maximinus, acquainting him with the deplorable condition to which the city was reduced, and earnestly pressing him to march to their relief. Maximinus was already advanced as far as Syracuse; but could not be persuaded to stir from thence for some time. At length, being threatened with the emperor's displeasure, importuned by repeated messages from the besieged, and openly reviled for cowardice by the soldiers, he sent the fleet to Naples under the command of others; but indulging his natural timidity remained himself behind. As the fleet put to sea in the depth of winter, it was driven ashore by a violent storm, near the enemy's camp, who sunk the ships, and without resistance made a horrid slaughter of the seamen and soldiers. Few escaped being either taken or killed. Among the prisoners was Demetrius, who, after the loss of his own fleet, had gone aboard that of Maximinus. Totila ordered him to be led, with a rope about his neck, to the town wall, and there obliged him to exhort the inhabitants to surrender, by assuring them, that they were to expect no farther succours, and that all hopes of relief were lost with the navy.

The Romans defeated by sea.

Another Roman fleet destroyed.

At the same time Totila offered them honourable terms, *Naples surrenders,* upon condition they would submit; an offer which they embraced immediately, and were treated by him with the utmost humanity. As they had been pinched with a long famine, Totila, apprehending they might endanger their lives by indulging at first their ravenous appetites, placed guards

guards at the gates to prevent their going out, taking care at the same time to supply them sparingly with provisions, but increasing their allowance every day. Being thus, by degrees, restored to their former strength, he ordered the gates to be set open, and gave every one liberty to stay, or retire at his pleasure. He treated Conon, and the garrison, in a most friendly and condescending manner: for upon their pretending to return to Constantinople, he supplied them with ships; and having discovered that their real design was to sail to Rome, and reinforce the garrison of that city, which he intended in the next place to besiege, he was so far from punishing them as they expected, or even upbraiding them for imposing upon him, that, on the contrary, the winds not proving favourable for a long time, he furnished them with horses, waggons, and provisions, and ordered a body of Goths to escort them to Rome. He dismantled Naples, as he had done Beneventum, unwilling to weaken his army by garrisoning too many fortresses which they had reduced *.

*Totila
writes to
the Roman
senate.*

Totila, now master of Naples, and most of the fortresses in those parts, began to turn his thoughts upon Rome. In the first place, he wrote a letter to the senate, whom he earnestly wished to draw over to his party, taxing them in gentle terms with the ingratitude they had shewn to the family and nation of the great Theodoric and Amalasuntha. He advised and intreated them to return to their duty; put them in mind of the treatment they had met with from the emperor and his officers; and concluded by assuring both them and the people of his favour and protection, provided they returned to their allegiance. John, who commanded in Rome, would not suffer the senate to answer this, or receive more letters from Totila, who nevertheless found means to convey other papers into the city, which were posted up by night in the most frequented places. The Arian priests were suspected of holding a private correspondence with the Goths and their king, who professed the same doctrine, and on that account were banished Rome. Totila, finding his letters and manifestoes had no effect on the senate and people of Rome, resolved to pursue other methods; and accordingly having sent a detachment into Calabria to reduce Otranto, which had not yet submitted, he marched, with the rest of his forces, against the towns in the neighbourhood of Rome. The city of Tibur, now Tivoli, about eighteen miles from the capital, was betrayed by one of the inhabitants; and, upon his entering it, he

* Eutrop. lib. iii. cap. 9. Continuat. Marcell. ad Ann. 543.

put all the citizens to the sword, together with their bishop: Several other forts in that neighbourhood he took by storm; so that Rome was, in a manner, blocked up by land, all communication with the neighbouring country being cut off.

The emperor, chagrined at the bad news he received daily from Italy, and unwilling to lose Rome, which was now in imminent danger of falling again into the enemy's hands, resolved to call Belisarius out of Persia, notwithstanding the success that attended him, and send him again into Italy. Accordingly he wrote to that general, ordering him to repair immediately to Italy, and take upon him the command of his armies in that country. Belisarius no sooner received this order than, leaving Comagenè, where he then was, he departed for the West. In his way through Thrace, he raised above four thousand men at his own expence; and arriving at Salonæ, he dispatched Vitalius, general of Illyricum, with a body of troops, to the relief of Otranto; at whose approach the Goths retired; so that the town was reinforced with fresh supplies both of men and provisions. Belisarius himself embarked in Dalmatia, and came by sea to Ravenna, whence he sent several parties against the cities of Æmilia; but without success, though they defeated a small body of troops dispatched by Totila to drive them out of that province. After this attempt, they threw themselves into Auximum, then besieged by the Goths; but finding there were not sufficient provisions in the place to maintain so numerous a garrison, they resolved to sally out, and march to Pisaurus, now Pesaro, which stood at a small distance, and was still possessed by the Romans. In their retreat, two hundred were slain by the besiegers; but the rest reached Pisaurus, whither Totila pursued them, hoping to take the place by storm; but being repulsed by the garrison, he returned to the siege of Auximum. At the same time, finding that Belisarius was not in a condition to take the field, he sent out detachments to besiege Firmum and Asculum, two places of great importance in the province of Picenum.

Belisarius sent again into Italy.

Auximum, Firmum, and Asculum besieged by the Goths.

Belisarius, chiefly concerned for Rome, appointed Bessas governor of that city, and appointed Artasiris, a Persian, and Barbation, a Thracian, men of valour, and great experience, to command under Bessas, strictly enjoining them to make no sallies, in case the town should be besieged. Being himself unable to relieve the besieged towns, or put a stop to the progress of the Goths, he dispatched John to Constantinople, with a letter to the emperor, wherein he acquainted him with the situation of his affairs in Italy, telling him at the same time that, being destitute of men, arms, and money,

*Rome be-
sieged by
Totila.*

ney, it was impossible for him to prosecute the war. Justinian, upon the receipt of this letter, ordered new levies to be made, the veterans being all employed against the Persians. In the mean time Totila, pursuing his good fortune, took several cities of great consequence, such as Firmum, Afculum, Auximum, and Spoletum; and at length approached Rome, which he invested on all sides. As he drew near the city, Artasiris and Barbatian, contrary to the exprefs command of Belisarius, made a folly, thinking they should surprise the Goths; but they were themselves drawn into an ambuscade, and, most of their men being cut in pieces, they narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. The town had not been long besieged when Belisarius was informed, that a considerable number of troops, sent by the emperor, were in full march to join him. In consequence of this intelligence, committing the care of Ravenna to Justin, he marched with a small body of forces to Epidamnus, where he met them. Soon after, Narses the eunuch arrived with some auxiliary troops raised among the Heruli, and commanded by Philimuth, and other leaders of their own nation. With part of this reinforcement Belisarius sailed to the port of Rome, which he was very desirous of relieving; and sent the rest, under the command of John, into Calabria, with orders to drive the Goths out of those parts, and then join him in the neighbourhood of Rome. John took some places; but being afraid to march by the city of Capua, or to make any attempt upon it, though defended only by three hundred Goths, he did not, pursuant to his orders, join Belisarius at the time appointed^a.

*A great
famine in
Rome.*

In the mean time Rome being so closely blocked up, that no provisions could be imported either by land or water, a dreadful famine began to rage in the city. The unhappy citizens, having consumed every thing that could afford them any nourishment, and even the grass that grew near the walls, were at length obliged to feed on their excrements. Several individuals, to avoid the calamities they groaned under, laid violent hands on themselves. In this extremity, they flocked in great multitudes to Bessas, their governor, earnestly intreating him to supply them with food; and, if that was not in his power, either to allow them to go out of the town, or to deliver them from their miseries by putting them to death. Bessas replied, that to supply them with food, was impossible; to let them go, unsafe; and to kill them, impious. To raise their drooping spirits, he assured them, that an army was hourly expected from

^a Procop. lib. iii. cap. 9, 10.

Constantinople, which, under the command of Belisarius, would oblige the Goths to abandon the siege, and retire. Vigilius, bishop of Rome, sent from Sicily, where he then was, several ships laden with corn, to relieve the city; but they were all intercepted by the enemy, who, after the reduction of Naples, kept a great number of vessels constantly cruising between Sicily and Rome. In the end, Bessas suffered such of the citizens as were willing to retire, to leave the city, upon their paying him a sum of money; but most of them either died on the road, or, falling into the enemy's hands, were cut in pieces. Belisarius, apprised of the miserable condition to which the besieged were reduced, used all possible means to relieve them; but fortune, or rather Providence, seemed to fight against him; for his attempts, however well concerted, proved all unsuccessful; a circumstance which gave him so much uneasiness, that he fell into a fever, and was thought, for some time, to be in great danger.

In the mean time the besieged, no longer able to bear the miseries with which they were afflicted, and despairing of relief, began to mutiny, and press Bessas to come to an agreement with Totila; which he refusing to perform, four of the Isaurians, who guarded the Porta Asinaria, letting themselves down from the wall, by ropes fastened to the battlements, in the night, while their companions were asleep, went to Totila, and undertook to conduct his army into the city. The king with great joy embraced the overture, and sending four Goths of great strength, intrepidity, and resolution, into the city with the Isaurians, silently approached the gates with his whole army; which being opened by the Isaurians, with the assistance of the four Goths within, he entered the city at the head of his troops. Upon the first alarm Bessas, with the other commanders, and most of the soldiers, fled out at another gate. Those who remained behind, took sanctuary in the churches, whither the inhabitants likewise fled. Totila, who had kept his men under arms all night, and united in a body, through fear of an ambuscade, finding he had nothing to apprehend, went early in the morning to St. Peter's church, to return thanks for the success of the enterprize. His men, in their progress, killed twenty-six soldiers, with about sixty of the inhabitants; and this is all the blood that was shed; for Pelagius the deacon, throwing himself at his feet when he entered the church, with the book of the Gospels in his hand, earnestly intreated him to spare the inhabitants.

Yr. of Fl.
2895.
A. D. 547.

Rome betrayed to
Totila.

^b Procop. lib. iii. cap. 17.

*He spares
the inha-
bitants, but
plunders
the city.*

Totila, exasperated against the inhabitants, refused at first to comply with his demand; but was afterwards prevailed upon to forbid his Goths, under the severest penalties, to put any of the citizens or soldiers to death. However, he allowed them full liberty to plunder the city, which they did for several days together, stripping the inhabitants of all their wealth, and leaving nothing in their houses but the naked walls. Thus many persons of great distinction, and among the rest Rusticiana, the widow of Boetius, and daughter of Symmachus, a matron of exemplary piety, were reduced to beg their bread from door to door. In the house of Bessas was found an immense treasure, which he had scandalously amassed during the siege, by selling to the people, at an exorbitant price, the corn that had been stored for the use of the garrison. The Goths were for putting Rusticiana to death, because she had persuaded, as they pretended, the Romans to pull down the images, and destroy the statues, of Theodoric, to revenge, by that means, the death of her father and husband; but Totila, taking her and all the women under his protection, secured them against the cruelty and insolence of the soldiery. Thus was Rome recovered by the Goths, in the year of the Christian æra 547, the twentieth of Justinian's reign, and the twelfth of the war.

*He up-
braids the
senate, but
spares
them.*

Totila, now master of the capital of Italy, sent for the senate; and, putting them in mind of the favours they had received from the Goths, and the severe treatment they had experienced from the emperor and his officers, he bitterly reproached them for behaving so ungratefully to their benefactors, and, in a transport of passion, threatened to make them all slaves; but his anger soon subsiding, he pardoned them at the intercession of Pelagius, and dismissed them unhurt. He afterwards dispatched Pelagius and Theodorus, a Roman orator, as his ambassadors to Justinian, with letters full of respect, in which he desired to live in peace and amity with him, as Theodoric had done with Anastasius, promising, in that case, to respect him as his father, and to assist him, when wanted, with all his forces, against any other nation whatsoever. On the contrary, if the emperor rejected his offers, he threatened to level Rome with the ground, to put the whole senate to the sword, and carry the war into Illyricum. The emperor returned no other answer than that he referred the whole to Belisarius, who had full power to manage all things of that nature at discretion. Totila, provoked at this answer, and at the defeat

of a body of troops which he had sent to open a passage into Lucania, resolved to demolish Rome, so as not to leave one stone upon another. Accordingly he began with the walls, of which he threw down a third part, and was ready to set fire to the most stately and beautiful buildings of the city, when he received a letter from Belisarius, dissuading him from the resolution he had taken. Belisarius laid great stress on the grandeur and majesty of that ancient city, which being raised to such a height of fame and greatness by the industry and valour of so many celebrated and eminent men, posterity would behold him, who destroyed it, as an enemy to mankind, since he deprived them of so many monuments of the worth and merit of their ancestors. He added, that if the Goths should prove victorious, he would never forgive himself for destroying not only the most beautiful city in his dominions, but even the most beautiful and magnificent in the world. On the other hand if, in the course of the war, fortune should happen to abandon him, he would, by preserving so favoured a city, highly oblige the conqueror, who would not fail to make him a suitable return; whereas, by demolishing it, he would preclude himself from all favour.

Totila having seriously considered the contents of this letter, and weighed with attention the arguments alleged by Belisarius, resolved to follow his advice; and abandoning all thoughts of destroying Rome, he marched with his army into Lucania. He carried the senate with him; and the rest of the inhabitants, with their wives and children; he sent, under a strong guard, into Lucania before him, not leaving a single inhabitant in Rome. Arriving in Lucania he reduced all that country, and then marched with his army towards Ravenna^d. Upon his departure John seized on Tarentum, which he fortified with a ditch cut through the isthmus. The city of Spoletum was likewise recovered by the Romans, being betrayed by Martianus, a Roman soldier, who pretended to be a deserter. Belisarius had continued all this time at Portus, about ten miles from Rome; but being informed that Totila had directed his march towards Ravenna, and being very desirous of recovering once more the capital of Italy, he led his small army thither. Finding the city destitute of inhabitants, and a third part of the walls levelled with the ground, he undertook the re-peopling of the place, and began to repair the walls. He cleared the ditch round the city, which had been filled up by Totila; and for the present contented himself with heaping huge stones one upon another, in the many

He is diverted by Belisarius from destroying the city; but carries with him all the inhabitants.

Rome regained and fortified by Belisarius.

^d Procop. lib. iii. cap. 2.

breaches that were made in the wall. The whole work being finished in the space of twenty-five days, and the city supplied with plenty of provisions, which Belisarius took care to have imported by water, the ancient inhabitants, who had been dispersed up and down Italy, returned in great numbers, and were kindly received by Belisarius, who restored to every one his own house and possessions, and promised an immunity from taxes to such as were willing to reside in the place.

*Totila re-
turns a-
gainst it ;*

*but is vi-
gorously re-
pulsed by
Belisarius.*

Upon this intelligence Totila hastened back to Rome, not doubting but at his approach Belisarius would abandon the place and return to Portus, which was strongly fortified ; but finding, contrary to his expectation, that the Roman general was determined not to quit the city, but to defend it to the last extremity, he encamped at a small distance, and early next morning advanced in order of battle, and began the attack with incredible fury. The Romans, animated by the example of their general, defended themselves with no less valour and intrepidity ; so that the battle lasted from morning to night, when the Goths, who had lost a great number of men, returned to their camp. The assault was renewed the three following days ; but Totila, being constantly repulsed with great loss, abandoned the enterprise, and retired to Tibur, where he continued some time, leaving Belisarius at leisure to complete the fortifications of Rome ; which he did accordingly, and once more sent the keys of the city to the emperor. But the Goths, who had hitherto extolled their king, and, equaling him to the greatest heroes of antiquity, had accounted themselves happy in the choice, began to complain loudly of his conduct, and, with great liberty, to censure him for not having either entirely demolished Rome, or left a strong garrison in it, to prevent its falling again into the enemy's hands. The whole army grew so discontented, that when he prepared to march to the siege of Perugia, they betrayed a great reluctance to follow him, till, in a concerted speech, he made an apology for his late conduct, ascribing his ill success, not to any want of foresight or neglect on his side, but to the inconstancy of fortune, which in all human affairs, but more especially in matters of war, bears a chief sway. Having thus regained the esteem and affection of his soldiers, he left Tibur, and marching with his whole army to Perugia, invested that city.

Upon his departure, John, who had continued in that district, being master of Otranto, marched into Campania, and set at liberty the Roman senators and their wives, after having routed a strong party of Goths who had been left by
Totila

Totila to guard them. Totila, in order to be revenged on John, rising from before Perugia, penetrated by mountains and bye-ways into Apulia, where he then was; but falling unadvisedly upon him in the night, the Romans, by favour of the darkness, escaped, with the loss of no more than a hundred men, and got safe into Tarento. This was a great oversight in Totila; for, as his army was ten times their number, had he waited with patience till day-light, he might have surrounded, and cut them off to a man. In the mean time Belisarius, having received a supply of twelve hundred men from Constantinople, sailed with them for Sicily, being informed that Totila designed to pass over into that island, which was then quite unguarded; but Totila, instead of making any attempt upon Sicily, invested Rusciana, a city of great strength in Calabria, with his whole army.

*John put
to flight by
Totila,*

*who be-
siegues and
takes Ru-
sciana.*

Belisarius, informed of this enterprize, leaving Sicily, sailed to Otranto, where he received a second supply from Constantinople of two thousand foot, under the command of Valerian. He then ordered John to join him with the body he commanded; and having assembled a great number of transports, he sailed for Rusciana, with a design to relieve that place; but finding the Goths drawn up on the shore, and ready to receive him, he abandoned the enterprize, and returned to Rome, sending John and Valerian, with part of the forces, to ravage Picenum, and, by that diversion, oblige Totila to raise the siege of Rusciana; but the king of the Goths, pursuing the siege with more vigour than ever, detached two thousand horse into Picenum, who being joined by the Goths in that province, obliged the Romans sent by Belisarius to retire. Mean while the garrison of Rusciana, being reduced to great distress, and despairing of relief, submitted to Totila, who, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made, treated them with great humanity, receiving such as were willing to serve under him into his army, and suffering the rest to retire unmolested. Only Chalazar, who had formerly broken his word to him, he put to death, after having caused his hands and privy parts to be cut off*.

During these transactions in Italy, the Persians having gained considerable advantages over the Romans, Justinian was easily persuaded by Antonia, the wife of Belisarius, to recall her husband, and employ him once more against that nation. Belisarius therefore left Italy, having rather diminished than increased the reputation he had gained by his former expedition: for during the five years he com-

*Belisarius
recalled.*

* Procop. lib. iii. cap. 23, 24.

manded against Totila, he scarce performed any thing worthy of notice, being, to appearance, in a perpetual flight, and sailing from one sea-port to another^f. Upon the departure of Belisarius Totila returned before Perugia, which he took by storm; but, according to his custom, spared both the inhabitants and the garrison.

*The Franks
break into
Italy,*

The Franks, who had long continued quiet, concluding the Goths, as well as the Romans, to be greatly weakened by such a long and destructive war, thought it the proper time, by breaking into Italy, to seize, without distinction, on the countries belonging to both. In the very beginning of the war the Ostrogoths, as we have related above, not able to make head at the same time against the Romans and the Franks, attempted to gain over the latter to their party, by giving up the provinces they held in Gaul. This cession Justinian was so far from opposing, that, on the contrary, carefully avoiding to give the Franks the least pretence for making war upon him, he solemnly confirmed them in the possession of the countries the Goths had surrendered, renouncing, in their behalf, all claims to the said countries. Thus the kings of the Franks, whom he commonly styles Germans, became masters of Marseilles, an ancient colony of the Phocæans, and of the other maritime powers, with the sea itself^g. But no favours, no grants, could make the Franks forego their natural treachery, or adhere to their engagements, when they had the least prospect of advantage from their acting contrary to these obligations. The Ostrogoths had yielded to them the rich countries which they held in Gaul; Justinian had transferred the claim and title he had to those countries; by their treaty with the Goths they engaged to assist them against the Romans; by their treaty with the Romans they obliged themselves to stand neuter: and both treaties they equally observed; for, thinking both nations greatly reduced by so long a war, they embraced that opportunity to attack both; accordingly, entering the province of Venetia, belonging partly to the Romans, and partly to the Goths, they seized it for themselves.

*and make
themselves
masters of
Venetia.*

In mean time Totila, having received a reinforcement of six thousand Lombards, commanded by Ildiges, one of their princes, resolved to march to Rome, and once more attempt the reduction of that city. Belisarius had left three thousand chosen men, under the command of Diogenes, an officer of great experience, and known valour, who held out, for a considerable time, against the repeated assaults of the enemy. Totila invested the city on all sides,

^f Procop. lib. iii. cap. 24, 25.

^g Idem ibid. cap. 33.

and,

and, at the beginning of the siege, made himself master of Portus; so that, all communication being cut off both by sea and land, he hoped to reduce the garrison in a short time by famine. But Diogenes wisely provided against this evil, by causing corn to be sown within the walls; so that the town would, in all likeliwood, have held out till the arrival of the promised succours from Constantinople, had it not been betrayed a second time by the Isaurians. One of the gates was guarded by a body of that nation, who, being discontented for want of their pay, which they had not received for some years, and hearing that their countrymen, who had formerly betrayed the city, had been preferred and enriched by the Goths, resolved to follow their example. Accordingly, some of them having first had a private conference with Totila, they opened, at the time agreed on, the gate which they guarded, and received him, with his whole army, into the city. As Totila had caused the trumpets to sound at the opposite gate, pretending to attack the city on that side, the garrison flew thither; so that he met with no opposition.

Rome besieged by Totila,

Yr. of FL.
2898.
A. D. 550.

and betrayed to him a second time by the Isaurians.

When the inhabitants found the town was taken, they escaped at the opposite gate towards Centumcellæ, the only strong place held by the Romans in that neighbourhood; but great numbers of them, and likewise of the soldiers who took the same route, were cut off by the Goths, whom Totila had placed in ambushes on the road, not doubting but they would fly that way. Diogenes escaped with a slight wound; but Paul, a Cilician, whom Belisarius had pointed to command under him, retired, with a body of four hundred horse to Adrian's tomb, and possessed himself of the bridge leading to St. Peter's church, now Ponte Sant' Angelo. There they defended themselves with incredible valour against the enemy's whole army, till they had no provisions left; when they resolved to sally out, and either cut themselves a way through the midst of the enemy, or die in the attempt. Totila being informed of this resolution, thought it adviseable to offer them terms: accordingly he gave them to understand, that, upon their delivering up their horses and arms, and swearing never to serve more against the Goths, he was ready to grant them leave to return to Constantinople; but that, if they chose rather to remain in Italy, and serve under him, they should have all their effects restored, and be placed upon the same footing with the Goths. They chose at first to return to Constantinople; but afterwards, changing their resolution, they listed among the troops of Totila. Only Paul, and Mindus, an Isaurian, begged leave to return home;

Some of the inhabitants cut off in attempting to retire.

A body of the imperial troops list themselves in the army of Totila.

turn home; which Totila not only granted, but allowed them a safe-conduct, and money to bear their charges. About three hundred more of the garrison, who had taken sanctuary in the churches, abandoning their asylum, submitted to Totila, upon his promising to spare their lives.

*He repairs
what he
had formerly
destroyed.*

He was formerly determined upon destroying Rome, as we have related already, but diverted from it by Belisarius. Now he made it his chief study to embellish the city, repairing, at a great expence, what he had formerly destroyed. He recalled the senate, and restored them to their ancient rank and splendor, invited the citizens to take possession of their estates, supplied the city with plenty of provisions, and, peopling it with Goths and Italians, exhibited the Circensian games, after the manner of the Roman emperors, and presided at them in person. This, so different from his former conduct, was owing to the answer given him by the king of the Franks, when he asked his daughter in marriage; importing, that he would not dispose of his daughter to any but a king; and that Totila ought not to be esteemed as such, since he was not able to preserve the capital city, but had been obliged to demolish part of it, and abandon the rest to the enemy ^b.

Totila, again master of Rome, dispatched ambassadors to Constantinople, with proposals for a peace, offering, upon the emperor's relinquishing Italy, to assist him as a faithful ally against any other nation whatsoever. But Justinian was so far from hearkening to the overture, that he would not even admit the envoys to his presence. Totila, therefore, determined to pursue the war with more vigour than ever. Having left a strong garrison in Rome, he marched with the rest of his army to Centumcellæ, now Civita Vecchia, which he invested; but, Diogenes making a vigorous resistance, it was agreed between him and Totila, that he should acquaint the emperor with his situation; and that if, by a time fixed, he received no relief, the place should be delivered up: thirty hostages were given. After this agreement, he passed with his army into Sicily, and, in his passage, made an attempt upon Rhegium; but finding the place strongly garrisoned, he left part of the army to block it up, in order to reduce it by famine; and with the rest crossed into Sicily, after having made himself master of Tarentum. As he was embarking his forces, he received advice, that Ariminum had been betrayed to the Goths he had left in Picenum. Having crossed the streights, he landed without opposition

*He takes
Tarentum,
and passes
over into
Sicily.*

^b Procop. lib. iii. cap. 36, 37.

at Messina; but, not being able to reduce that city, he destroyed the neighbouring country with fire and sword. In the mean time the garrison of Rhegium, being reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions, submitted upon terms, and delivered up the city to the troops of Totila¹.

Justinian, alarmed at the progress Totila made, pardoned Artabanes, who had lately conspired against him, and sent him into Sicily, to defend that island against the Goths. At the same he named his nephew Germanus general against the Goths in Italy, allowing him a large sum to raise troops in Thrace and Illyricum, whence he was to march into Italy with Philimuth commander of the Heruli, and John then general of Illyricum. As Germanus was a man of a generous temper, and greatly beloved by the soldiery, he soon raised a very considerable army, not only the Romans but the Barbarians flocking to his standard from all parts. With this army, the best the emperor had ever sent into Italy, he hoped to add to the reputation which he had lately acquired against the Vandals in Africa, the glory of driving the Goths out of Italy, and uniting that country to the empire. This, he thought, he might the more easily accomplish, as he married Matafuntha, the daughter of Amalasuntha, and grand-daughter of Theodoric, who, he hoped, would draw great numbers of the Goths over to his party; for he designed to take her with him into Italy. The Goths were greatly dispirited, when they heard, that a general of consummate experience, universally beloved by the soldiery, and so nearly allied to Theodoric, whose memory they adored, was to command against them. On the other hand, the Romans began to resume their courage; and such as had been dispersed by their frequent defeats, assembling in one body on the borders of Istria, waited his arrival in that province.

*Germanus
appointed
general in
Italy.*

Germanus, having mustered all his forces in the neighbourhood of Sardica, ordered them to be ready within three days to march into Italy: but Providence had otherwise disposed of affairs; for Germanus was suddenly seized with a violent distemper, which, in a few days, put an end to his life, and all his great designs. The emperor, upon the news of his death, which gave him the utmost concern, ordered Justin, the son of Germanus, and John, who had married his daughter, to lead the army into Italy: but as winter approached, and they wanted ships to convey the troops thither by sea, they marched into Dalmatia, and put them into winter-quarters, taking up their own in Salonæ².

He dies.

¹ Procop. lib. iii. cap. 36, 37.

² Idem ibid. cap. 39.

In the mean time Totila, having desolated great part of Sicily, sat down with his army before Syracuse; but Liberius, whom Justinian had sent with a squadron to protect that coast, having forced his way into the haven, reinforced the garrison with a considerable supply both of men and provisions. However, Totila prosecuted the siege with great vigour, though valiantly opposed by the Romans within, who, hearing that Artabanes was coming to their relief with a powerful fleet, would listen to no terms.

*Syracuse
taken, and
all Sicily
reduced by
Totila.*

But the fleet being dispersed on the coast of Calabria by a violent storm, and Artabanes driven to the island of Malta, where, with much difficulty, he saved himself, Liberius despairing of relief, abandoned Syracuse to the enemy, and conveyed the garrison by sea to Palermo. Totila, having no enemy in Sicily to oppose him, entirely reduced that island, and, leaving four strong garrisons in it to curb the inhabitants, returned to Italy, loaded with booty¹. Early in the spring Justin and John, who had passed the winter in Salonæ, having assembled their forces, set out on their march to Ravenna: but in the mean time the Sclavi, passing the Danube, either at the instigation of Totila, or urged by a desire of booty, broke into the Roman provinces, committing the most shocking cruelties. This irruption greatly retarded the march of the army, the Roman generals being obliged to send strong detachments against them; which compelled them to repass the Danube, and return home: but before the two generals reached the confines of Italy, they received orders from the emperor to proceed no farther, but to wait the arrival of Narses, whom he had appointed commander in chief of all his forces, with absolute and uncontrolled authority. While Narses was making the necessary preparations for his intended expedition, Totila, having equipped a fleet of three hundred gallies, sent them to pillage the coasts of Greece, where they acquired an immense booty. They made a descent upon the island of Corfu; and, having laid it waste, sailed to Epirus, where they surprised and plundered the cities of Nicopolis and Anchialus, and took upon the coast many ships, and some among the rest laden with provisions for the army of Narses.

*Narses ap-
pointed to
command
in Italy.*

*Ancona be-
sieged by
the Goths,*

At the same time Totila blocked up the city of Ancona by sea and land, and soon reduced it to great extremity; which Valerian, then in Ravenna, being apprised of, he acquainted John, who, pursuant to the emperor's orders, was waiting the arrival of Narses in Dalmatia, with the condition the

¹ Procop. lib. iii. cap. 40.

city was in, earnestly soliciting him to repair to the relief of the only place the emperor had in those parts, and promising to join him with all the forces under his command. John had been ordered not to move from Dalmatia till the arrival of Narſes; but venturing on this occasion to disobey his orders, he put the flower of his army on board forty vessels, and sailed with them to Ancona, where Valerian joined him with a squadron of twelve ships. Upon their appearing before Ancona, the Goths, having manned forty-seven of their best ships, sailed out against them; whereupon an engagement ensued, in which the Goths, quite ignorant of sea-affairs, were totally defeated, thirty-six of their ships being taken or sunk, with all the men on board, and the rest driven ashore, where they were set on fire by the Goths themselves, lest they should fall into the enemy's hands. The Goths, after this defeat, raised the siege, and, retiring in great haste, left their camp, and part of their baggage, to the Roman generals; who, having reinforced the garrison, returned, Valerian to Ravenna, and John to Salonæ. At the same time Artabanes, having assembled his fleet, which had been dispersed by a storm, landed in Sicily, and, expelling the Goths, recovered all the castles garrisoned by them in that island. These losses discouraged the Goths, and Totila himself, to such a degree, that he once more dispatched ambassadors to Constantinople, offering to yield Sicily and Dalmatia to the emperor, to pay an annual tribute for Italy, and to assist the Romans as a faithful ally in all their wars: but Justinian, determined upon driving the Goths out of Italy, ordered the ambassadors to return, without suffering them to appear in his presence^m.

who are defeated by sea, and forced to raise the siege.

Totila, finding Justinian would listen to no terms, began to levy new forces, and make great preparations both by sea and land. Having equipped a considerable fleet, he sent it against Corsica and Sardinia, both which islands were soon reduced. On the other hand, the city of Croton in Calabria, which had been long besieged by the Goths, was relieved by the garrison of Thermopylæ in Greece, conveyed by sea into Italy: but now Narſes approached at the head of a formidable army, bringing with him an immense treasure to supply the wants of the troops, and to pay the emperor's forces in Italy their arrears, which had been due ever since the beginning of the war. His army consisted not only of Romans levied in Thrace and Illyricum, but of Barbarians assembled from all parts: besides, Auduin, king of the Lombards, sent him a body of five thousand chosen

The Goths make themselves masters of Corsica and Sardinia.

^m Procop. lib. iv. cap. 23.

men; Philimuth, prince of the Heruli, joined him with three thousand of his countrymen; Aruth, another prince of the same nation, came to his assistance at the head of a chosen body of veterans. A great number of Gepidæ, Hunns, and Persians, chearfully followed his banner, some in acknowledgement of his former favours (for he had been always kind to the Barbarians), and others in expectation of spoil and booty; for they were all convinced, that the Goths could not oppose so numerous an army, commanded by a general of great valour, and consummate experience. Narfes, on his entering Dalmatia, was joined by John, and the army under his command; but being advanced as far as the confines of Venetia, the Franks, who, as we have related above, had seized on that province, refused him a passage: so that, not daring, at so critical a conjuncture, to provoke that nation, by the advice of John, who was well acquainted with those parts, he changed his route; and, marching along the sea-coast, got safe, with his whole army, to Ravenna, where he was joined by the remainder of the Roman forces, under the command of Valerian and Justin.

Narfes arrives with a great army in Italy,

and marches to Rome.

Having remained nine days in Ravenna, to refresh his army, and appointed Justin governor of that city, he began his march towards Rome. Being arrived at Ariminum, Ufdrilas, governor of the place, sallied unexpectedly out upon him with part of the garrison, as he was searching for a ford, attended by a small guard; but a party of Heruli, seasonably advancing, put the Goths to flight, and killed Ufdrilas in the pursuit. The Romans might have easily reduced the city, the garrison being greatly dispirited by the death of their governor; but Narfes, pursuing his principal design, and avoiding every thing that could retard it, proceeded on his march, the Goths suffering him to pass the river undisturbed. He left the Via Flaminia, being informed that a strong body of Goths guarded the narrow pass in the mountains called Petra Pertusa, now the Furlo; and, turning to the left, pursued his march towards Rome. In the mean time Totila, having assembled all his forces in the neighbourhood of that city, marched through Tuscany towards the Apennine, and, having reached that mountain, encamped at a village called Tagiria, with a design to give the Romans battle upon the first advantage that offered. He had scarce formed his camp, when Narfes came to the same mountain, at a small distance from the place which was memorable for the defeat of the Gauls by Camillus, and was called Buxta Gallorum, because the Gauls slain by him were buried there.

Narfes

Narfes, upon his arrival, dispatched a messenger to Totila, advising him not to contend with the whole strength of the empire, commanding the messenger at the same time, if he found Totila resolved upon war, to bid him appoint a day for a pitched battle. Totila, without betraying the least apprehension, told the messenger, that the dispute must be decided by the sword; and that, eight days after, he would not fail to meet the Roman general. Narfes, suspecting some design in this delay, made the necessary preparations, as if he were to fight the day following: and acted therein very wisely; for the next day Totila advanced with his whole army in order of battle. Narfes had in the night detached fifty men to seize on an eminence at a small distance; which they executed accordingly. But Totila, equally desirous to gain it, sent several detachments of horse, one after another, to dislodge them. The Romans maintained their ground, and being animated by the example of their leader, named Paul, who behaved with unparalleled bravery, they continually repulsed the enemy, and obliged them to give over their attempt, though far superior to the Romans in number, and supported by fresh forces.

A day appointed for a general engagement.

He is met by Totila.

While both armies stood waiting the signal, a Goth, named Cocas, who had formerly served in the emperor's army, advancing before the ranks, challenged any on the Roman side to single combat. The challenge was readily accepted by Anzelas, an Armenian, who slew his insulting adversary at the first encounter; and returning to his companions, was received with joyful shouts by the whole army, who considered his success as an omen of their future victory. Totila being informed, that a body of two thousand horse, whom he had long expected, were near at hand, in order to gain time, desired an interview with Narfes; but before the place was agreed on where they were to meet, the two thousand horse joined the army: and then Totila drew off his troops, and ordered them to refresh themselves, as if he did not intend to engage that day, it being already noon; but soon after he suddenly led them against the enemy, hoping, by so unexpected an onset, to surprise them. However, Narfes, who suspected his design, and therefore had kept his men in battle-array, received him with great resolution.

A single combat.

Both armies fought for some time with incredible fury; but the Gothic horse being, after an obstinate conflict, put to the rout, and retiring in great confusion among the foot, their infantry was by that means thrown into such disorder, that they could never afterwards rally. Narfes, observing the enemy's army thus disordered, encouraged his men to make

The Goths defeated.

make one more effort; which the Goths not being able to withstand, betook themselves to flight, leaving six thousand men dead on the spot. Totila, finding the day irrecoverably lost, fled, attended only by five horsemen; but was pursued, and mortally wounded, by a commander of the Gepidæ, named Asbadæ. However, he continued his flight till he arrived at a place called Capræ, where he halted, and had his wound dressed; but he expired soon after, and was privately buried by those who attended him. As Asbadæ, who gave him the mortal wound, did not know him, the report of his death was not believed by the Romans, till a Gothic woman having discovered the place where he was buried, they opened the grave, and viewed the bodyⁿ.

*Totila
killed.*

*His cha-
racter.*

Totila is justly commended by all the writers of those times, not only for his valour, but for his humanity, temperance, moderation, and, above all, for his justice and equity. Upon his accession to the throne, he found the affairs of the Goths in a deplorable condition; but brought them, in the eleven years he reigned, almost to the same state in which Theodoric had left them. Totila, says Paulus Diaconus, though a Goth, lived with the Romans like a father with his children, without making the least alteration in their laws or form of government. Procopius, though a Greek, and consequently no friend to the Goths, could not help extolling, on many occasions, his mildness and clemency to the vanquished. The same writer often commends him as a great lover of justice and equity. In the many cities he reduced, he took particular care that no insult should be offered to the women; and even punished one of his officers with death for abusing the daughter of a Roman in Calabria, though he was a man of known valour, and the whole army interceded in his behalf: his estate, which was very considerable, he bestowed on the woman, to make some amends for the injury that had been done her. In short, all the writers who speak of Totila, represent him as a person endued with every good quality becoming a prince.

*Teia chosen
king.*

The Goths, who had the good fortune to escape the swords of the Romans, fled over the Po, and assembling at Ticinum, now Pavia, chose Teia for their king. He was deservedly esteemed one of the most valiant men of their nation, and had, on several occasions, distinguished himself in a most eminent manner. His first care was to assemble the Goths, who, after the late defeat, had taken refuge in

ⁿ Procop. lib. iv. cap. 28, 29.

the several forts beyond the Po. Having secured the treasure, which his predecessor had left in Pavia, he endeavoured to draw the Franks to his assistance by the offer of large sum, and by representing to their king, that, if the Romans once recovered Italy, they would, in the next place, attempt to drive them out of Gaul, to which they had no better claim than the Goths had to Italy. But the Franks could not be prevailed upon to afford the Goths any assistance, choosing rather to seize on Italy for themselves, than to employ their arms in securing it either to the Goths, or the Romans.

He endeavours in vain to draw the Franks to his assistance.

In the mean time Narfes, informed that the Goths had raised Teia to the throne, and that he was assembling his countrymen beyond the Po, detached Valerian, with part of the army, to watch their motions, and prevent, if possible, their uniting, while he himself marched with the rest towards Rome. On his march, he made himself master of Narnia, Spoleto, and Perugia; and then approaching Rome, invested it with his whole army. Totila, before the arrival of Narfes in Italy, had burnt great part of the city; and not having a sufficient number of men to guard the whole circuit of so extensive a place, he had surrounded with a new wall that part of it near Adrian's tomb, which seemed the most strong and defensible. Into his fortress or castle, as we may call it, the Goths retired with their most valuable effects, at the approach of Narfes, leaving but a small number of men to defend the walls where they seemed weakest; so that the Romans, by the help of scaling-ladders, entered the city without opposition. Then Narfes invested the castle, which held out for some time; but the garrison, despairing of relief, surrendered, upon a promise that their lives should be spared. Thus was Rome once more recovered by the Romans, and the keys were sent again to the emperor.

Narfes takes several towns.

Narfes takes Rome.

The Goths, despairing of being able to maintain themselves in Italy, discharged their rage on the Roman senators, killing them wherever they fell into their hands. Those who had been confined by Totila to Campania, and were now returning to Rome, upon the report that the city was in the emperor's hands, were all murdered by the Goths quartered in those parts. Totila, upon his leaving Rome to march against Narfes, had taken with him, as hostages, the children of the principal Romans, to the number of three hundred, and sent them beyond the Po; and now Teia ordered them all to be put to the sword.

The cruelty of the Goths.

• Procop. lib. iv. cap. 34.

At the same time Regnares, a Goth, who commanded in Calabria, cut in pieces fifty Roman soldiers, who had been delivered to him as hostages. Teia, during the siege of Rome, had conveyed the greater part of the royal treasures to the castle of Cumæ, and secured it with a strong garriſon. Narſes, therefore, detached from Rome a ſtrong body to beſiege Cumæ, and at the ſame time another to attempt the reduction of Centumcellæ.

*Teia
marches to
the relief of
Cumæ, be-
ſieged by
the Ro-
mans.*

But Teia, fearing the royal treaſure would fall into the enemy's hands, reſolved at all events to relieve the city of Cumæ, where it was lodged. Purſuant to this reſolution, he muſtered all his forces, and paſſing the Po, directed his march through Tufcany. Narſes, informed of the route he had taken, detached the greater part of his army to keep them at bay, till Cumæ had ſubmitted. But he, taking a great compaſs by the ſea-coaſt, reached Campania, without meeting the enemy. Narſes recalling his forces; marched with his whole army into Campania, with a deſign to oblige the Goths, if they attempted the relief of Cumæ, to come to a general engagement. Both armies encamped at the foot of Mount Veſuvius, being parted by the river Draco, now Sarno, and continued there two months, Narſes not daring either to paſs the river, the Goths being maſters of the bridge, or retire, leſt they ſhould relieve the city of Cumæ. But at length Narſes having erected on his ſide of the river ſeveral wooden towers, from which the Goths were galled with continual ſhowers of arrows, and, by a fleet ſent him from Sicily, cut off their communication with the ſea, they were forced, through want of provisions, to abandon their camp, and retire to a neighbouring mountain, by Procopius called Mons Lactarius. Thither Narſes followed; but not thinking it ſafe to attack them, he ſecured all the avenues leading to the mountain, and thus reduced them to ſuch difficulties, that they reſolved to put the whole on the iſſue of a battle.

*A bloody
battle.*

Purſuant to this reſolution, they came down unexpectedly upon the Romans, and began one of the moſt bloody battles that ever was fought. The Goths, like men in deſpair, exerted their utmoſt efforts; and the Romans choſe rather to die on the ſpot than ſhamefully yield to an enemy ſo much inferior to them in number. During the action Teia exhibited ſurpriſing proofs of valour and conduct, ſuch as equalled him, in the opinion of Procopius, to the moſt renowned heroes of antiquity. Appriſed that their all lay at ſtake, and that the fate of Italy depended on the ſucceſs of that day, he placed himſelf in the firſt rank, to encourage his men by his example. The Romans diſcovering him,
and

and knowing his death would terminate the dispute, and, in all likelihood, the war, directed their whole force against him, some attacking him with their spears, and others discharging at him showers of darts and arrows, which he received on his shield, killing in the mean time great numbers of the enemy, who, with all their efforts, were not able to make him submit, or yield one inch of ground. When his shield was so loaded with darts, that he could not easily wield it, he called for another, and renewing the conflict, made a great slaughter of the Romans. Thus he shifted his shield three times; but in the third change, having left his breast exposed, he was, in that moment, wounded with a javelin, and instantly died of the wound, falling in the place where he had stood from the beginning of the battle, and upon heaps of the enemy, whom he had killed with his own hand.

Teia slain.

The Romans, seeing him fall, cut off his head, and fixing it upon a long pole, exposed it to the view of the Goths, not doubting that, disheartened by the sight, they would give way; but, notwithstanding the death of their king, they continued the battle, till, night coming on, both armies were obliged to retire. Early next morning they renewed the engagement, and fought with unparalleled bravery, till night again parted them. On the third day the Goths, despairing of being able to overcome the Romans, so much superior to them in numbers, resolved to capitulate. Accordingly they sent deputies to Narfes, offering to lay down their arms, provided such as chose to live in Italy should be allowed to enjoy their estates and possessions without molestation, as subjects of the empire; and those who were willing to retire elsewhere, should be suffered to carry off all their goods and effects. These terms being immediately ratified by Narfes, and the other commanders of the army, the Goths, laying down their arms, either repaired to their respective dwellings in Italy, or, abandoning that country, retired with their effects, after having engaged never to bear arms against the Romans ^P. Thus ended the dominion of the Goths in Italy, in the twenty-sixth year of Justinian's reign, the eighteenth of the Gothic war, and of the Christian æra 553, after they had reigned sixty-four years in that country, from Theodoric to Teia.

The Goths submit to the emperor.

Yr. of Fl.
2901.
A. D. 553.

The end of their dominion in Italy.

The Goths, however, who had been left by Teia in the fortified towns, refusing to stand to the agreement made by their countrymen, had recourse to the Franks, who, thinking this a favourable opportunity of seizing on Italy for them-

^P Procop. lib. iv. cap. 34, 35.

*The Franks
enter Italy.*

*Several
cities, held
by the
Goths,
submit to
Narfes.*

*Seven
thousand
Goths be-
sieged in
Cassinum.*

selves, promised to assist them against the Romans to the utmost of their power. Accordingly they entered Italy, notwithstanding their alliance with the emperor, to the number of sixty thousand men, most of them the subjects of Theudebald, king of Metz, under the conduct of the two brothers Leutharis and Bucilinus, asserting, that they were come to assist the Goths, but really with a view to make themselves masters of Italy, with the assistance of those whom they pretended to protect. Narfes, informed of their march, resolved to reduce, if possible, before their arrival, those towns still held by the Goths. Having, therefore, left part of his army before Cumæ, which city Teia had committed to the charge of his brother Aligern, who refused to deliver it up to the Romans, even after the agreement, he marched into Tuscany, where the cities of Volaterræ, Pisæ, Fæsulæ, and several others, submitted; but Lucca held out with great obstinacy, the Goths expecting to be relieved by the Franks: but the march of their pretended allies being retarded by the troops which Narfes had sent to dispute the passage of the Po, the city, after three months siege, was obliged to surrender. By this time Aligern, being reduced to great distress in Cumæ, began to consider, that if the Franks, who were coming to his assistance, should drive the Romans out of Italy, the Goths would be no gainers by their victory, since it was not to be doubted but the Franks, whose treachery was well known, instead of reinstating the Goths, would secure the country in dispute to themselves. He therefore judged it more reasonable to deliver it to the ancient owners, than to strangers; and accordingly, opening the gates to the Romans, he put them in possession of the town, and the royal treasure of the Goths.

There were still remaining seven thousand Goths, headed by Regnares, who had seized on a fort near Capua, called Cassinum. Narfes marched against them with his whole army; but, finding he could not storm the place without great loss, he resolved to reduce it by famine. The Goths, who were plentifully supplied with provisions, held out all the winter; but, early in the spring, Regnares demanded a conference with Narfes, which being granted, he insisted upon such unreasonable terms, that the general dismissed him with indignation. This affront Regnares resented to such a degree, that, having gained a hill near the walls, he let fly an arrow at Narfes, with a design to kill him; but having missed his aim, the general's guards sent a shower of arrows after him, by one of which being mortally wounded, he was carried into the castle, where he died in two days. The besieged, intimidated by the death of their leader, submitted,

ted, upon promise that their lives should be spared. Narfes, being admitted into the place, granted their lives, agreeably to his promise; but, in order to prevent their raising any farther disturbance in Italy, he sent them all to Constantinople^a. As for the Franks, who had entered Italy under the conduct of Leutharis and Bucelinus, their numerous army was entirely destroyed, partly by the sword and partly by sickness, as we shall relate at large in a more proper place; so that now all Italy was again brought under subjection, and united to the eastern empire, some of the Goths retiring into other countries, but most of them remaining in Italy, where they continued to enjoy their lands and possessions.

Narfes, who had delivered that country from the dominion of the Goths, was appointed by Justinian to govern it as a province of the eastern empire; and he ruled it accordingly, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, till the year 568, when he was recalled by the emperor Justin II. the successor of Justinian, at the instigation of his wife Sophia; and Longinus was sent to govern Italy in his room. As Longinus introduced a new form of government, we shall, in a few words, acquaint the reader with the alterations he made, and then proceed to the history of the Lombards, with which that of the exarchs, the successors of Longinus, is inseparably interwoven. The provinces of Italy had, ever since the time of Constantine the Great, been governed by consulares, correctores, and præsides, no alteration in the government having been made, either by the emperors who reigned after Constantine, or by the kings of the Goths; but Longinus being sent to succeed Narfes, with absolute power and authority, suppressed those magistrates, and in their stead placed, in each city of consequence, a governor, whom he distinguished with the title of duke. The city of Rome was not more honoured than any other; for Longinus, having abolished the very name of senate and consuls, appointed a magistrate over that metropolis, with the title of duke, common to the governors of the other cities. Himself took the title of exarch, which by the Greeks was given to those who presided over a diocese, and consequently over the many provinces of which the diocese was composed. This title was adopted by the successors of Longinus, who residing, as he had done, at Ravenna, were on that account called the exarchs of Ravenna. They governed all Italy, naming and removing the dukes at their pleasure; and to them the people had recourse in all matters of con-

They deliver up the place to Narfes.

*Yr. of Fl.
2916.
A. D. 568.*

Narfes recalled, and Longinus sent in his room.

The beginning of the exarchate.

^a Agath. lib. i. p. 32. & lib. ii. p. 85.

sequence. Longinus was sent by Justin to rule all Italy; but great part of that country, in the first year of his government, was seized on by the Lombards, called in by Narfes, as we have already related. This magistrate maintained the power and authority of the emperors of the East in Italy for the space of a hundred and eighty-three years, that is, from the year 568, when Longinus was sent into Italy, to the year 751, when Eutychius, the last exarch, was expelled, and Ravenna taken, by Astulphus king of the Lombards. We shall now, therefore, pursuant to our plan, resume the history of the Lombards, in which the reader will find whatever has been transmitted to us concerning the exarchs, till the taking of Ravenna by Astulphus, and the extinction of the exarchate.

S E C T. II.

The History of the Lombards, from the Death of Clephis to Desiderius, taken Captive by Charlemagne.

The Lombards break into Gaul.

Receive a great overthrow from the Franks.

IN the foregoing chapter, we have delivered the history of the Lombards, from their original to the death of Clephis, the successor of Alboin, and second king of Italy; and shall now proceed with the history of the other princes of that nation, to Desiderius their last king, taken captive by Charlemagne. The Lombards, upon the death of Clephis, who had treated them with great cruelty, resolved to be no longer governed by kings; and accordingly chose none for the space of ten years, but during that time lived subject to their dukes, as we have related before. The most powerful among these dukes, uniting their forces, entered Gaul, and committed dreadful ravages. Gontran, king of Orleans, dispatched a considerable army against them, under the conduct of Amatus a patrician; who engaged them, but was cut off with the greater part of the army. After this victory, the Lombards ravaged Burgundy without control, made a dreadful slaughter of the Burgundians, who attempted to oppose them, and retired, enriched with an immense booty. Encouraged by this success, they returned soon after, and laying the country waste, advanced as far as Ebrodunum or Ambrun, where they were opposed by Ennius, called also Mummulus, at the head of a strong body of Burgundians, who cut them off almost to a man.

About the year 578, the Saxons, who had attended the Lombards into Italy, and were, by an agreement with Al-

boinus, to share with him his future conquests, quarreling with their old friends and allies, resolved to quit Italy, and return to their own country. They pretended to live quite independent of the Lombards, and in a distinct body; an independence which the Lombards not consenting to, they left Italy with their wives and families, and took their route through Gaul: but Mummulus, one of Gontran's captains, meeting them on the confines, killed a great number, took many prisoners, and forced the rest to repass the Alps. However, they returned again; and having, with a considerable sum, purchased a passage of Mummulus, who met them at the Rhone, they retreated to their ancient lands; but found them possessed by the Suani, who, unwilling to dispute with them, offered to resign two-thirds of their possessions. This offer being rejected with indignation by the Saxons, a bloody battle was fought, in which twenty thousand Saxons were killed, and on the side of the Suani only four hundred and eighty. The Saxons, who remained alive, being about six thousand in number, renewed the engagement; but were again defeated, and obliged to submit to the terms which the Suani were pleased to impose.

The Saxons and Lombards disagree.

The Saxons return home, and are most of them cut off by the Suani.

But to return to the Lombards: three of their dukes, namely Amo, Zaban, and Rhodanus, notwithstanding the defeat their countrymen had lately received in Gaul, burst into that country, and, dividing themselves into three bodies, desolated it to a great extent: but Mummulus attacking them before they could unite their forces, cut great numbers in pieces, and obliged the rest to quit their booty, and return into Italy. Thither a party of Franks followed them, who made themselves masters of a castle in the neighbourhood of Trent, and having killed Ragilo, who came to oppose them, pillaged the country to the very gates of Trent: but Euin, duke of that city, sallying out unexpectedly against them, destroyed most of them, with their leader Charamnichis, and pursued the rest to the Alps, which they passed, leaving their booty behind.

The Lombards defeated again in Gaul.

At the same time the Lombards extended their conquests in Italy, and having defeated the forces of the exarch Longinus, reduced the cities of Sutri, Bomarzo, Orta, Todi, Amelia, Perugia, Luccoli, and several others of less importance: but in the mean time Tiberius, who had succeeded Justin, dying, Mauritius, who was chosen in his room, alarmed at the progress the Lombards made in Italy, resolved to put a stop to their victories, and if possible, to

They extend their conquests in Italy.

* Paul. Diac. de Gest. Long. lib. iii. cap. 36.

† Greg. Tur. lib. iv.

drive them out of that country. With this view he recalled Longinus, whom he judged unequal to such an undertaking, and sent Zamaragdus, a person of great prudence, and well skilled in military affairs. Zamaragdus landed at Ravenna with a considerable army in the beginning of the year 584, and taking the field early in the spring, surprised Broxillus, now Brissello, a place of great strength on the Po. He likewise prevailed upon Droctulf, an officer of experience, to revolt from the Lombards, who had raised him, though by nation a Suevian, to the rank of a duke, and to bring over with him a considerable number of men. At the same time Mauritius, concerting other measures to deliver Italy from the yoke of the Lombards, had recourse to Childebert, king of the Franks, and with a large sum prevailed upon him to engage in the war against the Lombards.

This confederacy, and the great preparations made both by Zamaragdus and Childebert, alarmed the Lombards to such a degree, that apprehending they should not be able to withstand two such powerful enemies, so long as they continued divided into so many petty kingdoms, they resolved to restore their ancient form of government, to submit again to the authority of a single person, and commit to his care the whole management of so dangerous a war. Pursuant to this resolution, they assembled in 585, and unanimously raised Autharis, the son of Clephis, to the throne. Autharis, with his valour and prudence, so established the kingdom of the Lombards, that notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Roman emperors, it lasted for the space of two hundred years. He had no sooner mounted the throne than he undertook the recovery of Brissello, resolved, as it was a place of the utmost importance, to force it out of the enemy's hands. Droctulf, who was in the town, and expected, if he were taken, to be treated with the utmost severity by the Lombards, made such a vigorous defence, that the siege continued a long time; but the garrison being reduced to great extremity, Droctulf found means to withdraw in the night, and repair to Ravenna. Autharis, being thus master of the place, dismantled it, that it might no longer serve as a place of refuge to the enemy, in case it should fall again into their hands. After the reduction of Brissello, he put his troops into winter-quarters, the season being already far advanced, and employed himself till the following spring, partly in settling the affairs of the kingdom, and partly in making the necessary preparations for the ensuing campaign.

Yr. of Fl.
2933.
A. D. 585.

*The royal
authority
restored a-
mong them.*

*He retakes
Brissello.*

» Paul. Diac. de Gest. Long. lib. iii. cap. 7.

In the first place he took upon him the name of Flavius, and ordered it to be used, in imitation of the Roman emperors, by all the Lombard kings his successors. In the second place, considering that the dukes, who for ten years had ruled with absolute power over their respective dukedoms, would not willingly part with all their authority, he allowed them to continue in their governments; but obliged them to contribute one moiety of their revenues towards the maintenance and support of his royal dignity. He reserved to himself the supreme dominion and authority, and took an oath of the dukes, that in time of war they would cheerfully assist him to the utmost of their power. Though he could remove the dukes at his pleasure, yet he deprived none of their dukedoms, except in cases of treason, nor gave them to others but when their male issue failed*. And this was the origin of the fiefs in Italy (P). Having settled matters with the dukes in the manner we have related, he enacted several wholesome and seasonable laws against theft, rapine, murder, adultery, and other crimes, which at that time prevailed among his subjects. He was the first of the Lombard kings, who, renouncing Paganism, embraced the Christian religion; and his example was followed by most of his subjects; but as they were all instructed by Arian bishops, they continued long infected with that heresy; which occasioned great disputes between them and the orthodox bishops of the cities subject to their dominion.

His conduct towards the dukes.

He embraces the Christian religion.

* Paul. Diac. lib. iii. cap. 8. Sigon. de Reg. Ital. lib. i. Regin. lib. i. p. 517.

(P) Some have imagined, that fiefs were first introduced by the Lombards, and, in imitation of them, adopted by other nations; but they are certainly mistaken in this conjecture, since it is manifest from Aimonius (1) and Gregory of Tours (2), that fiefs had been introduced into Gaul by the Franks some years before the reign of Autharis, who first established them in Italy. All the customs and laws which were afterwards introduced and published concerning fiefs, are

owing to the Lombards, who gave them a certain and regular form; so that, among all other nations, successions, acquisitions, investitures, and every thing else relating to fiefs, were regulated by the customs and laws of the Lombards. Hereupon a new body of laws sprung up, which were called feudal laws, and still are in some provinces of Italy, especially in the present kingdom of Naples, the chief part of the jurisprudence.

(1) Aimon. lib. i. cap. 14.

(2) Greg. Turr. lib. iv. cap. 45.

Childebert enters Italy, but is persuaded by Autharis to retire.

Autharis, having settled the affairs of his kingdom during the winter, received news early in the spring that Childebert, king of the Franks had, pursuant to his agreement with the emperor Mauritius, passed the Alps at the head of a powerful army. Being well assured that he had not sufficient strength to withstand him in the field, he ordered his dukes to provide their cities with strong garrisons, and to wait within their walls the arrival of the enemy, sending, at the same time, ambassadors to Childebert, with rich presents, to sue for peace. This conduct was attended with the desired success; for Childebert, considering it would prove a very tedious and difficult undertaking to besiege so many cities, accepted the presents sent by Autharis, and returned home. Of this retreat the emperor Mauritius loudly complained, and reproaching Childebert with breach of faith, insisted upon his returning the money he had received, amounting to fifty thousand solidi, for making war upon the Lombards, if he did not, within a time prefixed, perform his engagements. Childebert, unwilling to refund the money, and, on the other hand, thinking himself bound in honour to perform some remarkable service in favour of his ally, worthy of so large a sum, raised another numerous army, and having supplied them with every thing necessary for the expedition, ordered them to march, under the conduct of his best generals, into Italy. Autharis had formerly declined a battle, and, acting only defensively, had kept his troops within the fortified towns; but now, considering that if he should have the good fortune to crush so powerful an enemy, other nations, as well as the Franks, would be thereby deterred from invading his dominions, he resolved to alter his conduct, and meet the enemy in the open field. With this view he mustered all the forces he had, and having encouraged them with an animating speech, marched in quest of the enemy, and offered them battle. The challenge being accepted by the Franks, a bloody engagement ensued, in which both armies fought with inexpressible fury; but the Franks were, in the end, utterly defeated. The Lombards pursued them with great slaughter, and obliged them to take refuge among the barren mountains, where most of them perished with hunger and cold; so that very few retired to their own country.

He returns, but his army is entirely defeated.

Italy invaded again by the Franks;

Childebert, to revenge the loss of this army, sent another under the conduct of Anduald, Olo, and Cedinus, three generals of tried valour, and long experience in war. Olo laid siege to a strong castle called Bilitio, where he was killed with an arrow, and most of his men cut off in a sally by the besieged. Cedinus took some strong places in Cisalpine

pine Gaul, now Lombardy. And Anduald, advancing as far as Verona, laid some open towns in ashes, carrying with him the inhabitants into captivity, contrary to the articles of the treaty between him and the emperor; but in the mean time violent distempers beginning to rage among the Franks, occasioned by the hot season and want of provisions, and the Lombards remaining within their fortified towns, the generals of the Franks thought proper to retreat, lest the Lombards should fall upon them after their army had been considerably weakened by the distempers that daily swept off great numbers. On their return they were reduced to such misery, that they were forced first to sell their cloaths, and at last their arms, to purchase provisions *. Autharis, thus delivered from all fear of so powerful an enemy, resolved to employ his whole strength in subduing such provinces of Italy as were still possessed by the Romans. He had already conquered all the hither Italy, except the dukedom of Rome, and the exarchate, which was at that time governed by Romanus, who had succeeded Zamaragdus, and comprised the present Bolognese, Romagna, the duchy of Urbino, and great part of Picenum, now La Marca. The provinces which constitute the present kingdom of Naples, were still in the hands of the Romans, the chief cities being governed by their dukes, who were all immediately under the exarch: but the most powerful among them, namely, the dukes of Naples, Surrento, Amalfi, Tarento, and Gaeta, despising the exarchs, ruled with the most absolute power.

who return home with great loss.

As these provinces lay at a great distance from Pavia, the royal seat of the Lombards, and could receive speedy succours by sea in case they were attacked, the emperors kept but small garrisons in the cities, being obliged to employ all the forces they could spare in the Persian war, which was a heavy burthen upon them at the same time. Of this circumstance Autharis was well apprised; therefore, leaving Rome and Ravenna behind him, which were defended by numerous garrisons, he, in the spring of the year 589, appointed his troops to rendezvous at Spoletum, and, pretending to march elsewhere, turned all on a sudden, and entered Samnium, which province, together with the city of Benevento, he reduced almost without opposition. Encouraged by this success he over-ran all Calabria. Advancing as far as Rhegium, on the farthest point of Italy, he rode into the sea, and striking with his lance a pillar that stood near the shore, "Thus far (said he) shall the bounds

Autharis reduces Samnium, and the city of Benevento.

* Greg. Turr. lib. iv. cap. 47. Paul. Diac. lib. iii. cap. 9.

*The first
duke of Be-
nevento.*

of the Lombards extend." On his return into Samnium he reduced that province to a dukedom, appointing Zoto, or Zotto, first duke of Benevento, which he made the metropolis of Samnium. Thus, to the two famous dukedoms of Friuli and Spoleto, was added a third, which, in process of time, became as much superior to the other two, as they exceeded the other dukedoms of Italy. Autharis, after the reduction of Samnium, resolved to carry the war into the exarchate, and the dukedom of Rome; but apprehending he might be diverted by Childebert, king of the Franks, from pursuing his conquests, he endeavoured to conclude a peace with so troublesome and powerful an enemy. Accordingly, he dispatched ambassadors to Gontran, uncle to Childebert, hoping, by his mediation, to lay the foundations of a lasting pacification with the king of the Franks. Gontran readily interposed; but Autharis did not live to see the success of the mediation, being in the mean time taken off by poison.

*Yr. of Fl.
2938.
A. D. 590.*

*Autharis
dies.*

He died in Pavia on the thirteenth of September 590, after having reigned about six years; but the author of his death was never known^a. Autharis had married Theudelinda, the daughter of Garibald king of the Boioarians; but as he had no children by her, the Lombards, upon intelligence of his death, assembled in Pavia to choose a new king; but, being divided in opinion, they referred the whole affair to Theudelinda, having first agreed among themselves, that the person she should choose of the dukes for her husband, should be invested with the royal dignity. That excellent princess, to shew herself worthy the confidence they reposed in her, after having consulted the wisest men of the nation, by their advice, bestowed herself and kingdom on Agilulf duke of Turin, a person of extraordinary merit, and nearly related to the late king. Her choice being applauded by the whole nation, Agilulf, after his marriage, was crowned king of the Lombards in a full assembly held at Milan in the month of May, 591.

*Agilulf
chosen king.*

*Arechis se-
cond duke
of Bene-
vento.*

In the first year of his reign died Zotto, the first duke of Benevento, of whom we find nothing in history worthy of notice, except his plundering and destroying the famous monastery of Monte Casino, built about sixty years before by St. Benedict, and already wonderfully enriched with the donations of several princes^a. Upon his death, Agilulf appointed Arechis, cousin to Gilulphus duke of Friuli, to succeed him in the dukedom of Benevento. The dukes,

^a Paul. Diac. lib. iii. cap. 18.
cap. 17. Abb. De Nuce Chron. Casin. lib. i. cap. 2.

^a Greg. Mag. Dial. lib. ii.

according

according to the regulations introduced by Autharis, could only in cases of treason be deprived of their dukedoms; and, upon their death, they were succeeded by their male issue, if the king judged them capable of so great a command. If the duke died without issue male, the king was at liberty either to choose another in his room, or to suppress the dukedom: and indeed several dukedoms were suppressed by the present king, the dukes having attempted to shake off all dependency, and to usurp an absolute power in their respective districts. The example of Agilulf was followed by his successors, who, declining to appoint new dukes in the room of those who died without issue male, reduced, by degrees, the dukedoms to a very small number. During the government of Arechis, which lasted for the space of fifty years, the bounds of the dukedom of Benevento were greatly extended; for, at that prince's death, they reached on one side to the city of Naples, and on the other to Sipontum, at the foot of Mount Garganus, in Apulia.

But to return to Agilulf: he was, soon after his election, persuaded by Theudelinda, who had been brought up in the catholic religion, to renounce the errors of Arius; and his example was followed by great numbers of his subjects, some of them abjuring Paganism, and others the doctrine of Arius, to embrace the orthodox faith. Hence Theudelinda is much commended by Gregory the Great, who inscribed to her the four books of the Lives of the Saints, which he had composed. She had done all that lay in her power to induce Autharis, her first husband, to profess the Catholic faith; but to no purpose, that prince refusing to quit the religion in which he had been educated^b. Agilulf, in the third year of his reign, was forced to turn his arms against his own countrymen; for Minulf, duke of the island of St. Julian, and Gaidulf, duke of Bergamo, revolting, claimed an absolute authority in their respective districts. Agilulf marched against them, and having found means to get Minulf into his power, he put him to death, because he had formerly revolted to the Franks, and joined Childebert in the irruption he made into Italy. He besieged Gaidulf in the city of Bergamo; but upon his suing for peace, and submitting, he was received again into favour. About the same time Ulfaris, another duke, but of what place, we are not told, refusing to acknowledge the authority of Agilulf, raised great disturbances, which were quelled not without bloodshed; yet, Ulfaris not only ob-

*Agilulf
embraces
the Catho-
lic faith.*

*Some dukes
rebel; but
are reduced
by Agilulf.*

^b Faul. Diac. lib. vi. cap. 2.

tained his pardon, but was confirmed by the king in his dukedom.

*The ex-
arch sur-
prises sev-
eral cities :*

*which are
recovered
by Agilulf.*

*The empe-
ror's sub-
jects op-
pressed by
his officers.
Agilulf
concludes a
peace with
the Romans
and
Franks.*

*Three
dukes re-
bel ; but
are over-
come by
Agilulf,
and put to
death.*

While the arms of Agilulf were thus employed against the rebellious dukes, Romanus, who had succeeded Zamaragdus in the exarchate, seizing so favourable an opportunity, broke the truce which he had lately made, and surprised several cities belonging to the Lombards. In consequence of these hostilities, the king, assembling all his forces, marched against the exarch, who, at his approach, retired to Ravenna, leaving small garrisons in the towns he had taken. Upon his retreat, Agilulf easily recovered the cities he had seized. Perugia alone held out for some time, being defended by Maurisius duke of the place, who had delivered it to the Romans ; but at length, the city was forced to surrender. Maurisius attempted to make his escape ; but was taken, and, by the king's order, deprived of life. From Perugia Agilulf marched into the Roman dukedom, and, having laid it waste, encamped with his army at a small distance from the city ; but Theudelinda, at the earnest request of Gregory the Great, then bishop of Rome, prevailed upon her husband to grant a peace to the inhabitants of that city, and retire ^c. The prisoners taken by the Lombards on this occasion, were all ransomed by Gregory the Great, the other catholic bishops generously contributing to so good a work ^d. In Sicily, Stephen, sent from Constantinople to guard the coasts of that island, committed such rapine, so many acts of violence and injustice, that the recital of them could hardly be contained, says Gregory the Great, in one volume. A peace was soon after concluded, by means of this prelate, between Agilulf and the exarch Callinicus, who, upon the death of Romanus, had been sent from Constantinople to succeed him in his government.

At the same time Theodebert, the successor of Childbert, was persuaded, not only to conclude a peace, but to enter into an alliance, with the king of the Lombards. This peace with the Romans and Franks proved very seasonable ; for, soon after, three of the dukes, rebelling, raised great disturbances in the kingdom, and gave rise to a civil war. These were Zangrulf duke of Verona, Gaidulf or Gandulf duke of Bergamo, and Warnecaut a third duke, but of what place, we are not told. Agilulf, marching against the confederates, defeated them entirely ; and, having taken these chiefs prisoners, ordered all three to be put to death, in order to deter the other dukes from following their example. While he was engaged in this domestic war, the exarch Callinicus,

^c Greg. Mag. lib. iv. ep. 33. & lib. vii. ep. 30.

^d Idem ibid.

in manifest breach of the treaty, which had been lately concluded, surprised the city of Parma, in which he found a considerable treasure, and took the king's daughter, and her husband Godescalc prisoners. This breach of faith in the exarch provoked the king of the Lombards to such a degree, that he resolved to pursue the war, which had been thus begun by the Romans, with the utmost vigour, and not to lay down his arms till he had driven them, if possible, entirely out of Italy. Pursuant to this resolution, he entered into an alliance with Chagan king of the Avars, who undertook to make a powerful diversion in Thrace, while Agilulf carried on the war in Italy.

The war with the Romans renewed.

The king of the Lombards, having raised a considerable army, and finding that the exarch declined meeting him in the field, marched from Milan, where his troops had assembled, to Cremona, which he invested on all sides. The Roman garrison made a vigorous resistance; but despairing of relief, were obliged, after having held out for a month, to surrender the place, which, by the king's orders, was levelled with the ground. From Cremona he led his army, reinforced by a body of Sclavi, sent him by his ally the king of the Avars, against the cities of Padua and Mantua, which were both taken, plundered, and laid in ashes, the garrisons being allowed to retire to Ravenna, and the inhabitants to withdraw. While Agilulf thus pursued his conquests in Italy, Chagan, invading Thrace, committed dreadful ravages. Having over-run that province, and Mœsia, he approached the imperial city with his numerous army; a circumstance which alarmed the inhabitants to such a degree, that they thought of quitting Europe, and retiring with their valuable effects to Chalcedon, and other places in Asia. In the mean time, Chagan was obliged to retreat by a plague, which broke out in his army, and carried off seven of his sons in one day. Upon his departure, he offered to release all his prisoners, of whom he had twelve thousand, at a crown a head; but his offer being rejected by Mauritius, who was a prince of a narrow parsimonious temper, Chagan, in great indignation, ordered all the captives to be put to the sword. During this war died the exarch Callinicus, who had first begun it; and in his room was sent Zamaragdus to govern Italy a second time, with orders from the emperor to release the king's daughter, with her husband, and to restore the whole treasure that had been seized by his predecessor in the city of Parma. By this generous behaviour, Agilulf was so far won, as to grant the Romans a truce from the month of September till the following April.

from whom Agilulf takes several cities.

Yr. of Fl.
953.
A. D. 605.

*Agilulf
takes his
son Adalu-
ald for his
colleague.*

*Ferrara
embellished
by Agilulf.*

*The Hunns
break into
the duke-
dom of
Friuli.*

*Forum Ju-
lii betrayed
to them.*

During the truce, Agilulf, having assembled the chief men of the nation at Milan, declared, in their presence, his son Adaluald, or, as others call him, Aldonald, yet an infant, his colleague, and caused him to be crowned in the open circus with great solemnity. After this ceremony, the peace was renewed with Theodebart, king of the Franks, whose ambassadors were present at the inauguration of the young prince, and a perpetual league concluded between the two nations. The truce with the Romans being expired, the Lombards began hostilities, seizing on the two important posts of Orbitum and Balneoregium; but the exarch, with twelve thousand solidi, prevailed upon the king to restore them, and to renew the truce for a year, which the king employed in embellishing and fortifying Ferrara, till that time an inconsiderable village, but conveniently situated on the Po, and on that account surrounded by Agilulf with walls, and beautified with several stately buildings; by which means it became, by degrees, one of the most considerable cities in those parts, and has continued such ever since. In the mean time the truce between the king and the exarch expiring, Zamaragdus prevailed upon the king to renew it for three years longer.

Notwithstanding this truce, the inhabitants of Italy did not enjoy the tranquility they had promised themselves; for Cacan, king of the Hunns, leaving Pannonia, made a sudden irruption into the dukedom of Friuli; which he ravaged with fire and sword. Duke Gilulf, having drawn together a body of forces, marched out against him; but in the battle that ensued, was overpowered by the enemy, and cut off with most of his men. Cacan, elated with this victory, besieged Forum Julii, the metropolis of the dukedom, which was betrayed by Romilda, the deceased duke's widow, upon his promising to marry her; for she is said to have been captivated by the comeliness of the young prince in seeing him from the walls; but he, instead of performing his promise, caused her to be put to an ignominious death, after having abused her himself, and caused her to be in like manner abused by several of his soldiers, to gratify, as he said, her vicious inclination. The duke's sons, Tato, Caco, Rodoald, and Grimoald, found means to make their escape on horseback; but the latter, being yet a child, was overtaken by some of the enemy's horse, and delivered to the custody of one of them, while the others pursued the rest. But while the Hunn rode before him leading his horse, he suddenly gave him such a blow on the head with a sword, that he left him dead on the spot; and then riding full speed, overtook his brothers, and, together with them, reached

reached a neighbouring castle. The Hunns, upon their departure, carried with them all the inhabitants who had fallen into their hands, pretending, that they designed to allot them lands in Pannonia; but having reached the confines, they put all the men to the sword, and carried the women and children into captivity^f.

Their cruelty to the inhabitants.

While the Hunns were thus ravaging the dukedom of Friuli, great disturbances happened in Ravenna. Joannes Lemigius, who had been sent by the emperor Heraclius to succeed Zamaragdus in the exarchate, levying heavier taxes on the people than they had formerly paid, the multitude rising, broke into the palace, and tore the exarch to pieces, together with the judges, whom he had assembled for the administration of justice. When intelligence of this mutiny was brought to Naples, Joannes Compofinus, who governed that city for the emperor with the title of duke, thought he could not have a more favourable opportunity of shaking off all dependence, and making himself absolute lord of the city committed to his charge. Accordingly, he caused himself to be acknowledged by the inhabitants for their prince, and provided the city with a strong garrison, not doubting but forces would soon be dispatched against him either from Ravenna or Constantinople. Heraclius, upon the first intimation he received of the murder of the exarch, and the rebellion of the duke, appointed Eleutherius, his chamberlain, a person greatly esteemed for his prudence and valour, to succeed Lemigius in the exarchate; enjoining him to appease the mutiny in Ravenna, and then march, with all the troops under his command, against Compofinus, the rebellious duke of Naples. Eleutherius, arriving at Ravenna, punished those he found guilty of the murder of his predecessor with death; and having thus quelled the tumult, set out on his march for Naples, with all the troops he could assemble. He took his route through Rome, where he was received with demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, who were greatly attached to the emperors, and bore an implacable aversion to the Lombards. From Rome the exarch pursued his march to Naples, where he was for some time vigorously opposed by the garrison; but having reduced the city, he put the duke to death, and appointing another in his room, returned to Ravenna^g.

The exarch murdered.

The duke of Naples rebels.

Naples reduced, and the duke put to death.

During these disturbances, Agilulf died in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. He was the first of the Lombard

^f Greg. Mag. lib. iv. ep. 33.

^g Idem ibid. cap. 34. Anastas. Bibliothec. in Deusdedit. Camil. Pel. in Dissert. De duc. Benevent. p. 33.

kings who embraced the catholic faith; and his example being followed by great numbers of his subjects, the Lombards became less odious to the inhabitants of Italy, and their government more tolerable. By the advice of his queen Theudelinda, he rebuilt the churches which had been destroyed in the former wars, repaired the monasteries, and enriched both with large possessions^b.

Yr of Fl.
2953.
A. D. 615.

*Adaluald
succeeds his
father Agi-
lulf in the
kingdom of
the Lom-
bards.*

Agilulf was succeeded by his son Adaluald, whom he had taken some years before for his colleague. As he was still very young, he suffered himself to be governed by his mother Theudelinda, who applied herself wholly to works of piety and religion; so that, during his reign, the Lombards enjoyed profound tranquility. But great disturbances happened in the exarchate; for Eleutherius the exarch, elated with the success that had attended him against the duke of Naples, and forgetting that virtue and moderation, which till then had recommended him to the esteem of the emperor and all the Romans, began to entertain thoughts of usurping the sovereignty of Italy. The great distance between him and the emperor, the authority he had in those parts, and the war with the Saracens, in which the emperor was then engaged, afforded him, he thought, a favourable opportunity of accomplishing his design. Having, therefore, in the first place, gained the affection of the soldiery by several popular acts of condescension, but, above all, by paying their arrears, which had been long due, he resolved to set out for Rome with his whole army, and cause himself to be acknowledged king of Italy. He was encouraged to this step, by the news he received of the death of Deusdedit, bishop of that city; for he thought that, while the people were busied in the election of a successor, he might, with great ease, seize on the city, and then influence the election, so as to have one of his own friends raised to that see. But on his march he was informed that Boniface, the fifth of that name, was already elected; a circumstance which obliged him to alter his measures: for having commanded the army to halt, he made a plausible speech, inveighing against the disorders and abuses which then prevailed, promised to redress all grievances to their satisfaction, and assured them of his favour and protection.

*Eleuthe-
rius, the
exarch,
takes upon
him the
title of
king;*

Having by his speech attached them, as he imagined, to his interest, he openly assumed the title of king, telling them, at the same time, that he was marching to Rome, in order to be vested there, as in the most proper place, with the ensigns of royalty. The army was greatly surprised at

^b Paul. Diac. lib. vi. cap. 2.

the conduct of their general ; but did not, however, openly oppose it till some days after, when, arriving at Luceoli, they began to mutiny : no longer considering Eleutherius as their general, but as a traitor and usurper, they slew him, and sending his head to the emperor at Constantinople, returned to Ravenna¹. Heraclius appointed Isaaccius, a patrician, to govern Italy in his room. In the beginning of his administration, Gregory, a patrician, who governed for the emperor in those parts, pretending great kindness for Tato, the young duke of Friuli, invited the youth to Optigerium, where he resided, in order to adopt him, as he pretended, for his son. Tato, not suspecting the least treachery, immediately complied with the invitation, taking with him his second brother Caco, and several other persons of distinction ; but they had no sooner entered the town, than Gregory, having caused the gates to be shut, ordered his men to attack them. The two brothers, and their followers, defended themselves for some time with great courage, killing great numbers of the aggressors ; but being pursued from street to street, overpowered with multitudes, and quite spent, they were in the end all cut off. Gregory, by this inhuman piece of treachery, hoped to make himself master of the whole duchy, the two remaining brothers, Rodoald and Grimoald, being very young. But their uncle Grafulf, informed of what had happened, hastened to Forum Julii, and taking upon himself the administration, contrived matters so skilfully, that Gregory thought it prudent to make no farther attempts. Grafulf kept the dukedom for himself ; and the two brothers, Rodoald and Grimoald, not thinking themselves safe while in his power, fled to Arechis, the second duke of Beneventum, by whom they were kindly received, and entertained in a manner suitable to their rank².

*but is killed
by the sol-
diery.*

*The trea-
chery of
Gregory.*

In the eighth year of Adalwald's reign, Eusebius was sent by the emperor Heraclius, with the character of ambassador, to conclude a lasting peace with the king of the Lombards, and to settle other affairs of great importance. He, having gained the confidence of the king, either of his own suggestion, or in compliance with his private instructions, presented him, as he came out of the bath, with a draught, which soon deprived him of the use of his senses, and brought him to a kind of melancholy madness. While he was in this condition, Eusebius, pretending that his nobles had entered into a conspiracy against him, advised him to put the most powerful among them to death. The king

¹ Paul. Diac. lib. iv. cap. 15.

² Idem ibid.

*Adalwald
deposed,
and Ario-
vald chosen
in his
room.*

followed his advice, and immediately caused twelve of the chief nobility to be inhumanly massacred; an outrage which alarmed the rest to such a degree, that taking up arms, they removed both him and his mother Theudelinda from the government, and raised to the throne Ariovald, duke of Turin, who had married Gundeberg, the sister of Adalwald. This revolution occasioned great disturbances among the Lombards, and rent their kingdom into two parties. Ariovald was supported by the nobles, who had deposed Adalwald, and all the bishops beyond the Po, who earnestly endeavoured to gain the rest to their party. On the other hand Honorius, bishop of Rome, espoused with great zeal the cause of the deposed king, and left no stone unturned to get him restored to the throne, incited thereto by the regard he had for Theudelinda, to whose piety the catholic religion was highly indebted, and by his aversion to Ariovald, who held the tenets of Arius, and had been brought up in that persuasion. He found means to gain Isaaccius, the exarch, over to his party, and prevailed upon him to join the friends of Adalwald with all the troops under his command. He likewise compelled the bishops who had espoused the cause of Ariovald, to abandon that prince, and declare for Adalwald: but notwithstanding the utmost efforts both of the pope and the exarch, Ariovald maintained himself on the throne; and Adalwald dying seasonably, some say of poison, an end was put to the domestic troubles that threatened the kingdom of the Lombards with total destruction¹. Theudelinda was so affected with the misfortunes of her son, that she fell into a consumption, which in a short time brought her to the grave. She was a princess no less commendable for her exemplary piety than for the excellent endowments of her mind, and worthy, on account of both, to be ranked among the most illustrious women recorded in history.

*Adalwald
dies;*

*and Theu-
delinda.*

Yr. of Fl.

2975.

A. D 627.

Ariovald reigned nine years after the death of Theudelinda, during which time the Lombards enjoyed profound tranquility both at home and abroad. Only some disturbances happened in the royal family, which gave the king great uneasiness. One of the chief lords at court, named Adalulf, having solicited the queen, with whom he was passionately in love, to comply with his unlawful desire, and his proposal being rejected with the utmost indignation, the latter, apprehending she would discover the whole to her husband, resolved to be beforehand with her, and prepossessed the king against the virtuous princess. Accordingly, pre-

¹ Paul. Diac. lib. iv. cap. 15.

tending great zeal for his safety, he assured him, that the queen was conspiring against his life with Tato, duke of Etruria, who was to marry her after his death. Ariovald, transported with rage and jealousy, without farther enquiry, ordered the innocent queen to be closely confined in the castle of Amellum, where she continued till Clotair, king of the Franks, pitying her condition, expostulated with her husband for thus treating a princess of the royal blood of the Franks, and stripping her of her dignity, upon the deposition of a single evidence. Ariovald replied, that he was fully convinced of her guilt; whereupon the ambassadors of the Franks, pursuant to their instructions, proposed trying the cause by a single combat between the accuser, and one of the queen's friends, according to the custom that then prevailed among the Lombards, and most of the northern nations. As the king could not reject this proposal, Adalulf was obliged to enter the lists against Pillo, by Paulus Diaconus called Carell, who having with great ease vanquished the accuser, the queen was released, and restored to her former dignity.

Not long after this incident, Ariovald died; and as he left no issue male behind him, the dukes assembled, upon the news of his death, to choose another in his room; but not being able to agree in the choice, they resolved to pay the same regard to Gundeberg which they had formerly paid to Theudelinda, allowing her to choose whom she pleased for her husband, and their king. Gundeberg made choice of Rotharis, duke of Brescia, a person equal in every respect to that elevated station, but tainted with the Arian heresy; whence, in his time, there were two bishops in most cities of Italy, the one catholic and the other Arian^m. He is no less commended by the writers of those times for his equity and moderation than for his valour and prudence, and was the first who gave written laws to the Lombards. His example was followed by the other kings his successors; so that, in process of time, a new code of laws appeared, called the Longobard Laws, which prevailed in all the provinces subject to that nation, that is, all over Italy, except the exarchate of Ravenna, and dukedoms of Rome, Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi, and the maritime cities of Apulia, Calabria, and Lucania, which continued subject to the emperors, the Lombards being masters of all the other cities and provinces. The Lombards had no written laws till the time of Rotharis; but had been governed by customs handed

Ariovald dies;

Yr. of Fl.
2984.
A. D. 636.

and Rotharis is chosen in his room.

Rotharis the first lawgiver among the Lombards.

^m Paul. Diac. lib. iv. cap. 15.

down to them by tradition. Rotharis, therefore, in imitation of the Romans and Goths, undertook the publishing of written laws; and to those he enacted many were added by succeeding princes. Rotharis, the first lawgiver among the Lombards, having summoned, in the year 643, a general diet in Pavia, enacted, with the approbation of his nobles, several laws, which he caused to be committed to writing, and inserted in an edict. This edict, containing no fewer than three hundred and eighty-six laws, was published in the eighth year of king Rotharis's reign, that is, in the year 644, in all the provinces under his dominion, especially in the dukedom of Benevento, which was reputed at this time, as it had greatly extended its bounds, the best part of the kingdom of the Lombards. The example of Rotharis was followed by the other Lombard kings his successors, especially by Grimoald, Luitprand, Rachis, and Astolphus; but the laws of Rotharis far exceeded in number those of the other princes. The reign of king Rotharis is not only memorable for the laws that prince enacted, but for the conquests he made; for, not thinking himself bound by the treaty, which his predecessor had concluded with the exarch, he rushed suddenly into the Alpes Cottiae; and having, almost without opposition, subdued that province, he led his army against the cities of Opitergium, now Oderzo, and Treviso, which he easily reduced, with all the cities in the province of Venetia, till that time held by the Romans. Isaaccius, then exarch, alarmed at this sudden and unexpected invasion, mustered all his forces; but not having been able to assemble them in time to cover the above mentioned places, he broke with great violence into the dominions of the Lombards, ravaging them with fire and sword. Rotharis was then employed in the siege of Perugia; which city he had no sooner reduced, than he marched with his whole army in quest of the exarch, whom he met on the confines of Æmilia, and offered him battle. The exarch accepted the challenge; so that an engagement ensued, in which the Romans were utterly defeated, eight thousand being killed on the spot, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a precipitate and disorderly flight. From this time to the reign of Luitprand, no acts of hostility passed between the exarchs and the kings of the Lombards, the latter being satisfied with their new conquests, and the former glad to enjoy unmolested the territories that remained under the dominion of the emperors^a.

*He reduces
the Alpes,
Cottiae, and
several
cities.*

Yr. of Fl.
2986.
A. D. 638.

*Gives the
exarch a
total over-
throw.*

^a Paul. Diac. lib. iv. cap. 44.

About this period Mauritius, who had been appointed duke or governor of Rome by Heraclius, taking advantage of the distracted state of the empire, occasioned by the usurpation of Heracleon, and the invasion of the Saracens, usurped the sovereignty of the city committed to his charge; but an end was soon put both to his life and usurpation; for the exarch Isaccius was no sooner informed of what had passed at Rome, than he dispatched against the usurper one of his officers, a person of great authority, with a considerable sum of money, and at the head of his best troops. This commander, marching up to the walls of the city, caused a declaration to be read, wherein Mauritius was proclaimed a rebel, and not only a pardon promised, but a considerable gratuity to all who should quit the traitor, and return to their duty. Upon this encouragement Mauritius was abandoned by all his troops, and forced, as he had no other resource, to take sanctuary in a church; but he was dragged from thence, and, by an order from the exarch, beheaded, after he had been for some time kept in chains. Not long after Isaccius died, and Theodorus Calliopa was sent by the emperor to succeed him in the exarchate. Theodorus governed Italy with great reputation for seven years, that is, from the year 643 to 650, when Olympius was appointed exarch in his room. Olympius gained several advantages over the Saracens in Sicily, and at last drove them out of that island, but died in the third year of his exarchate, being entirely exhausted by the toils and fatigues he underwent in that expedition. Upon his death the emperor Constant II. sent Theodorus Calliopa to govern Italy once more. In the second year of the exarchate of Olympius, that is, in 652, died king Rotharis, after he had governed the Lombards for the space of sixteen years with such prudence, equity, and moderation, that he was deservedly esteemed the most illustrious prince of his age. He himself professed the doctrine of Arius; but allowed his subjects full liberty to embrace which of the two religions they esteemed best; and therefore took care, that in all the cities of his kingdom there should be constantly two bishops, the one catholic and the other Arian.

A rebellion in Rome suppressed by the exarch.

Yr. of Fl.
3000.
A. D. 652.
King Rotharis dies.

In the fifth year of the reign of king Lotharis, died Arechis, the second duke of Benevento, after he had governed that dukedom for the space of fifty years, and so enlarged it at the expence of the Romans, that on one side it reached to Naples, and on the other to Sipontum in Apulia°. He was succeeded by his son Aio, whom he had taken for his

Arechis, the second duke of Benevento, dies. Succeeded by his son Aio.

° Vide Paul. Æmil. de Reb. Franc. p. 132.

partner in the government five months before his death ^p. Aio was a man of very slender parts, and sometimes, as Paulus Diaconus insinuates, distracted in his mind; a disorder which that writer ascribes to a potion given him by the Romans. The father, therefore, sensible of the incapacity of his son, recommended him on his death-bed to Rodoald and Grimoald, the sons of Gisulf duke of Friuli, who, as we have related above, had fled to him, and were now in the flower of their age. These Arechis esteemed as his own children, and, therefore, appointed them by his last will to succeed him in the dukedom, in case his son should die without issue male. While Aio governed the dukedom, the Slavonians, passing by sea from Dalmatia, which they had seized, into Italy, landed at Sipontum, and pillaged great part of Apulia (Q). Upon their landing in Apulia they encamped in the neighbourhood of Sipontum, and surrounded their camp with deep ditches, which they covered with branches of trees, laying some earth and green turf over them. As Apulia was for the most part subject at that time to the duke of Benevento, Aio, hearing of their invasion, marched against them with what troops he could assemble, without waiting the return of Rodoald and Grimoald, who were then absent; but having attacked their camp, he fell into one of the ditches, and was slain by the enemy, after he had governed the dukedom five months with his father and one year alone.

Rodoald receiving advice of what had happened, assembled with incredible expedition a considerable body of forces, and falling upon the enemy before they had the least intelligence of his march, routed and drove them quite out of the dukedom. Having thus revenged the death of Aio, he took, together with his brother Grimoald, possession of the dukedom, pursuant to the last will of Arechis, who had appointed them to succeed his son ^q. These two princes governed jointly for the space of five years, during which they laid siege to Surrento, still possessed by the Romans; but the inhabitants, encouraged by Agapitus their bishop, made such a vigorous resistance, that the Lombards, after

^p Paul. Diac. lib. iv. cap. 15.
Duc. Benev. p. 54. & Ughel. de Archiepisc. Surrent. p. 34.

^q Vide Camil. Pel. in Dissert.
Duc. Benev. p. 54. & Ughel. de Archiepisc. Surrent. p. 34.

(Q) They dwelt originally on the banks of the Boryrhenes, now the Nieper, in European Sarmatia, and from thence advancing to the Danube, they passed that river in the reign of

Justinian, and made themselves masters of that part of Illyricum which lies between the Drave and the Save, and is still from them called Slavonia.

having

having attempted in vain to take the place by storm, raised the siege, and returned home. Rodoald died in Benevento in the year 647, but his brother Grimoald enjoyed the dukedom sixteen years after his death. He is said to have gained several victories over the Neapolitans and Romans, and to have greatly extended the bounds of his dukedom. After he had governed the dukedom five years with his brother, and sixteen alone, he possessed himself of the throne, and reigned nine years more over the whole nation of the Lombards, as we shall relate hereafter.

Grimoald, the fifth duke, enlarges the dukedom.

But to return to the Lombard kings: Rotharis was succeeded by his son Rodoald, who, being a prince of a peaceable disposition, performed nothing which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity. He was tainted, as his father had been, with the Arian heresy, which occasioned some religious contests between him and the orthodox bishops; but these disturbances were soon appeased. He had reigned four years with his father; but scarce reigned one after his father's death, being killed by a Lombard, whose wife he had debauched. He had married Gundeberg, the daughter of Agilulf and Theudelinda; but as he had no children by her, the Lombards, upon his death, assembled in order to choose a new king, when the choice fell upon Aripert, or Aribert, the son of Gundwald, and brother of Theudelinda. The only thing we find recorded of him in history is his building in Pavia the oratory of St. Saviour. He died, after he had reigned, according to Paulus Diaconus[†], nine years, though Sigonius allows him but five at most. He left two sons, Partharit and Gundebert, between whom he most imprudently divided his kingdom. Partharit, the eldest, chose Milan for the place of his residence, and Gundebert resided at Pavia; but the latter, not satisfied with the part allotted him, began to quarrel with his brother. Impelled by his ambition, and encouraged by the evil counsellors about him, he resolved to drive his brother from the throne, and make himself master of the whole kingdom.

Rotharis succeeded by his son Rodoald,

who is murdered.

Aripert chosen king.

He divides the kingdom between Partharit and Gundebert.

He was well apprised that he could not accomplish this aim with his own strength, and therefore he dispatched Garibald, duke of Turin, as his ambassador to Grimoald, duke of Benevento, at that time by far the most powerful of all the Lombard dukes, inviting him to his assistance, and promising to give him his sister in marriage, if he succeeded in the undertaking; but the duke of Turin, acting quite contrary to his instructions, instead of persuading Grimoald to

Gundebert invites Grimoald, duke of Benevento, to his assistance;

[†] Paul. Diac. lib. iv. cap. 18.

assist his master, advised him to embrace the present opportunity, and to decide the controversy between the two brothers, by expelling them both, and seizing on the kingdom for himself. He told him, that the two brothers were young, rash, and inexperienced; that the affairs of the Lombards required a prince of prudence, valour, and experience; and that the disagreement between the two princes would, in all likelihood, end in the ruin of the whole nation. Grimoald, being naturally of an active and ambitious temper, was easily persuaded to follow the advice of the ambassador; and accordingly, having raised a considerable army, he marched at the head of it towards Pavia, leaving his son Romuald to govern the dukedom in his absence. At Placentia he dispatched Garibald to acquaint the king with his arrival. The inconsiderate prince received the news of his approach with the greatest demonstrations of joy; and being at a loss where he should lodge and entertain his supposed friend and ally, Garibald told him, that his own palace was the only proper place for the reception of a prince to whom he had promised his sister in marriage. He added, that if he did not repose an entire confidence in Grimoald, or had the least suspicion of treachery, he ought, for his greater safety, to receive him with armour under his royal robes. The king put on armour accordingly, and the duke, with unheard-of treachery, returning to Grimoald, advised him to be upon his guard, since the king was coming to meet him in armour, no doubt with a design to murder him. Grimoald could not persuade himself that the king had any such design till they met, when, upon their embracing each other, he found that Gundebert was really in armour; and not doubting in the least but that it was with a design to assassinate him, in order to be beforehand with him, he drew his sword that instant, and killed the unhappy prince on the spot. Upon his death he seized on the royal palace, and the treasures lodged there, causing himself to be acknowledged king of the Lombards.

*who murders him
and seizes
on the
kingdom.*

Gundebert left a son named Rambert, or Reginbert, who was concealed, and brought up with great care by the friends of the deceased king. Partharit no sooner heard of his brother's fate than, abandoning Milan in the utmost confusion, he fled to Chagan king of the Avars, and took refuge in his court. He left his queen Rodolind, and his son Cunibert, yet an infant, to shift for themselves; so that they both fell into the hands of Grimoald, by whom they were sent to Benevento, and kept under confinement in that city. The inhabitants of Milan, finding themselves abandoned by their king, opened their gates to Grimoald, who,
having

having taken possession of that important place, marched to Pavia, where, in the latter end of the year 662, he was unanimously proclaimed by the people king of the Lombards. In order to gain the affection of the Lombards, and establish himself more firmly in his new kingdom, he, to the great joy of the whole nation, married Gundebert, sister to the two unhappy young princes. He then sent back his army to Benevento, having first distributed considerable sums among them; but retained some of his most trusty friends, whom he raised to the first employments of the kingdom^a.

Yr. of Fl.
3010.
A. D. 662.

*Grimoald
proclaimed
king of the
Lombards.*

The new monarch, though confirmed in the power he had usurped, by the general consent of the nation, yet, reflecting on the fickleness and inconstancy of the multitude, did not think himself safe, as long as Partharit, his competitor, resided at the court of the king of the Avars, at that time a powerful prince. He did not doubt but the banished king would watch all opportunities of attempting the recovery of his paternal kingdom, and would, in such an attempt, be seconded by great numbers of the Lombards. To prevent, therefore, any disturbances that might ensue, he dispatched ambassadors to Chagan, complaining of the protection he had given to his rival, and threatening to make war upon him, if he did not forthwith banish him his dominions. The king of the Avars, though greatly affected with the misfortunes of the unhappy prince, yet did not think it prudent to engage in hostilities for his sake; and therefore commanded him to quit his dominions. Partharit, seeing himself thus abandoned by his friend and ally, and not knowing where to find an asylum, resolved, in that desperate condition, to throw himself upon the honour and generosity of his greatest enemy. Accordingly, he dispatched one of his trusty friends, named Unulf, to acquaint Grimoald with his resolution, and obtain leave for him to reside at Pavia. Grimoald, greatly pleased with the confidence the unfortunate prince reposed in him, and glad of such an opportunity to shew his generosity, complied with the request, and ordered a palace to be fitted up in Pavia, every-way proper for his reception. Upon his arrival, he received him with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and kindness; but observing that the multitude attended his entry with unusual marks of joy, and that persons of distinction flocked to him night and day, and seemed, in a manner, to respect him still as their prince, he began to be apprehensive lest they should attempt to restore him to the throne.

*Partharit
driven
from the
court of
Chagan.*

*He returns
to Grimo-
ald, who
receives
him kindly;*

^a Paul. Diac lib. iv. cap. 18, 19.

but afterwards orders him to be put to death.

He makes his escape.

The Franks espouse his cause;

Yr. of Fl.
3011.
A. D. 663.

but receive a total overthrow.

The expedition of the emperor Constantine into Italy.

This jealousy increased daily, and at length wrought upon him so strongly, that, after some time, he placed a guard upon him; and his fears, by degrees, getting the better of his humanity, he one day sent private orders to the guard to dispatch him the following night. These orders, however private, did not escape the vigilance of his trusty friend Unulf, who, acquainting Partharit with the particulars, advised him to change cloaths with him, and, thus disguised, to attempt his escape. Partharit followed his advice, and, having deceived the centinels, passed the Tefino undiscovered. Finding, on the other side the river, horses and guides provided by the care of Unulf, he escaped first to Hasta, thence to Turin, and at last into Gaul. Grimoald, being informed next morning of what had happened, was so far from punishing Unulf, that, on the contrary, he bestowed the highest commendations upon him for his unshaken fidelity, leaving it to his choice either to stay in Pavia, or follow his master. Clotair III. then king of the Franks, was so touched with the misfortunes of Partharit, and his family, that next year he sent a powerful army into Italy to replace him on the throne. Grimoald, knowing that he was far inferior in strength to the Franks, had recourse to the following stratagem: at their approach he pretended to fly, leaving his camp well stored with all manner of provisions, especially wine. The inconsiderate Franks, instead of pursuing the enemy, began to plunder the camp; and finding in it great plenty of provisions, began to eat and drink to excess: then they betook themselves to rest, without the least apprehensions of an enemy; but Grimoald, returning in the night, assaulted them while they lay fast asleep, and made such a dreadful havock before they could take to their arms, that few of them were left alive to carry home the news of their defeat.

Grimoald, thus happily delivered from one war, was soon involved in another. Hitherto the emperors, neglecting the affairs of Italy, seemed to have given up all thoughts of reuniting it to the empire; but Constantine, the son of Constantine, and grandson of Heraclius, having settled the affairs of the empire, resolved to employ his whole strength in driving the Lombards out of Italy. Pursuant to this resolution, he caused a powerful fleet to be fitted out in Sicily; and, not satisfied with appointing the best officers he had to command in this expedition, he left Constantinople, and repairing to Italy, put himself at the head of his army. He landed at Tarentum in the spring of the year 663, and

thence marched directly to Benevento, being joined on his march by the troops in the dukedom of Naples. This unexpected invasion with a very considerable army, commanded by the emperor in person, struck the Lombards of Benevento with such terror and consternation, that they abandoned several places in Apulia, and among the rest Luceria, which Constans destroyed. From Luceria the emperor marched to Acerenza; but not being able to take it by storm, on account of its strong situation, he pursued his march to Benevento, and invested the place with his whole army. Romuald, the son of Grimoald, at that time duke of Benevento, immediately dispatched Gesuald, who had been his guardian, to acquaint his father with the danger he was in, and to solicit succours. In the mean time the Lombards not only repulsed the Romans in their repeated assaults, but killed great numbers in the sallies they daily made. Grimoald no sooner heard that the city was besieged, than he assembled, with incredible expedition, all his forces, and putting himself at their head, marched to the relief of his son. He dispatched Gesuald to inform him that, in a very short time, he should be relieved, and to encourage him to hold out till his arrival.

*He takes
some places,
and be-
siegues Be-
nevento.*

In the mean time the emperor, hearing the king of the Lombards was approaching, raised the siege, and began, in great haste, his march to Naples; but Mitula, duke of Capua, intercepting him at the river Calore, cut off great numbers of his men, and obliged the rest, together with the emperor, to save themselves by a precipitate flight. To revenge this disgrace, Saburrus, one of the emperor's generals, engaged to defeat the Lombards, and drive Grimoald before him, provided he were allowed but twenty thousand men, with an unlimited command. Constans having granted his request, he encamped at the pass of Formiæ, now, generally supposed, Mola di Gaeta, with a design to cover the emperor's march, who intended to visit Rome, and, when he was out of danger, to go in search of the enemy. In the mean time Grimoald, arriving with his army at Benevento, and being informed of the engagement of Saburrus, resolved to march directly against him, and offer him battle; but his son Romuald earnestly intreating him to suffer him to command the army, he complied with his request, and detached the young prince with the flower of his forces, who meeting Saburrus in the neighbourhood of Formiæ, attacked him with great intrepidity. The Romans, animated by the example of their leader, who behaved very gallantly, made a vigorous stand; so that the victory continued a long time doubtful.

*He raises
the siege,
and is de-
feated in
his retreat.*

But

The Roman army utterly defeated by Romuald.

But while both armies were fighting with the utmost fury, a Lombard, named Amelongus, engaging a Roman horseman, first struck him from his horse, and then, lifting him up on the point of his spear, held him over his head in the sight of the Roman army; a spectacle which struck them with such terror, that they began to give ground. Being vigorously pressed by the Lombards, they fled with precipitation. Romuald, having pursued them for some time with great slaughter, returned to the field of battle, and from thence to Benevento, which he entered in triumph, being met at the gates by the king his father, and received with loud acclamations by the inhabitants, as the deliverer of his country^u. In the mean time Constans, arriving at Rome, was received with extraordinary marks of honour, no emperor having entered, for a long time, that city. He spent twelve days in visiting, or rather in plundering, the remarkable places of that great metropolis; for he carried off the most valuable ornaments in gold, silver, brass, and marble, not sparing even the coverings of churches, which he caused to be conveyed by sea into Sicily, in order to transport them to Constantinople. He himself went by land to Naples, and from thence to Rhegium, where his army was a third time defeated by the Lombards. From Rhegium he crossed over into Sicily, and fixed his residence at Syracuse, where he was murdered in the bath by his own subjects in 668; so that the inestimable wealth and plunder which he had brought from Rome, being left in Sicily, was, soon after his death, seized by the Saracens, and carried to Alexandria^v. After his departure from Italy, the Lombards, determined upon improving their late victories, reduced Bari, Tarento, Brindisi, and all the places in the country now known by the name of Terra d' Otranto, which were added to the dukedom of Benevento. Grimoald, to reward Mitula, duke of Capua, who had defeated the Romans in their retreat from Benevento, gave him his daughter in marriage, and at the same time appointed him to succeed the late duke Zotho in the dukedom of Spoletum; which two dukedoms he governed many years.

The Lombards make themselves masters of several cities.

While Grimoald was employed against the Romans in the dukedom of Benevento, Lupus duke of Friuli, taking advantage of his absence, oppressed his people in a most enormous manner. Not satisfied with the wealth which he extorted from them by heavy taxes, he broke into the territories of the Venetian Lombards, and plundered the church

^u Paul. Diac. lib. v. cap. 4.
p. 348.

^v Idem ibid. Pagi de Consulib.
Idem ibid. Pagi de Consulib. p. 348.

of Aquileia of all its rich ornaments: for this sacrilege the king, upon his return to Pavia, resolved to call him to a severe account; which he apprehending, renounced his allegiance to Grimoald, and openly revolted. Grimoald was determined at all events to punish him with exemplary severity; but being unwilling to lead his Lombards against their countrymen, or suffer them to embroil their hands in the blood of each other, he employed Chagan king of the Hunns to make war upon him, who invaded his territories the following year, at the head of an infinite multitude, and ravaged them to a great extent. This invasion Lupus did not tamely suffer. Drawing together a body of forces, he marched against the Hunns, and, engaging them four days successively, made a dreadful havock of the undisciplined multitude; but in the fifth engagement, his men being entirely exhausted, were, after a most obstinate dispute, in which Lupus himself was killed, overpowered, and put to flight. Upon the death of Lupus, and the defeat of his army, Chagan over-ran the whole country, and plundered it without control: but Grimoald, who had employed the king of the Hunns only to punish the rebellious duke, sent ambassadors to remind him of their agreement, and require him to retire with his forces, since there was no farther occasion for them in the dukedom of Friuli, or the territories of the Lombards. Chagan replied, that he would not quit a country which he had conquered with his arms, and the blood of so many of his subjects. Grimoald, provoked at this answer, resolved to drive him out by force; and accordingly marched against him, at the head of a very considerable army; but as it was much inferior in numbers to that of the Hunns, in order to make it appear more numerous than it really was, he mustered his troops in the presence of Chagan's ambassadors, and made the same men pass three times before him in different uniforms. By this device they appeared to be treble the number they really were; and as such they were represented to the king, who thereupon, in great trepidation, retired to his own dominions.

The duke of Friuli revolts.

He is killed by the Hunns.

Upon the retreat of Chagan, Warnifrid, son to the deceased duke, attempted, with the assistance of the Slavonians, to possess himself of his father's dukedom; but Grimoald, having defeated the Slavonians, and killed Warnifrid, appointed Welcar to succeed Lupus in the dukedom of Friuli; and at the same time married Theodorata, the daughter of Lupus, to his son Romuald duke of Benevento. About this time Alczecus, one of the princes of the Bulgarians, abandoning his own country, entered Italy with a body of his countrymen, and, repairing to Pavia, offered his

Welcar appointed duke of Friuli.

his service to Grimoald, who, thinking he might prove very serviceable to his son against the Romans, sent him to Benevento, in which dukedom several cities were bestowed on him and his followers.

Grimoald corrects the edict of Rotharis.

Grimoald, having no enemy to fear, applied himself wholly to the arts of peace. The laws of king Rotharis, which had been published twenty-four years before, were by this time become familiar, not only to the Lombards, for whom they had been framed, but likewise to the natives of Italy, who chose to follow them, though they had never been forbidden the use of the Roman laws; but these laws in process of time, proving defective, and some of them being thought too severe, Grimoald, in the sixth year of his reign, undertook the revising of the edict of Rotharis, and, in a general diet held in the year 668, with the consent and approbation of his nobles, repealed some laws, enacted others, and published a new edict^x, containing eleven chapters, which is still to be seen in the code deposited in the monastery of Cava. Grimoald, having performed all the duties

Yr. of Fl.
3020.

A. D. 672.

Grimoald dies.

of an excellent prince, was, to the great grief of the Lombards, unexpectedly snatched away by the following accident: he had been let blood in one of his arms, and, as he was, nine days after, bending a bow, the vein burst, and, all possible means for closing it proving ineffectual, he bled to death^y. He was a prince of uncommon parts, and in every respect equal to the high station to which he was raised. Though he had been brought up in the principles of Arius, he renounced the errors of that heresiarch, and embraced the catholic religion, converted by the arguments of John, bishop of Bergamo, a prelate of great piety and learning. The example of Grimoald was followed by the kings his successors, who all professed the catholic religion; so that Arianism was, in a short time, forsaken by the whole nation of the Lombards.

Garibald succeeds; but is driven out by Partharit,

He died in the year 672, the ninth of his reign, leaving behind him, besides Romuald, duke of Benevento, another son, named Garibald, to whom, though yet very young, he bequeathed on his death-bed the kingdom of the Lombards. From his excluding Romuald, authors conclude that prince to have been illegitimate. Be that as it may, Garibald did not long enjoy his new dignity; for he had scarce mounted the throne, when Partharit, who was still in Gaul, hearing of the death of his rival, repaired into Italy, and being received with extraordinary joy by great numbers of Lom-

^x Paul. Diac. lib. v. cap. 12. & Sigon. de Regn. Ital. lib. ii. ad Ann. 668.

^y Paul. Diac. lib. v. cap. 33.

bards, advanced to Pavia, where he was received by the inhabitants, and the great men of the nation, as their lawful sovereign, Garibald having withdrawn to his brother in Benevento, after a short reign of three months. Partharit, thus restored to the throne, recalled his wife Rodelinda, and his son Cunipert, who, ever since his expulsion, had been in exile at Benevento. Having governed alone in great peace and tranquility for eight years, in the latter end of the year 680, he took his son Cunipert for his colleague in the kingdom, and reigned with him ten years more. During their joint reign, Alachis, duke of Trent, openly revolting, assumed the title of king of the Lombards. Partharit, marching against him with all his forces, invested him in his own city; but Alachis, sallying out with the flower of his troops, obliged the king to raise the siege, and save himself by flight. However, Alachis, finding himself abandoned by the greater part of his men, who refused to bear arms against their lawful sovereign, thought proper to submit, upon promise of pardon; which Partharit granted, at the earnest request of his son Cunipert, who had a great friendship for the duke, with whom he had been educated from his infancy; and the young prince, in order to conciliate him by kindness, not only prevailed upon his father to take him again into favour, but to create him duke of Brescia, adding that duchy to the dukedom of Trent. The king on that occasion told his son that, by his good offices, he did not so much oblige a friend, as strengthen an enemy; but nevertheless he could not refuse complying with his request.

Some time after this pacification Partharit died, a prince highly commended for his piety, justice, moderation, and, above all, for the great care he took of the poor². Three years before his death, Deodorus Calliopa, the exarch, was recalled, and John sent to govern Italy in his room. Alachis, duke of Trent and Brescia, was no sooner informed of the death of Partharit than, unmindful of the favours he had received from Cunipert, he resolved to drive him from the throne, and place the crown upon his own head, agreeably to what Partharit had foretold his son. The rebellious duke, having engaged in the conspiracy two brothers, Aldo and Granso, the most considerable citizens of Brescia, and several other Lombards, while the king was absent, seized on the royal palace of Pavia, and took upon himself the title of king. Cunipert, who was quite unprovided, not imagining the duke could be guilty of such treachery and ingrati-

*who takes
Cunipert
for his
colleague:*

Yr. of Fl.
3038.
A. D. 690.

*Partharit
dies.
Alachis,
duke of
Trent, re-
volts, and
drives Cu-
nipert from
the throne.*

² Paul. Diac. lib. v. cap. 36.

tude, fled to an island in the lake Larius, now Lago di Como, and there fortified himself as well as he could. In the mean time the usurper, behaving in a most despotic and tyrannical manner, enraged all his subjects, even those to whom he was chiefly indebted for the crown he wore. As he was one day counting money in his closet, he happened to let a piece drop, which the son of Aldo, who was present, officiously took up, and gave him. The tyrant, in receiving it, "Your father (said he), has many such pieces, which, ere it be long, shall be all mine."

As the son of Aldo was but a child, the tyrant was not upon his guard; but the boy, remembering what he said, upon his return told it to his father, who concluding from thence, that his death, and the ruin of his family, would be the reward of all his services, if he did not, by some means or other, prevent them, consulted with his brother Granso, and his other friends, about deposing the usurper. They all agreed to seize on the city of Pavia, and recall their lawful sovereign the first time Alachis should take the diversion of hunting. This design they executed accordingly, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, especially of the clergy, whom the tyrant had chiefly offended.

*Cunipert
restored.*

*War be-
tween him
and Alachis.*

Alachis, finding upon his return the gates shut against him, and Cunipert possessed of the royal palace, fled into Istria; and having raised a considerable army, returned at the head of it, not doubting but he should be able to drive Cunipert from the throne. The king, hearing of his return, collected all his forces, and meeting the usurper in the plains of Coronata, challenged him to single combat, in order to save the lives of many innocent men, who must otherwise perish; but Alachis refusing the challenge, the two armies began to prepare for a general engagement. While they were drawn up, and Cunipert ready to charge the enemy, Zeno, a deacon of the church of Pavia, greatly attached, as were all the ecclesiastics, to the king's person, and firmly persuaded, that the welfare of the church depended upon his safety, with the greatest earnestness imaginable, begged permission to put on his armour, and counterfeited his person: "If I perish (said he), the loss will be small; but upon your safety depends the welfare both of the church and state." The king being, with difficulty, prevailed upon by the tears and entreaties of his friends to accept the proposal, Zeno put on his armour, and appeared in it so like the king, whom he resembled in shape and stature, that he could with difficulty be distinguished from him; so that, when the two armies joined battle, Alachis, mistaking him for the king, engaged him with the utmost fury.

fury. Having, with great ease, overcome and slain him, in the highest transports of joy, he ordered his head to be cut off, and exposed to the view of both armies on the point of a spear; but finding it was the head of a priest, and not of the king, his joy was succeeded by the most violent rage, in which he vowed to emasculate all the ecclesiastics, in case he obtained the victory.

In the mean time Cunipert, observing that his men, disheartened by the report of his death, began to give ground, shewed himself; and his appearance encouraged them to such a degree, that, returning to the charge, they renewed the fight with fresh vigour. However, Cunipert, to avoid the effusion of blood, sent a second time to Alachis, inviting him to decide the quarrel by single combat; but he declining again the challenge, the two armies fought with the utmost fury, till, Alachis being slain, his men, dispirited by his death, fled in the utmost confusion. Most of them were killed in the flight, and the rest drowned in the Adige. The army of the dukedom of Friuli, which Alachis enticed to his party, while they were marching to the assistance of the king, withdrew in the beginning of the battle, scrupling either to fight against him, to whom they had sworn allegiance, or against their lawful sovereign. Cunipert, after this victory, which terminated the civil war, returned in triumph to Pavia, having first caused the deacon Zeno to be interred with the greatest pomp and solemnity. He afterwards built, in honour of St. George, a magnificent monastery in the field where the battle had been fought.

Alachis killed, and his army defeated.

Cunipert, having thus happily suppressed so dangerous a rebellion, reigned in great peace and tranquility till the year 703, when he died, universally lamented; for he was a prince of a most comely aspect, of a sweet temper, engaging behaviour, great courage, and extraordinary piety. He had married Hermelinda, a princess of the blood royal of the Anglo-Saxons, and had by her one son, named Luitbert, to whom he bequeathed the kingdom; but as he was then an infant, he committed him to the care of Asprand, a person of great distinction among the Lombards, and much esteemed for his wisdom. Luitbert, or rather Asprand, had scarce governed eight months, when Ragumbert, duke of Turin, assuming the title of king, defeated Asprand in battle, and caused himself to be acknowledged by the whole nation; but he died the same year, and was succeeded by his son Aripert, in whose reign Luitbert, assisted by several dukes, attempted the recovery of his pa-

Yr. of Fl.
3051.
A.D. 703.

Cunipert dies.

Luitbert succeeds; but is driven out by Ragumbert. Ragumbert succeeded by his son Aripert;

^a Paul. Diac. lib. v. cap. 38—41.

ternal kingdom ; but he was totally defeated by the usurper, and taken prisoner, in a battle fought at a small distance from Pavia. Rotharit, duke of Bergamo, who had espoused with great zeal the cause of the king, fled, after the defeat of the army, to his own city, in which he was closely besieged by Aripert, who, having made himself master of the place, sent the duke to Turin, where he was soon after murdered by his order.

*who puts
Luitbert to
death.*

Luitbert, his young competitor, met with no better treatment ; for he soon after ordered him to be stifled in a bath. As for Asprand, whom above all others the tyrant was desirous of getting into his power, he fled first to the above mentioned island in the lake Larius ; but being informed, that a strong detachment was marching against him, he escaped to Ravenna, and from Ravenna to Theudebert, duke of the Boioarii, with whom he continued for the space of nine years. Aripert's troops reduced the island ; but not finding Asprand, they returned to Aripert, who, transported

His cruelty.

with rage at his disappointment, put out the eyes of Sigibrand, the son of Asprand, and at the same time caused the nose and the ears of his wife Theuderata, and daughter Aurona, to be cut off. Asprand had another son, named Luitprand ; but the tyrant spared him, as he was a child, and sent him to his father, Providence reserving him, as our historian observes, for great things ^b. Aripert, notwithstanding the acts of cruelty he practised in the beginning of his reign, is said to have governed afterwards with great prudence and equity. He was a great friend to the ecclesiastics, and very liberal to the churches, which he enriched with ample donations. To the church of Rome he restored many lands, especially the patrimony of the Alpes Cottiae, which had been seized on by king Rotharis. We are told that he sent the instrument of this donation to the bishop of Rome, written in golden letters ^c (L). In the

*Is liberal
to the
churches.*

^b Paul. Diac. lib. v. cap. 18—21. & lib. vi. cap. 22.
^{lib. vi. cap. 28.}

^c Idem.

(L) The lands and estates which the churches acquired, not only within the district of their respective cities, but in distant countries, were styled patrimonies, as were likewise the hereditary estates both of princes and private persons ;

but with this difference, that the prince's estate was called *patrimonium sacrum*, as appears from several constitutions of the Justinian code (1). The *patrimonium sacrum* was what we now call the king's domain.

(1) Cod. Justin. lib. xii.

ninth year of his reign, Asprand returned into Italy at the head of a powerful army, raised by the duke of the Boioarii, who, having espoused his cause with great warmth, resolved to assist him with all his strength in revenging the cruel treatment his wife and children had received at the king's hands. Aripert met him on the confines with an army of equal number; and a bloody battle ensued, which continued till night parted the combatants. Next day Asprand attempted to renew the fight; but Aripert, though he had not lost near so many men as his adversary, yet declining, for reasons unknown to our historian, a second engagement left the enemy masters of the field of battle, and retired to Pavia. Being pursued by Asprand, whose men were no less encouraged by his retreat, than Aripert's were intimidated, he abandoned Pavia, with a design to pass into Gaul, and levy a new army, carrying with him for that purpose the best part of his treasures; but attempting to swim cross the Tesino, he was drowned in that river. His body was found the next day, and buried with great pomp in the church of St. Saviour, founded by Aripert, the first of that name. His brother, Gunthbert, fled to the king of the Franks, and continued at his court to his death. Raginbert, the eldest son of Gunthbert, governed the city of Orleans for the king of the Franks in the time of our historian^d. The throne being vacant by the death of Aripert, Asprand was placed on it by the unanimous consent of the whole nation; but he dying three months after his accession, his son Luitprand succeeded him in the kingdom of the Lombards. But before we treat of his reign, we shall relate what happened till his time, worthy of notice, in the other provinces of Italy subject to the Lombards.

*Asprand
returns in-
to Italy.*

*Aripert
drowned.*

*Asprand
declared
king.*

In the year 677, died Romuald duke of Benevento, who was succeeded by Grimoald II. his son, to whom he left that dukedom greatly enlarged by the addition of Tarento, Brindisi, Bari, and their territories, which he took from the emperor of the East, as we have related already. Grimoald governed, with his brother Gisulph, not quite three years; and upon his death Gisulph enjoyed the dukedom alone fourteen years more. All we find recorded of him in history is his desolating, upon what provocation we know not, the territory of Rome. Gisulph, dying in 694, was succeeded in the dukedom by his son Romuald II. who ruled twenty-six years, during which he greatly harassed the Neapolitans, and by a stratagem surprised Cumæ, belonging to them. Gregory II. then bishop of Rome, apprehending

*The dukes
of Bene-
vento.*

^d Paul. Diac. lib. vi. cap. 32.

that metropolis to be in danger, exerted all his influence to persuade the duke to restore Cumæ, offering him even a considerable sum in lieu of that city: but his offers proving ineffectual, the bishop at last thundered against him the sentence of excommunication. Finding that Grimoald regarded his excommunications no more than his offers, he had recourse to John, duke of Naples, whom he advised to attack the city in the night. He followed his advice; made himself master of the place, put three hundred Lombards, with their gastaids, to the sword, and took five hundred prisoners, whom he carried to Naples. He sold the city to the bishop for seventy pounds weight of gold*. Romuald died in 720, and was succeeded by his son Adelai, who governed only two years, and performed nothing worthy of notice.

*The dukes
of Friuli,*

In the dukedom of Friuli, Welcar, who had been appointed duke by Grimoald, was succeeded by Landar, and he by Rodoald, in whose absence Ansfrid seized on the dukedom, and soon after, aspiring to the crown, began to make great preparations for so important an undertaking; but Cunipert, who reigned at that time, being privately acquainted with his design, found means to intercept him as he was going to Verona: however, he spared his life; but sent him into banishment, after he had caused his eyes to be put out. In the mean time Rodoald dying, his brother Aldo succeeded to the dukedom, which he governed, according to our historian, one year and seven months. Aldo, who is styled only protector of the dukedom, was succeeded by Ferdulf, who was killed by the Slavonians, with all the nobility of the dukedom, except Munichis, who had the good fortune to make his escape. Corvulus was then appointed duke by king Aripert, whom he soon disoblged, and was on that account deposed, and deprived of his sight. In his room the king raised Pemmo to the dukedom, who, seeking for the sons of the nobility who had been killed by the Slavonians, brought them up with his own children. Mitula, who had been rewarded by Grimoald with the dukedom of Spoleto, for his gallant behaviour against the emperor Constant, dying at this period, was succeeded by his son Faroald, who governed jointly with his brother Wachilap. To return to Luitprand.

*and of Spo-
leto.*

Yr. of Fl.
3059.
A. D. 711.

Luitprand.

That prince, from the very beginning of his reign, exhibited extraordinary marks of courage and prudence. He had scarce mounted the throne, when one of his kinsmen,

* Paul. Diac. lib. v. cap. 44. & Joan. Diac. apud Ughell. de Epist. Neap. p. 86.

named

named Rotharis, entering into a conspiracy, invited him to a banquet at his house, where he had assassins concealed, who upon a signal agreed on beforehand, were to rush into the room where the king was, and dispatch him. Luitprand, receiving private intelligence of the treason that was forming against him, sent for Rotharis to the palace, who, finding himself discovered, instantly drew his sword, with a design to kill the king; but he defended himself with great bravery, till his guards, alarmed at the noise, dispatched the traitor. He sometimes suffered himself to be transported by his courage beyond what was prudent in a prince, on whose safety depended the welfare of his subjects. Being informed that two of his attendants had conspired against his life, and only waited a favourable opportunity of putting their design in execution, he one day walked out with them alone into a thick wood, when, drawing his sword, he upbraided them with their treachery, and told them, that they now had the opportunity they so long wished for; therefore might try if they could compass their wicked design. Their sovereign's magnanimity, and the consciousness of their own guilt, made such a deep impression upon their minds, that they threw themselves at his feet, and confessing the truth, acknowledged themselves unworthy of mercy. The generous prince not only forgave, but, receiving them into favour, preferred them afterwards to great employments^f.

Two conspiracies against him.

Having thus overcome his enemies at home by kindness, and strengthened his interest abroad by marrying the daughter of the duke of the Boioarii, who received and entertained him and his father in their distress, he applied himself, in imitation of his predecessors Rotharis and Grimoald, to the making new laws, for the better regulation of his kingdom, and administration of justice. Having, in the first year of his reign, convened a general diet in Pavia, with the consent and approbation of his nobles, and the judges from all parts of his kingdom, he enacted several laws, which he added to the edicts of Rotharis and Grimoald. In the following years he published many others, as occasion required; so that, next to Rotharis, he ought to be accounted the chief lawgiver of the Lombards^g. But the wisdom this prince shewed in providing his kingdom with excellent laws, and his other extraordinary parts, were greatly eclipsed by his unbounded ambition; for, not satisfied with the large and extensive dominions left him

He publishes a new code of laws.

^f Paul. Diac. lib. v. cap. 38. ^g Idem. lib. vi. cap. 58. Bernard. Saccus, Hist. Ticin. lib. ix. cap. 5. Sigon. Reg. Ital. ad ann. 713.

by his predecessors, he undertook to drive the Romans out of Italy; which enterprize at length occasioned the ruin of the kingdom of the Lombards in that country: for the popes, growing jealous of their great power, and finding the emperors of the East incapable of opposing them, or restraining their conquests, had recourse to a foreign nation, which raised a new empire in Italy upon the ruins of the kingdom of the Lombards, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history.

Disturbances occasioned in Italy by the edict of Leo Isauricus.

Luitprand, impelled by his ambition, watched all opportunities of enlarging his dominions at the expence of the emperors; and in the fifth year of his reign a very favourable occasion offered: Leo Isauricus, who at that time reigned in the East, having, by a severe edict, forbidden the worship of images, and ordered them to be every where destroyed, the people were so provoked at that innovation; that, in several places, they openly revolted, and assaulting the emperor's officers, drove them out of the cities. In the East, Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, opposed the emperor's designs with great warmth; but Leo caused him to be deposed, and Anastasius to be raised to that see in his room, ordering at the same time all the images in the imperial city to be publicly burnt. He strictly enjoined his officers in the West to see his edict punctually obeyed in their respective governments: in compliance with these orders, Scholasticus, then exarch, began to demolish the images in all the churches and public places in Ravenna; a measure which incensed the superstitious multitude to such a degree, that, taking arms, they publicly declared they would rather renounce their allegiance to the emperor than the worship of images.

Luitprand invades the exarchate.

Thus a kind of civil war being kindled in the city, Luitprand thought he had now a favourable opportunity of making himself master of the seat of the exarch, not doubting but the conquest of such an important place would be followed by that of the whole exarchate. Having, therefore, collected all his forces, he unexpectedly appeared before Ravenna, and invested it closely. The exarch little expected such a surprize, as a friendly correspondence had been maintained for many years between the exarchs and the Lombard kings. However, he defended the place with such courage and resolution, that Luitprand, despairing of success, raised the siege, and led his army against Classis, at a small distance from Ravenna, which he took, plundered, and levelled with the ground. The loss of this place, and the severe treatment the inhabitants experienced from the king, threw the citizens of Ravenna into the utmost consternation;

consternation; which Luitprand being informed of, he resolved to take advantage of their fears, and, returning before Ravenna while the inhabitants were thus intimidated, to attempt once more the reduction of that place. Accordingly he led his whole army against it, and, by frequent attacks, fatigued the inhabitants and garrison to such a degree, that the exarch, finding they could hold out no longer, and despairing of relief, privately withdrew. Luitprand, informed of his retreat, attacked the town with more violence than ever, and having carried it by storm, gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, who found in it an immense booty, as it had been for a long time the seat of the Roman emperors, of the Gothic kings, and the exarchs. The reduction of Ravenna was followed by the surrender of several cities of the exarchate, which Luitprand reduced to a dukedom, appointing Hildebrand, his grandson, to govern it with the title of duke, and giving him, as he was yet an infant, Peredeus duke of Vicenza for his guardian ^b.

Yr. of Fl.
3070.
A. D. 722.

*He takes
and plun-
ders Ra-
venna.*

The conquest of Ravenna, and the greater part of the exarchate, greatly alarmed Gregory II. bishop of Rome. He was then at variance with the emperor, whose edict against the worship of images he had opposed with all his power, and by that opposition provoked Leo to such a degree, that he had threatened to drive him from the see, and send him into exile. However, the pope, no less jealous of the power of the Lombards than all his predecessors had been, resolved to put a stop to their conquests. The only prince in Italy, to whom he could have recourse, was Ursus, duke of Venice; for the Venetians already made no inconsiderable figure. Accordingly he wrote a very pressing letter, conjuring him to assist his worthy son the exarch, and, for the love of the holy faith, to attempt with him the recovery of the exarchate, which the wicked nation of the Lombards had unjustly taken from his sons Leo and Constantine, emperors. Ursus and the Venetians, moved by the pope's letter, and at the same time greatly alarmed at the growth of so powerful a neighbour, promised to assist the exarch with the whole strength of their republic; and accordingly fitted out a considerable fleet, pretending it was designed for the service of the emperor against the Saracens. At the same time the exarch, who had taken refuge in Venice, abandoning that place, as it were in despair of bringing the duke over to his party, raised, in the places

^b Paul. Diac. lib. iv. cap. 32. & Anast. Biblioth. in Greg. II.

Ravenna recovered by the exarch, and the Venetians.

still subject to the emperor, a body of forces; and marched with them towards Imola, pretending, that he designed to besiege that city; but turning on a sudden towards Ravenna, besieged it by land, while the Venetians invested it almost at the same instant by sea. Peredeus defended the town for some time with great courage and resolution, obliging all those who were able to bear arms to repair to the walls: but the Venetians having, notwithstanding all opposition, forced open one of the gates on the side of the sea, the city was taken, and Peredeus slain, while he was attempting, at the head of a choice body, to drive the enemy from the posts they had seized. Hildebrand fell into the hands of the Venetians, who, having thus recovered Ravenna for the emperor, returned home, leaving the exarch in possession of the city. Luitprand was then at Pavia; but the town was taken before he could assemble his troops for its relief¹.

Leo and pope Gregory quarrel.

Gregory, bishop of Rome, to whom the recovery of Ravenna was chiefly owing, persuading himself, that the emperor would, through gratitude, give ear to his remonstrances and admonitions, began to solicit him with more pressing letters than ever to revoke his edict against the worship of images; but Leo, knowing that the bishop, in all the measures he had taken, had been more influenced by a regard to his own interest than to that of the empire, instead of listening to his remonstrances, was still more provoked against him for thus obstinately opposing the execution of his edict. Being therefore resolved at all events to have it observed in Rome itself, and, on the other hand, not doubting but the pope would strenuously oppose it, in order to remove all obstacles, he sent three officers to Rome, with private orders either to dispatch the pope, or to take him prisoner, and convey him to Constantinople. At the same time he wrote to Mauritius duke of Rome, secretly enjoining him to assist his officers in their undertaking; but no favourable opportunity offering to put their design in execution, the emperor, in the year 725, recalled Scholasticus, and sent Paul, a patrician, into Italy, to govern in his room, with private instructions to encourage the above mentioned officers with the promise of great rewards, and to assure them of his protection.

But in the mean time the plot was discovered, and two of the conspirators were apprehended by the citizens of Rome, and put to death, the third having escaped into a

¹ Paul. Diac. lib. vi. cap. 32.

monastery, where he took the monastic habit, and ended his days². The exarch, in compliance with the emperor's orders, resolved to proceed no longer by secret plots, but by open force. Accordingly, he began his march, at the head of a considerable body of troops, for Rome, with a design to seize on the pope, and send him in chains to Constantinople: but, on this occasion, Luitprand, though incensed against Gregory for having excited the Venetians against him, resolved to assist him, and the citizens of Rome, against the exarch, in order to keep the balance even between them, and, by assisting sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, weaken both. Pursuant to this resolution, he ordered the Lombards of Tuscany, and those of the dukedom of Spoleto, to join the pope, and the inhabitants of Rome, who, being by this reinforcement, far superior in strength and number to the exarch, obliged him to return to Ravenna, and resign all thoughts of any farther attempt on the person of the pope.

The exarch attempts to get the pope into his power;

who is defended by Luitprand.

In the mean time Leo, persisting in his former resolution of suppressing throughout his dominions the worship of images, sent fresh orders to the exarch Paul, strictly commanding him to cause his edict to be put in execution in all the cities of Italy under his empire, especially in Rome. At the same time he wrote to the pope, promising him his favour and protection, if he complied with the edict; and declaring him, if he continued to oppose it, a rebel, and no longer vested with the papal dignity: but Gregory was so far from yielding to the emperor's threats or promises, that, on the contrary, he solemnly excommunicated the exarch for attempting to put the imperial edict in execution. At the same time he wrote circular letters to the Venetians, to king Luitprand, to the Lombard dukes, and all the chief cities of the empire, exhorting them to continue stedfast in the catholic faith, and to oppose with all their power such a detestable innovation. These letters made such an impression on the minds of the people in Italy, that, though of different interests, and often at war with one another, they all united, protesting they would defend the catholic faith, and the life of the pope in so glorious a cause, at the expence of their own; and the citizens of Rome, and the inhabitants of Pentapolis, now Marca d'Ancona, not contenting themselves with such a protestation, revolted from the emperor, and, overturning his statues, elected, by their own authority, magistrates to govern them during the interregnum.

The pope opposes the emperor's edict against images.

Several cities revolt.

² Anast. in Greg. II. Sigon. ad Ann. 725. Marg. Freher. in Chron. Exar. Rav. p. 38.

Great disturbances in Ravenna; and

the exarch murdered.

All Pentapolis, and great part of Romagna, submit to Luitprand.

The Neapolitans put their duke to death.

Mean while, the exarch Paul, having gained a considerable party in Ravenna, began, pursuant to the repeated orders from the emperors, to remove the images, as so many idols, out of the churches. The adverse party, supported and encouraged by the pope, flew to arms, and, attacking the iconoclasts, or image-breakers, as they styled them, gave rise to a civil war within the walls of Ravenna. Great numbers were killed on both sides; but those who were for the worship of images at last prevailing, a dreadful slaughter was made of the opposite party, and, among the rest, the exarch himself was murdered. However, the city of Ravenna continued faithful to the emperor; but most of the cities of Romagna belonging to the exarchate, and all those of Pentapolis or La Marca d'Ancona, abhorring the emperor as an heretic, submitted to Luitprand king of the Lombards, who, pretending a zeal for the catholic religion, took care to improve the discontent of the people to his advantage, by representing, that they could never maintain their religious rights under a prince, who was not only a heretic, but a persecutor of the orthodox.

In Naples, Exhilaratus, duke of that city, having received peremptory orders from the emperor to cause his edict to be put in execution, did all that lay in his power to persuade the people to receive it; but finding all his endeavours counteracted by the bishop of Rome, for whom the Neapolitans had a great veneration, he hired assassins to murder him. The plot being discovered, the Neapolitans, incensed against the duke, tore both him and his son to pieces, and likewise assassinated one of his chief officers, who had composed a libel against the pope^a. Luitprand, and Gregory duke of Benevento, seizing so favourable an opportunity to make themselves masters of the dukedom of Naples, exerted themselves to persuade the Neapolitans to submit to them: but the Neapolitans, bearing an irreconcilable hatred to the Lombards, with whom they had been constantly at variance, rejected every overture of that nature with the utmost indignation, and, continuing stedfast in their allegiance to Leo, received from Constantinople Peter, who was sent to govern them in the room of Exhilaratus.

Leo, hearing of the murder of the exarch, and the general revolt of the cities, and not doubting but the pope was the chief author of so much mischief, sent the eunuch Eutychius into Italy, with the title and authority of exarch, strictly enjoining him to get the pope removed by some

^a Maimb. Hist. Iconoclast. p. 73.

means or other, since his death was absolutely necessary for the tranquility of Italy. The exarch spared no pains to get the pope into his power; but a messenger, whom he had sent to Rome, being apprehended by the citizens, and an order found upon him from the emperor to all his officers in that city, commanding them to murder the pope at all events, the pope's friends henceforth guarded him with such care, that the exarch's emissaries could never afterwards find an opportunity of executing their design. As for the messenger, the Romans would have put him to death; but the pope interposed, contenting himself with excommunicating the exarch^b.

Eutychius, the new exarch attempts to get the pope murdered.

The Romans, enraged more than ever against Leo, and, on the other hand, unwilling to live under the Lombards, resolved to revolt from the emperor, and appoint their own magistrates, keeping themselves united under the pope, not at this time as their prince, but only as their head. This step they took accordingly, and from these slender beginnings the sovereignty of the popes in Italy took its rise, though they did not then, as is commonly supposed by historians, but many years after become sovereign lords of Rome.

The origin of the pope's temporal power.

Eutychius failed in his design upon the life of the pope; but having brought with him from Constantinople a great number of troops, he easily quelled the rebellion in Ravenna, and severely punished the authors of the late disturbances. As for the rebellious Romans, he was convinced he could never reduce them as long as they were supported by the king of the Lombards; and therefore he employed all his art and policy to take off that prince from the party of the Romans, and bring him over to his own.

Luitprand, for some time, withstood all his offers; but Thrasimund, duke of Spoleto, revolting at this very juncture, the exarch, embracing that opportunity, offered to assist the king with all his strength against the rebellious duke, provided he would, in return, assist him against the pope and the Romans. With this proposal Luitprand readily closed; and a league being concluded upon these terms between him and the exarch, the two armies joined, and began their march towards Spoleto. At their approach the duke, despairing of being able to resist two such powers, came out with a small attendance to meet them, and throwing himself at the king's feet, sued, in that humble posture, for pardon; which Luitprand not only granted, but confirmed him in the dukedom, after he had obliged him to take a new oath of allegiance, and give hostages for his

An alliance between the exarch and Luitprand.

^b Freher in Chron. Exarch. Raven. p. 82.

*They be-
sage Rome.*

future fidelity. From Spoleto the two armies marched, in pursuance of the treaty, to Rome, and encamped in the meadows of Nero between the Tiber and the Vatican.

*Yr. of Fl.
3077.
A. D. 729.*

*The pope
persuades
Luitprand
to raise the
sage.*

Gregory had caused the city to be fortified; but being sensible that the Romans alone could not long hold out against two such armies, and reflecting on the kind treatment the duke of Spoleto had received on his submitting to the king, he resolved to follow his example. Accordingly, taking with him some of the clergy, and the principal inhabitants of the city, he went to wait on the king in his camp; and there, with a pathetic speech, softened Luitprand to such a degree, that, throwing himself at his feet in the presence of the whole army, he implored pardon for entering into an alliance against him; and assuring him of his protection for the future, went with him to the church of St. Peter: there, disarming himself in the presence of his chief officers, he laid his girdle, his sword, and his gauntlet, with his royal mantle, his crown of gold, and cross of silver, on the apostle's sepulchre. After this ceremony he reconciled the pope with the exarch, who was received into the city, where he continued for some time, maintaining friendly correspondence with the pope^c. At this period an impostor, assuming the name of Tiberius, and pretending to be descended from the emperors, seduced a great many people in Tuscany, and was proclaimed emperor. The exarch resolved to march against him; but as he had not sufficient forces to oppose the rebels, Gregory, who let no opportunity slip of obliging Leo, persuaded the Romans to attend the exarch in this expedition; by which means the usurper, being taken in a castle, his head was sent to the emperor, and the rebellion totally suppressed: but the emperor still insisting on his edict against the images being received in Rome, the Romans, at the instigation of the pope, publicly renounced their allegiance to Leo, paid him no more tribute, and withdrew for ever their obedience from the emperors of the East.

*Leo re-
solves to
reduce the
revolted
cities, and
so chastise
the pope.*

Leo, informed of this revolt, and not questioning but the pope was the author of it, immediately caused all the patrimonies of the church of Rome in Sicily, Calabria, and his other dominions, to be confiscated. At the same time he ordered a powerful army to be raised, with a design to recover the towns that had revolted, to chastise the Romans for their rebellion, and, above all, to be revenged on the pope, who had raised all these disturbances, by opposing himself, and persuading others to oppose, the execu-

^c Sigon. ad Ann. 729.

tion of his edict. Gregory, greatly alarmed at the warlike preparations that were carrying on throughout the empire, and well knowing that they were chiefly designed against him and the Romans, resolved to recur to the protection of the French, the only nation at that time capable of opposing the emperor, and on whom, on account of their zeal for religion, he thought he might depend. The Lombards were then very powerful; but, as they wanted to be masters of Rome, he did not think it politic to trust them. The Venetians, though zealous in the defence of the pope, were not yet in a condition to withstand the power of the emperor; and besides, were jealous of the Lombards, who watched all opportunities of enlarging their dominions at the expence of their neighbours. Spain was then in a most deplorable condition, over-ran and almost wholly ruined by the Saracens.

The French nation was governed by the celebrated Charles Martel, who had distinguished himself in a most eminent manner in the wars of France and Germany, and had, not long before, gained a signal victory over the Saracens in the neighbourhood of Tours; on which account he was generally reputed the best commander, and the greatest hero, of his time. To him, therefore, Gregory sent a solemn embassy, with a great number of reliques, earnestly intreating to take the Romans and the church under his protection, and defend them against the attempts of Leo. The ambassadors were received with extraordinary marks of honour, and a treaty was soon concluded between them and Charles, who engaged to march into Italy in person, at the head of a powerful army, in defence of the Romans and the church, if they should be attacked either by the emperor or the Lombards. On the other hand, the Romans engaged to acknowledge him for their protector, and confer on him the honour of the consulship, as it had been formerly bestowed on Clovis by the emperor Anastasius, after that prince had defeated the Visigoths. The ambassadors returned from France loaded with rich presents^d; but Gregory did not long enjoy the fruit of their negotiations, for he died the same year, 731, and was succeeded by Gregory III.

who has recourse to the French

The emperor Leo dying, was succeeded by his son Constantine, surnamed Copronymus, who, treading in the footsteps of his father, renewed his edict against images, and began to prosecute all those who stood up in their defence. Not satisfied with ordering the images to be removed, he

New disturbances in Italy, occasioned by the edict of Constantine Copronymus.

^d Vide Append. ad Greg. Tur. p. 15.

proceeded farther, and forbade the invocation of saints, especially of the Virgin Mary, not suffering any holidays to be kept in her honour, or her assistance to be implored. This edict occasioned fresh disturbances in Italy, and confirmed the Romans in the resolution they had taken of separating themselves entirely from the empire, especially as, being now under the protection of Charles Martel, they had nothing to fear from the emperor. They therefore drove out of their city such of the imperial officers as they had hitherto suffered to continue in it; and by this step abolished the very shadow of dominion which the emperor had among them. The emperor Leo was not long survived by Gregory III. His successor Zachary was no sooner elected than he dispatched a solemn embassy to Luitprand, intreating him to restore the four cities, which had been surrendered to him upon his raising the siege of Rome. Luitprand received the ambassadors with extraordinary marks of honour, and seemed inclined to comply with their request; but as the desired restitution was delayed from time to time, Zachary, in imitation of Gregory, went in person to wait on the king, attended by all the clergy of Rome. Luitprand, who was then at Terni, received him with the greatest respect, and not only granted him his request, but restored to the church of Rome the patrimony in Sabina, which had been confiscated thirty years before, and concluded a peace with the Romans for twenty years. Towards the latter end of his reign, being impatient of rest, he invaded the exarchate; and, having taken Cesena, was making the necessary preparations for besieging Ravenna, and bringing that place once more under his dominion: but Zachary, for whom the king had the greatest veneration, interposing, Luitprand, at his request, not only laid aside all thoughts of making farther conquests, but even restored Cesena, and some other places, which he had taken *.

Yr. of Fl.

3097.

A. D. 743.

*Luitprand
diss.*

Not long after this event Luitprand died, in the year 743, the thirty-second of his reign, and was buried with great pomp and solemnity in the church of St. Adrian in Pavia. Paulus Diocanus bestows on him the highest encomiums, and not undeservedly; for he was endued with every good quality that could adorn a prince. He governed with great justice and moderation, treating his subjects as his children, and giving daily instances of his generosity and good-nature, even to his greatest enemies. He enlarged his dominions by the addition of Pentapolis, and the greater part of *Æmilia*: indeed, his thirst after conquests, and his ambition,

* Paul. Diac. lib. vi. cap. 57, 58.

are the only faults which the writers of those times have been able to discover in his character. He founded many churches and monasteries, enumerated by Paulus Diaconus, the vestiges of which are admired to this day (S).

Luitprand was succeeded by his grandson Hildebrand or Hildebrand, whom he had, some years before, taken for his colleague in the kingdom: but the Lombards, finding him unequal to so great a charge, deposed him, after a short reign of seven months, and in his room raised to the throne Rachis, duke of Friuli, a person much esteemed for his piety and eminent virtues †. He ascended the throne in 744, to the unspeakable satisfaction of the whole nation; and, in the beginning of his reign, confirmed the peace with Zachary and the Romans, which had been granted them by his predecessor. In the second year of his reign, finding the laws of the Lombards still defective, notwithstanding the many alterations and additions made by the preceding kings, he resolved to supply the deficiency, and mitigate some particular laws that were deemed too rigorous. Accordingly, having convened the states in Pavia, he, with their consent and approbation, published a new code in 745, and ordered it to be observed throughout his dominions. This code, containing eleven chapters, is still to be seen in the monastery of Cava, in the kingdom of Naples ‡.

Hildebrand succeeds; but is deposed, and Rachis chosen in his room.

He publishes a new code of laws.

Having thus provided his subjects with excellent laws, and settled the affairs of the kingdom to his satisfaction, he suddenly turned his thoughts upon war. Stimulated by the ambition of enlarging his dominions, he raised a considerable army, and putting himself at the head of it, retook several places in Pentapolis, which had revolted from him; then entering the Roman dukedom, laid close siege to Perugia. The emperor was at a great distance, and did not regard the affairs of Italy. The exarch was not in a condition to defend himself, much less to protect his neighbours. Zachary, therefore, instead of soliciting the assistance either of the emperor or the exarch, resolved to try, whether, by his own authority and character, he could di-

He invades the Roman dukedom, and lays siege to Perugia.

† Paul. Diac. lib. vi. cap. 57, 58.
in Hist. Princ. Longob. p. 5.

‡ Erch. apud Peregrin.
‡ Idem. ibid.

(S) With the death of Luitprand, Paulus Diaconus closes his history of the Lombards. He was deacon of the church of Forum Julii, in the territory of which city his great-grandfather's father settled, when the Lombards, his countrymen, first came into Italy.

*He raises
the siege,
and turns
monk.*

vert the king of the Lombards from pursuing his conquests. As his former journey had proved successful beyond his expectation, he resolved to undertake another. Accordingly, he went in person to the camp of Rachis, under the walls of Perugia, and being received by that prince with great marks of respect and veneration, represented with such force and energy the punishment reserved for those who unjustly invade the property of others, that Rachis, deeply affected with his speech, not only raised the siege of Perugia, but restored all the places he held in Pentapolis. The presence and authority of the bishop made such a strong impression on his mind, that the following year he went to Rome, with his wife Tasia, and his daughter Ratruda, to pay him a visit: being overcome, while he was in that city, with the enthusiasm of religion, he renounced his kingdom, and prostrating himself at the pope's feet, took the habit of St. Benedict, and retired to the monastery of Monte Cassino, where he spent the remainder of his days, and was honoured after his death by those monks as a saint. Tasia, his wife, and Ratruda, his daughter, followed his example, retiring into a monastery of virgins, founded by them at a small distance from Monte Cassino.

Yr. of Fl.
3099.
A. D. 751.

*His brother
Aistulphus
chosen king
in his room.*

The Lombards no sooner heard that Rachis had resigned the crown than, assembling in Pavia, they chose his brother Aistulphus, or Aistulphus, a man of great gallantry in the field and wisdom in council. He raised the kingdom of the Lombards to the highest pitch of grandeur; which occasioned its total ruin, as we shall soon relate. In the beginning of his reign, he confirmed the peace concluded between his brother and pope Zachary, who died the following year, 752, and was succeeded by Stephen II. But Stephen, having held the see three days, died on the fourth, and in his room was chosen another, named likewise Stephen, whom the ancients call Stephen II. not reckoning his predecessor, who died before he was consecrated; for in those days the election alone did not make a pope, but the consecration. Stephen II. or, as the modern writers call him, the third, three months after his election, dispatched legates to king Aistulphus, with rich presents, to confirm the peace, which had been lately granted by that prince to Zachary.

*He confirms
the peace
with the
pope.*

The king received the new pope's legates with the greatest respect, and not only ratified the peace, but extended the term of it forty years. This prolongation he granted with

¹ Erch. apud Peregrin. in Hist. Princ. Longob. p. 3, & Lev. Of tienst. Chron. lib. i. cap. 8.

no other view, but to divert the pope from opposing the design he had upon the exarchate, which he was resolved to invade, the emperor Constantine Copronymus being then engaged in a war with the Saracens and Bulgarians, and all Asia and Greece miserably desolated by a dreadful plague. He thought he could not have a more favourable opportunity of subjecting Ravenna, and the rest of the exarchate; therefore, having raised a very considerable army, he marched immediately to that city, and closely besieged it. Eutychius, who was still exarch, defended the place for some time with great valour; but finding his men quite exhausted, and despairing of relief, he at last abandoned it to the enemy, and returned by sea to Constantinople. Astulphus, thus become master of the metropolis of the exarchate, reduced with great ease the other cities, and all Pentapolis, which he added to his kingdom, and by that addition raised the power of the Lombards to a higher pitch than any of his predecessors had ever attained. Thus ended the exarchate of Ravenna, and with it the splendour of that city, which, ever since the time of Valentinian, the emperors had chosen for the place of their residence, as it was afterwards the seat of the Gothic kings, and, upon their expulsion, of the exarchs, who, for the space of a hundred and eighty-three years, maintained the power and authority of the emperors of the East in Italy. As the dukes of the other cities of Italy, and of Rome itself, were under the exarch, who resided at Ravenna, the bishops of that see contended for precedency even with the bishops of Rome: but a period was, at the same time, put to the exarchate and to the lustre of that ancient metropolis, which was reduced by the Lombards to a dukedom; so that by degrees it decayed, and in process of time sunk into the deplorable condition in which it is at present.

He invades the exarchate, and takes Ravenna.

Yr. of Fl.
3100.
A. D. 752.

An end of the exarchate, which is changed into a dukedom.

Astulphus, now master of the exarchate, thought he had a just title to all the places depending on that domain, and consequently to the Roman dukedom, and to Rome itself. He therefore dispatched a messenger to that city, requiring the inhabitants to acknowledge him for their sovereign; and alleging, in justification of his demand, that the exarchate, which was his by right of conquest, gave him the same power which the emperors had till then in Italy over the inhabitants of Rome, and the Roman dukedom; at the same time he began his march towards Rome. Having taken Narnia, now Narni, he sent a herald from thence to acquaint the pope, that he was determined to plunder Rome, and put all the Romans to the sword, if they refused to acknowledge him, by paying yearly a golden solidus a-head. The

Astulphus invades the Roman dukedom.

*The pope
endeavours
in vain to
divert him
from that
invasion.*

pope, alarmed at this severe message, attempted first to divert the king from this resolution by a solemn embassy, at the head of which were the two abbots of Monte Cassino and St. Vincentius, who meeting the king at Vulturum, a city in Campania, reminded him of the peace he had lately concluded with Stephen and the Romans; and endeavoured by arguments, prayers, and entreaties, to persuade him not to break it, but to employ his arms elsewhere ^k. The two legates had brought rich presents with them for the king; but he, rejecting them, insisted upon his being acknowledged by the pope and the Romans for their sovereign. This obstinacy threw Stephen into the greatest perplexity imaginable; for he found the king of the Lombards unalterably determined upon the reduction of Rome, and the Roman dukedom; and, on the other hand, the emperor was not in a condition to defend them, or put a stop to the conquests of so powerful and warlike a prince. The pope, upon the first irruption of the Lombards into the exarchate, had written pressing letters to the emperor, representing the danger Italy was in, the disgrace which, from the loss of the countries he still possessed there, would, in future ages, be reflected upon his memory, and the glory that would accrue to him from preserving so valuable a portion of the empire.

Pope Stephen applies in vain to the emperor.

But the emperor, instead of an army, sent John, with the character of ambassador, to the king of the Lombards, requiring him to restore the places he had already taken, and not to disturb the peace of Italy, by attempting the reduction of others. John went first to Rome, and from thence, attended by Paul, the pope's brother, to Ravenna, where Astulphus then was. The king received the message with the utmost contempt, and dismissed the messengers with the scorn which they might well have expected. Then the pope sent his brother to Constantinople, to acquaint the emperor, that the king of the Lombards was not to be restrained by his authority alone, and to intreat him to send a powerful army into Italy, without which Rome, and the remains of the Roman empire in that country, would be irreparably lost; but Constantine at that time had no troops to spare, being engaged in other wars; so that the pope, upon the invasion of the Roman dukedom, thinking it was in vain to have recourse to him, resolved, after the example of Zachary, and the two Gregories, to recur to the protection of France. That kingdom had been transferred, some years before, from the Merovingian to the Carolingian

ene; and the celebrated Pepin, son to Charles Martel, was then king.

As pope Zachary had borne a great share in that translation, Pepin had promised to protect his see against all its enemies, especially against the Lombards. Stephen, therefore, not doubting but Pepin would immediately perform what he had promised, dispatched privately a messenger into France, to acquaint him with his distress, and the desire he had of conferring with him in person, provided he could do it without danger, and a safe conduct were procured for him from the king of the Lombards, who already kept Rome in a manner blocked up. Pepin, glad of the opportunity of obliging the pope, sent immediately two persons of distinction, to beg leave, in his name, of the king of the Lombards, for Stephen to come out of the city, and go with him into France. The two ambassadors found the Lombards in possession of all the castles and fortresses in the neighbourhood of Rome, and ready to invest that city. However, Astulphus willingly complied with their request, and suffered the pope to repair with them to France, where he was received by Pepin with the greatest marks of esteem and veneration. He laid before the king the deplorable condition to which he was reduced by the Lombards, and, imploring his assistance and protection, promised to employ all the authority of the apostolic see in his behalf. On the other hand Pepin assured him of his assistance. Having prevailed upon Stephen to stay till the winter was over, and the army ready to march, both he, and his two sons, Charles and Carloman, were, in the mean time, anointed by him with the holy unction, and, with great solemnity, consecrated in the church of St. Denis kings of France. This ceremony Pepin thought would recommend him to the respect of his subjects, and greatly contribute to the establishment of the kingdom in his person and posterity¹.

*Rekurs to
Pepin, king
of France.*

*He goes in
person into
France.*

In the mean time Astulphus, ignorant of the danger that threatened him, was wholly intent upon publishing a new edict of laws, which is still to be seen in the code of the monastery of Cava, and contains twenty-two chapters. While he was thus employed in making new laws, pope Stephen was negotiating in France the ruin of him and his kingdom. Pepin, upon the arrival of Stephen in France, had promised to assist him against the Lombards with the whole strength of his kingdom, and to drive them out of the exarchate and Pentapolis, which were to be restored, as Pepin understood, to the emperor, from whom the Lom-

*Astulphus
publishes a
new edict.*

¹ Leo Ostiens, lib. i. cap. 8.

bards had taken them; but the pope, finding the king ready to gratify him in all his demands, resolved not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of aggrandizing himself; and therefore insinuated to Pepin, that he could not better acquit himself of his obligations to the apostolic see, consult the welfare of his soul, or reward him for the dangers he had undergone, and the pains he had taken for the safety of Italy and the church, than by granting both the exarchate and Pentapolis to St. Peter, that is, to himself. The pope pretended that Constantine had forfeited all right to those countries, by forsaking the protection of Italy, and persecuting the church.

Pepin is persuaded by the pope to make war upon the Lombards.

Pepin not only promised to put him in possession of the exarchate and Pentapolis, if he should succeed in expelling the Lombards, but confirmed his promise with a solemn oath, which was likewise taken by his sons Charles and Carloman^m. When Pepin was ready to proceed on his march for Italy, the pope was taken ill, so that the expedition was put off till the month of August. Meanwhile the pope, by frequent letters and messages, endeavoured to persuade Astulphus to restore what he had taken, conjuring him by the holy mysteries, and the tremendous day of judgment, to prevent, by his compliance, the effusion of Christian blood. Pepin likewise interposed his good offices, sending three different embassies to the king of the Lombards, and earnestly intreating him to content himself with such countries as had been possessed by the kings his predecessors. But finding Astulphus deaf to his intreaties, he resolved to employ force; and accordingly, putting himself at the head of his army, he marched, attended, and urged on by the pope, towards the Alps, sending a party of chosen men before, to open the passes. These Astulphus attacked with great vigour; but his troops being routed by the French, who had the advantage of the ground, he fled with great precipitation to Pavia.

Yr. of Fl.

^{3102.}
A. D. 754.

He enters Italy, and besieges Astulphus in his metropolis.

Pepin, finding the passes clear, crossed the mountains unmolested, and, entering Italy, advanced to Pavia, where the king had taken refuge, and invested it on every side. Astulphus, apprised of the danger he was in, sent one of his chief lords to Pepin to sue for peace; which was granted, upon his engaging, by a solemn oath, to restore the places he had seized in the Roman dukedom, the exarchate, and Pentapolis, not to the emperor, but to the pope. For the performance of these articles, he delivered forty hostages to Pepin, who sent them into Thrace, and soon after

followed them thither with his whole army, though in the depth of winter. Stephen returned with great joy to Rome, not doubting but Astulphus would soon put him in possession of the countries which he had, by a solemn oath, promised to cede; but Astulphus, without the least regard either to his oath, or the hostages, when he thought the storm blown over by the departure of Pepin, instead of delivering up the countries he had seized, unexpectedly invaded the Roman dukedom, and made himself master of several cities. At last he approached Rome with his army, and closely besieged it, not imagining that Pepin would pass the Alps a second time. In this extremity Stephen had recourse to his protector, to whom he wrote three letters, which are still extant^a, couched in the most submissive terms. St. Peter, to whom the donation had been made, is introduced speaking in these letters to the king, his two sons, and all the states of France, conjuring them to come to his relief, on pain of being debarred from the kingdom of heaven^c. Pepin, greatly affected by the pope's letters, and considering the breach of faith in the king of the Lombards as an affront offered to himself, resolved to have recourse again to arms. Having, therefore, with great expedition, assembled his forces, he again departed for Italy; of which motion Astulphus no sooner heard than, raising the siege of Rome, which had lasted already three months, he returned in great haste to the defence of his own country. In the mean time Pepin, having defeated the troops that had been sent to defend the passes of the Alps, and entered Italy, Astulphus, whose army was not near so numerous as that of Pepin, threw himself a second time into Pavia, with the flower of his forces. Thither Pepin followed him, and the city was closely invested.

The exarchate and Pentapolis given by Pepin to the pope.

Astulphus besieged a second time in Pavia.

In the mean time the emperor Constantinus Copronymus, receiving intelligence of the agreement between the pope and Pepin, in virtue of which the king was to drive the Lombards out of the exarchate, and then deliver it up, not to him, but to the pope, immediately dispatched ambassadors to Pepin, to protest against that donation; to convince him, if possible, of the injustice of it; and persuade him to restore to the empire what had been torn from it, and not to the pope, who had no manner of claim to any part of his dominions. The ambassadors went first to Rome, and thence to Marseilles, where they were informed, that

The emperor sends ambassadors to claim the exarchate.

^a Tom. vi. Concil. p. 239. & Baron. ad Ann. 755. ^c Du Chesne, Hist. tom. iii. p. 705.

Pepin had already passed the Alps. In consequence of this information, one of them privately made the best of his way to Pavia, where he understood the king then was, leaving the rest at Marseilles with the legate, whom the pope had sent with them from Rome, and who, as they apprehended, would have thwarted their negotiations. The ambassador, who was immediately introduced to the king, after having extolled, in his master's name, the courage, valour, and conduct, which Pepin had displayed in the present war with the Lombards, the common enemy of the empire and France, represented, that the exarchate, without all dispute, belonged to the empire, from which it had been taken with the greatest injustice, while the emperor was engaged in a war with the Saracens; that, since the king had retaken it from the unjust invader, it was agreeable to the rules of equity, that he should restore to the emperor what was his; that the bishop of Rome was his subject; and that since he suffered him peaceably to enjoy what had been given him by princes and private persons for maintaining his dignity, he could not usurp the dominions of his sovereign, without being guilty, at the same time, of high treason, and the most cruel injustice. The ambassador concluded his speech by telling the king, that his master, who desired nothing of others but what seemed agreeable to equity, was ready to practise it himself; and therefore would willingly reimburse him all the expences he had been at in the recovery of the exarchate, and other places, taken by the Lombards.

*Pepin's
answer to
them.*

Pepin, having heard with great attention what the ambassador said, replied, that the exarchate belonged to the conqueror of the Lombards, who had acquired it by right of war; that many places had voluntarily submitted to Luitprand, the inhabitants having no other means to maintain their religion; that therefore the right of the Lombards to those countries was no more to be questioned than that of the French to the countries which they had taken from the Romans and Visigoths; that the right which the Lombards had, was devolved upon him, so that he could dispose of those countries as he thought adviseable; and he had judged it proper to bestow them on the pope, that the catholic faith might be preserved in its full purity, and be no longer defiled with the many abominable errors of the Greeks; that this was his firm resolution, which nothing could make him alter; and that he was determined to maintain, to the last drop of his blood, the pope, and the church, in the possession of what he had given them. He then

then dismissed the ambassadors, without suffering them to reply^p; and, pursuing the siege of Pavia with great vigour, reduced Astulphus to such distress, that, being no longer able to hold out, he sued for peace; which was granted him by Pepin, upon his promising to perform immediately the treaty made the year before, and, besides, to deliver up to the pope the city of Commachio, a place at that time of great importance. This promise was confirmed by a solemn oath, and hostages were given as formerly. Pepin then renewed his donation, whereby he yielded to St. Peter, and his successors, the exarchate, Æmilia now Romagna, and Pentapolis now Marca d'Ancona, with all the cities therein, to be held by them for ever; and, having caused a new instrument of the donation to be drawn up, he delivered it, signed by himself, by his two sons Charles and Carloman, and by the chief barons and prelates of France, to Fulard abbot of St. Denis, to be delivered into the pope's hands. Fulard, whom Pepin had appointed his commissary, having received this instrument, went, together with the commissaries named by Astulphus, to all the cities of the exarchate, Æmilia, and Pentapolis; and, taking possession of them in the pope's name, received hostages, with whom he repaired to Rome, carrying with him the keys, and Pepin's donation, which were laid by the pope on St. Peter's sepulchre. Pepin, having thus performed the promise he had made to the pope, left Italy, and returned with his army to France^q (T). The pope committed the government of the exarchate to the archbishop of Ravenna, who thereupon took the title of exarch, not as archbishop, but as an officer of the pope, now a temporal prince. Thus was the sceptre added to the keys, the sovereignty to the priesthood, and the

Astulphus submits.

Pepin renews his donation to the pope.

Yr. of Fl.
3104.
A. D. 756.

and puts him in possession of the exarchate, &c.

^p Anastas. in Vit. Steph III. p. 87. P. de Marca de Concord. Sacerdot. & Imper. lib. i. cap. 1. num. 5. ^q Leo Ostiens. lib. i. cap. 8. Anast. ibid.

(T) The exarchate comprised, according to Sigonius (1), the following cities, namely, Ravenna, Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forlimpopoli, Forli, Cesena, Bobbio, Ferrara, Commachio, Adria, Cervia, and Secchia, which were all delivered to the pope, except Faenza and Ferrara. Pentapolis, or Marca d'Ancona, comprehended Ri-

mini, Pesaro, Conca, Fano, Sinigaglia, Ancona, Osimo, Umana, Jesi, Fossombrone, Monteferetro, Urbino, the Balnesian territory, Cagli, Luceoli, and Eugubio, with their territories and districts, as appears from the donation of Lewis the Pious, by which Pepin's donation was confirmed.

(1) Sigon. ad Ann. 756.

popes were enriched with the spoils of the Lombard kings, and the Roman emperors.

As those countries belonged, without all doubt, to Constantine then emperor, some authors have thought, that this donation was made in his name, and that this gave rise to the fable of the donation of Constantine the Great¹. Be that as it may, from this time the popes left off taking notice of the years of the emperors in their bulls and letters, as they had done hitherto; and, depending upon the protection of France, withdrew their obedience from the emperor, and would be no longer deemed his subjects. The French, who pique themselves upon being the first authors of the pope's temporal grandeur, will not, however, allow Pepin to have ever vested them with the sovereignty, it being manifest, say they, that the sovereignty remained in Pepin and his descendants; and was exercised by them all over Italy. With them most authors agree, and, among the rest, the learned Sigonius. Petrus de Marca maintains this opinion, and, at the same time, tells us, how the popes, by degrees, became sovereigns of Rome. The exarchate of Ravenna, says that writer, being yielded to the pope, the government of Rome, of course, devolved on him; for the Roman dukedom had been always subject to the exarch: the sovereignty indeed was vested in the emperor, but the administration belonged to the exarch; wherefore the pope, when he became master of the exarchate, claimed it, and continued to govern Rome, not as sovereign, but only with the authority that had been vested in the exarch, till the year 876, when the authority of the emperors, successors of Charlemagne, declining in Italy, Charles the Bald yielded all his claim to, and sovereignty over Rome, to the apostolic see². Hence Constantine Porphyrogenitus, describing the state of Europe in his time, that is, about the year 914, writes, that Rome was subject to the pope as its sovereign. It was upon the declension of the Western empire, when it was confined to Germany alone, that the pope, as well as the several princes of Italy, assumed the sovereignty, which they enjoy to this day.

But to return to Astulphus. That prince, finding himself constrained to surrender the exarchate, and the other countries, to one who had no more right to them than himself, began to make great preparations, with a design to retake what he had been obliged to resign, and, at the same time, to put himself in a condition of withstanding the French,

¹ Spanhem. de Imag. contra Maimburg. ² P. de Marca, lib. iii. cap. 11. num. 7, 11, 12. Const. Porphy. de Them. lib. ii.

who, he did not doubt, would return into Italy, and renew the war: but while, in the height of these warlike preparations, he was one day taking the diversion of hunting in a neighbouring forest, he was killed, according to some, by a wild boar; according to others, by a fall from his horse: Erchempertus writes, that he was killed with an arrow[†] (U). As the deceased king left no issue male behind him, and his brother Rachis had taken the monastic habit, the Lombard lords began to assemble, in order to proceed to a new election: but in the mean time Desiderius, whom Astulphus had raised to the dukedom of Tuscany, and made comes stabuli, or master of the horse, caused himself to be proclaimed king by his Tuscan Lombards. This usurpation Rachis no sooner understood than, repenting of his former resolution, he resolved to quit the monastic life, and resume the purple, being encouraged by several persons of great authority among the Lombards, and by the inhabitants of Liguria and Venetia, who began to flock to him in great numbers.

Astulphus dies.

Yr. of Fl.
3104.
A.D. 756.

Desiderius causes himself to be proclaimed king.

Their attachment to Rachis gave great uneasiness to Desiderius, who had recourse to the pope, offering him the cities of Faenza, Ancona, Secchia, and Ferrara, which had not been restored by Astulphus, provided he would assist him at this juncture, and, by his authority, maintain him on the throne. The pope immediately closed with the proposal, and, entering into an alliance with Desiderius, found means to persuade Rachis to continue in the state he had embraced, and lay aside all thoughts of recovering the kingdom, which was held by his friend and ally. Desiderius, being thus delivered from the danger that threatened him, surrendered the above mentioned cities to the pope, pursuant to the agreement. Pope Stephen died on the twenty-sixth of April of the year 757. To him the church of Rome is chiefly indebted for the grandeur it still enjoys. He was

He is supported by the pope, to whom he yields some cities.

[†] Erchemp. p. 6.

(U) We should perhaps have been able to give a more favourable account of his reign, had Paulus Diaconus continued his history; but that writer, living in the time of Charlemagne, the son of Pepin, prudently declined writing the history of this and the following king's reign, lest, by relating the transactions of those times, he should offend

the French princes, who, having driven out the Lombards, succeeded them in the kingdom of Italy. His countrymen were, for the same reason, all silent; so that those events have been transmitted to posterity by such writers only, as were prejudiced in favour of the prevailing party.

succeeded

succeeded by his brother Paul, who renewed the alliance with the king of the Lombards, but died in the third year of that prince's reign. In his room was chosen Stephen the third, or, as the modern writers insist, the fourth, between whom and Desiderius great jealousies arose, which at last came to an open rupture. Desiderius having, by his interest, caused one of his intimate friends, named Michael, to be chosen by the people and clergy archbishop of Ravenna, the pope, not approving the election, expelled him from that see. The king, to be revenged on the pope, caused the eyes of Christopher and Sergius to be put out. These were two legates sent from Rome to demand the restitution of some lands belonging to that church. After this outrage, Desiderius, not doubting but the pope would have recourse to the kings of France, resolved to be beforehand with him, and gain them over, if possible, to his side. With this view, he offered his two daughters in marriage to Charles and Carloman, who, upon the death of their father Pepin, had divided the kingdom between them. Pope Stephen was no sooner informed of this treaty than he wrote to the two princes, earnestly entreating them not to enter into any sort of alliance with the king of the Lombards; and threatening them with excommunication, and even damnation*, if they consented to marry his daughters.

*Misunder-
standing
between
him and
Charles-
magne.*

But Desiderius having gained Bertrade, the mother of the two princes, the marriages were, by her means, concluded, notwithstanding utmost endeavours of the pope to prevent them. This alliance, however, was but of short continuance; for Charles soon after divorced his wife, pretending that she was incapable of bearing children, and married in her room Ildegarda, a princess of Suevia. His brother Carloman dying about the same time, Berta, the deceased king's widow, not thinking herself, and the two sons she had by him, safe in France, fled to her father in Italy, and put herself and her children under his protection. Desiderius, who was highly incensed against Charles for divorcing his daughter, received them with great joy, not doubting but he should, one time or other, be able, by their means, to raise disturbances in France; which would both give him the satisfaction of being revenged on Charles, and divert that prince from intermeddling with the affairs of Italy. In the mean time pope Stephen died, and Adrian I. was, in the year 772 chosen in his room. He no sooner saw himself raised to the apostolic see than he sent two legates to conclude a lasting peace with Desiderius; and it was agreed,

* Tom. viii. Concil. p. 582.

that

that neither of them should disturb the other in the possession of the countries they held. Desiderius, concluding, from this step taken by Adrian, that he did not entertain such jealousies and suspicions of the Lombard kings as his predecessors had done, nor was so attached to the princes of France, proposed to him the consecrating and anointing the sons of Carloman, not doubting but that measure would raise tumults and disturbances in France, and, at the same time, create a misunderstanding between the pope and Charles, which would give him an opportunity of recovering the countries taken by Pepin, and yielded to the church. The ceremony of anointing, after the example of Pepin and his two sons, had been, by degrees, introduced among Christian princes, the people deeming those, who were thus anointed, lawful kings: but Adrian, who, notwithstanding the peace he had concluded with the Lombards, was no less jealous of their power than his predecessors had been, peremptorily refused to comply with the request of Desiderius, being well assured, that, by granting it, he should incur the displeasure of Charles, the only prince capable of protecting him against the Lombards.

Desiderius left no art unemployed to bring the pope into his measures; but finding he could obtain nothing by fair means, he resolved to employ force. Accordingly, he broke unexpectedly into the exarchate, and, having made himself master of Ferrara, Commachio, and Faenza, threatened Ravenna itself with a siege. Adrian, alarmed at these hostilities, immediately dispatched ambassadors to remind the king of the peace lately concluded, and to demand the restitution of the places which he had taken in an open breach of the late treaty. The king received the ambassadors with the greatest marks of honour, and told them, that he was desirous of treating with the pope in person; and that, if he came himself, nothing should be denied him: but Adrian, rejecting the invitation, answered with great haughtiness, that he would never appear before him, unless he restored the cities he had seized. Desiderius, provoked at this answer, marched his army into Pentapolis, and, having ravaged the territories of Sinigaglia, Monteferetro, Urbino, and Eugubio, approached Rome, destroying the country with fire and sword, and carrying into captivity such of the inhabitants as fell into his hands. In this emergency Adrian ordered the abbot of St. Vincent, attended by twenty monks, in great reputation for the sanctity of their lives, to wait upon the king in his name, and earnestly intreat him to restore the places he had taken, and desist from farther hostilities. The king received them in a very kind manner,

and

He quarrels with the pope, and takes several cities.

and assured them, that if the pope would come in person to confer with him, the cities should be immediately restored, and an end put to all hostilities. Not satisfied with signifying to the legate his earnest desire of a private interview with the pope, he sent ambassadors to acquaint Adrian of this circumstance, and persuade him, if possible, to comply with his request, since he had matters of the utmost importance to impart: but Adrian, firm in his former resolution, solemnly protested, that he would never appear before the king, till the towns he had taken were restored; but that, as soon as they were restored, he would meet him in what place soever he should think proper to appoint, in order to settle, in concert with him, the tranquillity of Italy. Upon the return of these ambassadors, Desiderius sent others, to whom the pope made the same answer, adding, that, if he did not comply with the king's request as soon as the cities were given up, he gave him liberty to take them again, and invade the territories of the church at his pleasure: but Desiderius, enraged more than ever at the obstinacy of the pope, threatened to bring his army to Rome, and, by that expedient oblige Adrian to grant his request.

*The pope
recurs to
Charle-
magne,
king of
France.*

The pope was so terrified by these menaces that, thinking himself in the utmost danger, he resolved, in imitation of his predecessors, to have recourse to France. Accordingly, he sent Peter by sea, to acquaint Charlemagne, then king of France, with the danger he was in; and not only to implore his assistance, but to invite him to the conquest of Italy, almost entirely ruined by the Lombards. Desiderius was no sooner informed of the arrival of the pope's legate in France, and of the accusations laid to his charge, than he dispatched ambassadors to Charlemagne, assuring him of his inclination to live in peace with the pope, and complaining of Adrian's obstinacy, in refusing him a private interview for settling the tranquillity of Italy. But Charlemagne, who only wanted a favourable opportunity of revenging himself on Desiderius for keeping his two nephews, with a view, as he supposed, of raising disturbances in France, received the invitation of Adrian with incredible satisfaction, and began to make such preparations, as plainly shewed, that his design was not only to assist the pope, but to make an entire conquest of the kingdom of the Lombards. He appointed Geneva for the place of the general rendezvous, and there, when the troops were all assembled, he divided his numerous army into two bodies, whereof the one he led in

person, and committed the other to the conduct of his uncle Bernard. On the other hand, Desiderius, having certain intelligence of his motions, sent some troops to guard the passes in the Alps: then making numerous levies in the dukedoms of Friuli, Benevento, Spoleto, Etruria, and the other dukedoms of which his kingdom was composed, he raised a powerful army, and putting himself at the head of it, marched to Turin, with a design to give Charlemagne battle, in case he should force the streights, and descend into the plain country.

Charlemagne pursued his march to the Alps; and finding the passes guarded by the Lombards, sent a detachment, under the conduct of experienced guides, to cross the mountains another way. This aim they happily accomplished, and falling by surprize upon those who guarded the passes, struck them with such terror, that, abandoning their posts, they fled in the utmost consternation. Upon their retreat, Charlemagne passed unmolested with his whole army, and descending from the mountains, marched in search of the enemy. Some authors write, that the two armies came to an engagement, in which, after an obstinate dispute, Desiderius was defeated. They add, that the place where the battle was fought, from the great number of the slain, took the name of Mortuaria. Others, less affected to the Lombards, tell us, that, at the approach of Charlemagne, they fled in the utmost confusion, not daring to look the enemy in the face. Be that as it may, it is certain that Desiderius retired, and shut himself up in Pavia. At the same time he sent his son Adalgisus, and his daughter Berta, the widow of Carloman, with her two sons, to Verona, a place not inferior in strength to Pavia itself. Charlemagne, hearing that the king had shut himself up in Pavia, led his whole army against that city, and closely invested it. The Lombards defended the place with great vigour; and on the other hand, Charlemagne, determined not to withdraw his troops from before it till it had submitted, sent for his wife and sons, and continued with them in the camp till Christmas, which festival he celebrated with great pomp; then leaving his uncle Bernard to prosecute the siege of Pavia, he went, with part of the army, to surprize Verona.

Charlemagne enters Italy.

Desiderius retires, and is besieged in Pavia.

Adalgisus defended the town for some time with great bravery; but in the end, finding himself reduced to the last extremity, and despairing of relief, he withdrew in the night: after having wandered a long time about the country in disguise, he found means at last to make his escape by sea to Constantinople, where he was received and entertained

Verona besieged by Charles, and taken.

tained with great kindness by the emperor. Upon his departure, the garrison and inhabitants of Verona surrendered to Charles, who having got Berta and her two sons into his power, sent them immediately, under a strong guard, into France : but what became afterwards of these two unfortunate princes was never known. Verona being reduced, all the other cities on the same side of the Po submitted, upon the first summons, to the conqueror, who, returning to Pavia, carried on the siege with more vigour than ever.

Charles goes to Rome.

In the mean time, Easter approaching, Charles resolved to keep that solemnity at Rome. Accordingly, committing a second time the care of the siege to Bernard, he departed for that city with a splendid train; and being received in all the places through which he passed with the greatest marks of honour, he reached Rome the day before Easter. Adrian exerted himself on this occasion, thinking it incumbent upon him to receive so great a prince, to whom the church was so highly indebted, with the highest demonstrations of honour, gratitude, and esteem. By his orders the magistrates and judges, with their banners, and the badges of their respective offices, met him thirty miles from the city. At a mile from the gate he was received by a procession of children, carrying in their hands branches of palms and olives, and singing his heroic exploits and virtues. After them came a great number of cross-bearers, who were usually appointed to attend the public entries of the exarchs and patricians. Charles, as soon as he saw the crosses, alighted from his horse, and, attended by his own nobility, and the Roman magistrates, walked the rest of the way on foot. The pope repaired early in the morning, with the clergy and people, to the church of the Vatican; and sitting on a kind of throne on the steps, waited the arrival of the king, who, going directly to the church, ascended the steps, kissing each of them as he mounted. Being arrived at the throne, the pope, coming down, received him with great tenderness; and, after mutual embraces, and congratulatory speeches, they went together into the church, the people following them with loud acclamations, and the clergy frequently repeating, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." When they came to the place, called then, as it is to this day, the Confession, prostrating themselves on the ground, they returned thanks to the Almighty, and to his apostle St. Peter, for the success that had hitherto attended the king's arms against his enemies, and the enemies of the church.

His reception there.

After this ceremony, Charles begged permission to go into the city (for the Vatican stood then without the walls), to perform

perform a vow, and visit the holy places; which was granted by the pope, after they had both sworn upon the body of the apostle, that they designed no harm or injury to each other. The day following, being the festival of Easter, the king made a solemn entry into the city, attended by the nobility, clergy, and Roman people, who accompanied him to the church of St Mary ad Præsepe, whence, after divine service, he went to the Lateran, and dined with Adrian.

*Honours
done to him
at Rome.*

When the rejoicings, feasting, and congratulations were over, Adrian came to the principal point, requiring Charles to confirm the donation which his father Pepin had made to the church of Rome. Charles instantly complied with the pope's request; and having ordered Iterius, his secretary, to draw up a new instrument, he signed it himself, caused it to be signed by the abbots, bishops, and other great men, who had attended him to Rome, and, with his own hand, says Leo Ostiensis, laid it on the altar of St. Peter.

*He confirms
the dona-
tion of
Pepin.*

Charles, having thus satisfied his own curiosity, and the desires of the pope, after a residence of eight days in Rome, returned to the camp before Pavia; which city he was resolved, at all events, to reduce, certain that if Desiderius remained master of it, he might easily recover all the rest. The same motive that induced Charles to exert his utmost endeavours in the reduction of the place, animated the king of the Lombards to defend it with all his power. Charles, finding his men constantly repulsed in their repeated attacks, and despairing of being able to carry it by force, resolved to reduce it by famine. Accordingly he secured all the passes and avenues; so that nothing could possibly be conveyed into the city, which was, in a short time, reduced to the utmost extremity. Desiderius, however, still held out for a considerable time; but a violent plague beginning to rage within the walls, and carrying off daily great numbers both of the garrison and inhabitants, the unhappy prince, not able to contend with so many enemies at once, was obliged to surrender the place, and deliver up himself, with his wife and children, to Charles, who sent them all to France, where they ended their days; in what manner we cannot explain, as they were never afterwards heard of. Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, after they had possessed that country two hundred and six years. They were at first a cruel and barbarous nation; but divesting themselves by degrees of their native ferocity and barbarity, especially after they had embraced the Christian religion, they governed with such equity and mildness, that most other nations envied the happiness of those who lived under their administration,

*Charles re-
turns to the
siege of
Pavia.*

*Yr. of Fl.
3122.
A. D. 774.*

*Desiderius
taken pri-
soner, and
the end of
the king-
dom of the
Lombards.*

As they had no other kingdom, nor dominions, Italy became their own country; whence the natives esteemed their kings as their natural princes, not thinking themselves governed, much less kept in slavery, by a foreign nation, as it happened to them afterwards, when, by frequent changes, they groaned under the heavy yoke, sometimes of one nation, and sometimes of another. Under the government of the Lombards, says Paulus Diaconus, no violence was committed, no one unjustly dispossessed of his property, none oppressed with taxes; theft, robberies, murder, and adultery, were seldom heard of; every one went, without the least apprehension of danger, whither he pleased: and indeed their many wholesome laws, restraining and severely punishing all sorts of crimes; the magnificent churches, and rich monasteries, with which they filled that part of Italy which was subject to them; the many bishopricks which they erected; the towns and cities which they either built, or repaired, in most provinces of Italy; their generosity even to the bishop of Rome, their avowed enemy; and, finally, the great number of persons among them, whose sanctity and eminent virtues have been acknowledged by the popes themselves, must convince every impartial reader, that the Lombards were not such a savage, barbarous, and inhuman nation, as they are described by some of the popes, especially by Adrian, the chief author of the ruin of their kingdom. They were the only power in Italy capable of defeating the ambitious views of the bishops of Rome, whom they would not suffer to enrich themselves with the spoils of the emperors, but considered them as their own by right of conquest; and hence arose the inveterate hatred which the popes bore them, and could not help betraying in all their writings. But their laws are convincing proofs of their justice, humanity, and wisdom, and, at the same time, a full confutation of the many calumnies, with which the popes, and their partisans, have endeavoured to asperse them. Their laws were found so just and equitable, that they were retained in Italy, and observed some ages after their kingdom was at an end.

The Lombards undeservedly aspersed by the popes.

The state of Italy in the time of Charlemagne.

Before we dismiss this subject, it may not be improper to give the reader a succinct account of the state of Italy at the time Charlemagne, by the captivity of Desiderius, put a period to the kingdom of the Lombards, and of the new form of government introduced by the conqueror. Italy was at that time divided, as it were, into four states, governed by the Venetians, the Lombards, the popes, and the emperors of the East. The Venetians, by their trade to the Levant, were become very considerable, and having a great

great number of vessels, bore great sway in the affairs of Italy, though we do not yet find them possessed of any town on the terra firma or continent. The pope, by the generosity of Pepin, and his son Charles, was master of the exarchate and Pentapolis. The dukedom of Naples, and some cities in the Hither and Farther Calabria, were still possessed by the emperors of the East. All the other provinces of Italy were held by the Lombards. When Desiderius was taken prisoner, the dukedom of Benevento was governed by Arechis, son-in-law to the unhappy prince. It comprised almost all the present kingdom of Naples; for, of the twelve provinces into which that kingdom is now divided, nine were subject to the duke of Benevento. It was bounded on the west by the dukedoms of Rome and Spoleto; on the south by Gaeta, and its territory; on the east by the territories of Cosenza and Cassano; on the north by Siponto, and the promontory of Gargano. On account of its extent it was, by the Latins, called Italia Cistiberina; and, by the Greeks, Longobardia Minor, to distinguish it from the Greater, which, lying on both sides the Po in Cisalpine Gaul, still retains the name of Lombardy.

The extent of the dukedom of Benevento,

This extent of the dukedom induced the dukes to divide it, for the more convenient administration of justice, into several districts, called counties, each of which had its proper governor, styled count, or gualtald. These counts or gualtalds were at first appointed and removed by the dukes at pleasure; but, in process of time, it became customary not to remove them, unless convicted of treason, and not to transfer the counties to other families till their male line was extinct: this was the origin of counts and counties in that part of Italy. The difference between them was, that the latter governed during pleasure, and the former were never removed unless guilty of treason; hence the title of count denoted dignity, and that of gualtald only office.

and its government,

The other two great dukedoms of Spoleto and Friuli were far inferior, both in power and extent, to that of Benevento. The former comprehended all Umbria, in which were many cities of great extent, and the latter included all Friuli and the greater part of Istria. The dukedom of Naples, which continued subject to the emperors of the East, extended towards the west as far as Cuma, comprehending within its limits the Islands of Ischia, Nisita, and Provida, with the maritime towns of Pozzuolo, Baia, and Miseno; towards the south, Castellamare, Sorrento, Amalfi, and the island of Caprea, were comprised in it; towards the east and north its limits were much confined, the dukedom of Benevento extending almost to the very gates of the city. The cities of this dukedom were governed by their particu-

The dukedom of Naples, its extent and government,

*Cities in
Italy be-
longing to
the empe-
ror.*

lar rectores, appointed by, and subordinate to the duke of Naples. These rectores were likewise called counts; but were not, as in the dukedom of Benevento, feudatories; they only governed during the pleasure of the duke; so that they were upon a footing with the Lombard gualtalds. The duke was appointed and removed at pleasure by the emperor. The duke of Naples was likewise styled magister militiæ, and consul; but how the title of consul came to be given him, no writer has yet had the curiosity to enquire. Besides the dukedom of Naples, the emperors of the East possessed several cities in ancient Calabria, and in the country of the Brutii, now known by the name of Farther Calabria. In ancient Calabria they held the cities of Gallipoli and Otranto; and in Farther Calabria, Reggio, Gerace, Santa Severina, Crotona, and besides these, the two cities of Amantea and Agripoli, with the promontory now called Capo di Licosa¹, the dukedoms of Gaeta and Amalfi. All these cities were immediately governed by their rectores, who were appointed and removed by the patrician, as he is styled, or governor, of Sicily; for to him were subject, at this time, all the places, the dukedom of Naples excepted, which the emperors still retained in Italy: hence they are all comprised by Constantine Porphyrogenitus under the thema of Sicily (W). In more ancient times, only the Farther Calabria was subject to the patrician of Sicily; but the cities which the emperors possessed in that part of Italy, being reduced to a very small number, they were all put under the government of the patrician, who was sent from Constantinople to govern Sicily, as is evident from the themata of Constantine Porphyrogenitus², and likewise from one of pope Adrian's letters to Charlemagne, wherein he complains of the Beneventan Lombards for taking from him the city of Gaeta, and restoring it to the patrician of Sicily. Gaeta belonged to the emperor, and was under the government of that patrician; Charles took it from the emperor, and gave it to the pope; the Lombards of Benevento retook it, and restored it to its lawful owner; and on that account they are called by the pope a most wicked people³.

*Charle-
magne
crowned
king of
Lombardy.*

Desiderius, being taken captive, and Pavia reduced, all the other cities submitted to Charles, who claiming the kingdom of the Lombards by right of conquest, caused himself to be crowned king of Lombardy, with an iron crown,

¹ Pellegrin. in Dissert. de Finib. Ducat. Benevent. p. 72. ² Const. Porphyg. de Themat. p. 8. ³ Adrian. ep. lxxiii. Pellegr. in Fin. Duc. Benevent. ad Merid.

(W) No regard was now had into districts, which had their particular governors, were introduced, and called themata.

by

by the hands of the archbishop of Milan, at a place called Modostia, about ten miles from that city.

The ceremony of the coronation being over, Charles, now king of Italy, thought it necessary to settle the government and polity of his new kingdom; for which purpose he resolved to go to Rome, and advise with Adrian. The pope, having notice of his design, assembled fifty bishops, and a great number of abbots, and other dignitaries, in order to consult with them, what honours ought to be paid to so great a prince, whose father and grandfather, as well as himself, had deserved so much of the Roman church. After several consultations, it was unanimously agreed, that he should be made a Roman patrician; that throughout the provinces he should institute all bishops and archbishops, who were not to be consecrated, unless instituted by him; and that he should appoint the bishop of Rome, and be declared protector of the apostolic see. Charles, upon his arrival at Rome, was received by the pope, and the Roman people, with the greatest marks of respect and esteem, and the honours we have mentioned were, with the unanimous consent of all, conferred upon him. The nomination of the bishop of Rome was granted to him, for preventing the tumults that, to the great scandal of all good Christians, began to arise among the people and clergy, on occasion of those elections, no one having any power or authority to restrain them; but this right Charles used with great moderation, and after some time remitted it to the clergy and people. The dignity of patrician was, at that time, the first in the whole empire, and the right of conferring it belonged to the emperor; but his authority being now extinct in Italy, the pope arrogated to himself that, as well as he did, by decrees, all the other imperial honours and ornaments. Charles, extremely well pleased with the reception he found at Rome, continued some time in that metropolis, consulting with the pope about the manner of settling the affairs of Italy; and then returned to Pavia, where he declared, that he intended to maintain the same form of government which had been introduced by the Lombard princes his predecessors. Accordingly, he allowed every one full liberty to live under the same Roman or Lombard laws, to which they had been accustomed; but to the latter he added, as king of the Lombards, some of his own. He did not disturb the emperors in the possession of the dukedom of Naples, and of the other places which they still held in Italy.

He goes to Rome, where great honours are conferred upon him.

He retains the same form of government.

As for the three famous dukedoms of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, he allowed those dukes the same power and authority which they had enjoyed under the Lombard kings,

Allows the dukes the same power.

kings, requiring only, that as they had been subject to these princes, they should acknowledge him for their sovereign. The exarchate, the Pentapolis, and the dukedom of Rome, he ceded to the pope; but retained the sovereignty to himself. The other provinces, which we have mentioned, he kept as the kingdom of Lombardy^b. He continued the other dukes in their possessions, contenting himself with the oath of allegiance, which he obliged them, as well as the greater dukes, to take annually to him. The oath was conceived in the following terms: "I promise, without fraud or deceit, to be faithful to my sovereign Charles, and his sons, as long as I live; and I swear, by these holy gospels, that I will be faithful to him, as a vassal to his lord and sovereign; neither will I divulge any thing which, in virtue of my allegiance, he shall commit to me." The dukedoms he never transferred from one family to another, but when the dukes broke this oath, or died without issue male. This translation from one to another was called investiture; and hence it came, that fiefs were not granted but by investiture, as was afterwards observed with respect to other vassals and feudatories, such as counts, captains, and valvassours, the model of whose services and tenures was afterwards perfected by the princes of Germany.

*Magistrates
appointed
by him.*

The limits of the kingdom and the towns Charles committed to the care of counts, who were vested with great authority. These limits or borders were called marchæ, or marches; whence those, who had the superintendency of them, were styled counts of the marches, and marquises; and hence the title of marquis had its rise. These were the ordinary magistrates appointed by Charles for the government of the cities, and the limits of the kingdom; but he sometimes appointed extraordinary magistrates, or commissaries, who had greater authority than the counts, and were called missi. It was their province to part and distinguish the limits of each city, which, under the Lombards, were greatly confused; hence arose frequent disputes among the neighbouring cities about their boundaries; but the missi assigned to each city its extent of territory, and in general following nature, appointed mountains, rivers, brooks, valleys, and other perpetual and lasting limits to serve for marches, that time might not alter and confound them. He likewise obliged the cities to take an oath of allegiance to him, and imposed upon them, as well as upon the fiefs, churches, and monasteries, a kind of tribute called fodrum, parata, and mansionaticum, to be paid to him, especially when he came into Italy; but this tribute he after-

*Tribute
imposed by
him.*

^b Sigon, p. 163

wards generously remitted for himself and his successors. That Italy might retain at least some shadow of liberty, as often as he returned thither, he convened a general assembly of all the bishops, abbots, and barons of the kingdom, in order to settle the public affairs of importance. The Lombards had but one state, composed of barons and judges; but the French, in the time of Charlemagne, had two, consisting of the ecclesiastics and nobility: Charles added likewise in Italy, after the manner of France, the order of the ecclesiastics to that of the barons or nobility.

The affairs of Italy being thus settled, Charles, leaving a strong garrison in Pavia, returned to France in the year 774; but he was scarce departed, when the Lombard dukes, those especially of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, scorning to live subject to a foreign prince, resolved to shake off the yoke, and make themselves absolute in their respective dukedoms. While Charles, therefore, was engaged in a war with the Saxons, Rodgand, duke of Friuli, seizing that opportunity, renounced his allegiance, and caused himself to be acknowledged sovereign in his dukedom; but Charles, who had already put an end to the Saxon war, by the reduction of that country, was no sooner informed of the revolt of Rodgand, which, he apprehended, might prove of dangerous consequence, if it was not timely suppressed, than he hastened into Alsace, from whence he marched, in the depth of winter, with a powerful army, cross the Alps, and entered the dukedom of Friuli. Rodgand met him with all the forces he could raise; but, in the engagement that ensued, he was totally defeated, taken prisoner, and soon after publicly beheaded. Charles did not appoint another duke, but adding the cities, of which this dukedom was composed, to his kingdom, appointed counts to govern them in the same manner as the other cities of his kingdom were governed. Thus ended the dukedom of Friuli, the first that was erected under Alboinus, and likewise the first that was suppressed by Charlemagne. Hildebrand, duke of Spoleto, who had likewise revolted, upon the news of the defeat and death of Rodgand, voluntarily submitted, and was again received into favour by Charles.

*The duke
of Friuli
revolts;*

*but is de-
feated, and
put to
death.*

*That duke-
dom ended.*

At this time Arechis, who had married Adelperga, daughter to Desiderius, the last king of the Lombards, was duke of Benevento; but he, waiting a more favourable opportunity of shaking off the yoke, continued quiet till Charles, after having appointed Pepin, his eldest son, king of Italy, in 781, had returned to France, and was engaged in other wars. Then Arechis, disdaining to live in subjection to a foreign prince, and trusting to his own strength, and the affection

Yr. of Fl.
3129.
A. D. 781.

*Arechis,
duke of
Benevento,
changes his
dukedom
into a prin-
cipality.*

*The Bene-
ventans
forced, by
their in-
testine
broils, to
submit to
the empe-
rors of the
West.*

affection of his subjects, not only revoked, but, laying aside the title of duke, assumed that of prince, causing himself to be anointed and crowned, with great solemnity, as king, by his bishops, and dating thenceforth all his writs and diplomas "from our most sacred palace," according to the style of other princes and sovereigns. His image, crowned, was set up in all the churches of his dominions: he coined money; made what alterations he thought proper both in civil and military affairs, without consulting either Charles or Pepin; and even enacted several laws, for his Capitularia have reached our times; and in the manuscript code lodged in the monastery of Cava, among the edicts of the Lombard kings, is to be found one of this prince, containing seventeen chapters. His example was followed by the other princes his successors, namely, by Adelchis, Sicardus, and Radelchisus, as appears from their Capitularia published by Camillo Pellegrino^c. Thus, to the laws of the Lombard kings were added those of the princes of Benevento. Charles, finding that his son Pepin was not able to reduce the Beneventan Lombards, returned in 786, with a powerful army, into Italy, being then disengaged from other wars; but Arechis suing for peace, Charles granted him it upon the following terms: that he should pay to Pepin a yearly tribute; that he should deliver up his treasure, and with it his son Grimoald, and his daughter Adelgisa, by way of hostages. The peace being thus concluded, Charles returned to France, leaving Arechis in possession of the principality of Benevento, which was held by him, with the title of prince, as it was by his successors, who greatly enlarged it, till a cruel war being kindled in the bowels of their country between Siconulphus and Radelchisus, two competitors for the principality, the one invited the Saracens of Africa, and the other those of Spain, to their assistance; who, after a twelve years war, completed the ruin of both: so that they were obliged to have recourse to Lewis king of France, and acknowledge him for their sovereign. Lewis divided the provinces of Benevento between the two competitors, by which division two principalities were made out of one: that of Benevento was allotted to Radelchisus; the other, called from its metropolis the principality of Salerno, to Siconulphus.

^c Camill. Pellegrin. Capit. Arch. Princ. p. 309. & *Capit. Arch. Princ.* p. 71—92.





